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‘One hand on Scythia, th’ other on the More.’—SPENSER

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THE MOGUL, MAHRATTA AND SIKH  
EMPIRES IN THEIR ZENITH AND FALL.\*

BY SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN, Q.C.

THE subject with which I purpose to deal in this paper may appear at first sight to possess only an academical interest. But I venture to think that it has a practical as well as a historical aspect, which may not be unattractive to those—and I would fain hope that I may include most, if not all, of my readers in this category—who regard India not merely as a land of regrets and exile, but as a region which claims our deepest sympathy and attention, which is full of instruction for us, and which a happy destiny—happy for us, and happy for its people—has united with the British Empire—a union, let us hope, which future centuries will only serve to strengthen and cement more firmly and closely. If I ask them to consider particular portions of the past history of this much-coveted land, it is because the portions I have so selected present to our view a few cameos of the richest and most typical setting, which are not only in themselves deserving of our close attention, but which acquire a still greater importance when considered from the point of view of later events.

In choosing, therefore, as my theme the rise and fall of the

\* For the discussion of this paper see Proceedings of the East India Association elsewhere in the *Review*.—R.D.

three great Asiatic empires which were founded on the soil of India between the sixteenth and nineteenth centuries, and which mark the rise and decay of three great and distinct nationalities—the Mogul, Mahratta and Sikh—I desire to draw from the most stirring pages of the history of India, and especially from the political aspects of that period, a study and a contrast which, I think, will possibly not be devoid of interest. It may be I have nothing new to state, and that some have studied the historical periods embraced within this paper more thoroughly and minutely than I can claim to have done myself. But there is a fascination at times in even rehearsing what is old, in recalling the stirring events of a bygone age, and in listening once again to the deeds and prowess of some favourite hero or heroine, and in comparing or contrasting the same with the story of some other national character who in like manner may have built an empire or founded a dynasty. If my readers will give me their indulgence, I shall try in the short space to which I am necessarily restricted to reinterest them in the history of three of the most remarkable empires, and in that of three of the most interesting nationalities, of all the many that have held sway over the broad plains of India. And what magnificence, splendour and power ; what courage, heroism and magnanimity ; what statecraft, administrative capacity and skill in organization ; and yet withal what cruelty, oppression, and treachery, are centred round these three great historical nationalities ! Alternately illuminating and darkening the pages of Indian history for three centuries, arousing on the one hand our admiration and wonderment, and on the other our contempt and horror ; now acclaimed by an easily contented subject-population for a passing rule of justice and toleration ; now accursed for the miseries, extortions, and corruptions following a long course of tyranny and oppression ; now blazing forth in the majesty of Oriental splendour, and irresistible in the tide of victory and triumph ; and now crumbling into premature decay under the accumulated load of vice and of every sort of sensual indulgence ;

linguishing for a brief period in a state of helplessness and inanition, and then yielding the sceptre to a stronger power from the West, destined to construct and consolidate, to bring peace and security, to repress the lawless and protect the weak, to insure justice and to punish wrong, to substitute tolerance for bigotry, freedom for slavery, purity for corruption, enlightenment for ignorance, to develop the resources of the country, to proclaim and maintain the supremacy of the laws, and to embrace all the diverse races of India, irrespective of class, religion or caste, into one sacred and inviolable roll of citizenship under the dominating ægis of the British flag.

Differing as the Mogul, Mahratta and Sikh nationalities did in all essential characteristics—in race, religion, habits and customs—they each had this element in common, that each of them rose to empire under the guidance of a youthful and an unlettered leader. Akbar, Sivaji, and Ranjit Singh, great commanders and great administrators, who raised the fortunes of their respective nations when these were at the lowest ebb, and who showed a genius and capacity for rule which places them a head and shoulders above their contemporaries, were devoid of book-learning, and were even said to be incapable of writing their own names, though Akbar is reputed to have composed some indifferent poetry. But in the founding of empires a cool head, a brave soul, and a stout arm, have accomplished more than the culture of the scholar or the learning of the philosopher. Nature steps in where art is wanting, and supplies the nerve, the resolution, the genius, to conceive and to work out what educational culture would most probably have put aside as chimerical, fatuous, or impossible. Not that the three great empire-builders that have just been named worked out their majestic plans on the same broad lines. Nature, it is true, was the instructress in each instance, but in each she was faithful to the needs of the individual environment. What was necessary for the success of an Akbar would have wrecked the fortunes of a Sivaji and prevented



### *The Mogul, Mahratta and Sikh Empires.*

Ranjit Singh from establishing a Sikh kingdom in the north-west of India. Akbar's sphere of operations embraced large provinces and principalities, while those of Sivaji were confined to the limits of Maharashtra, and those of Ranjit Singh to the territories between the river Sutlej and the mountain barriers of Hazara and Peshawar on the north-west. Where personal bravery and activity were required in Akbar's case to be tempered by prudence and caution, and where the skilful employment of other agencies was an unavoidable necessity, in the case of the Mahratta or the Sikh the personal element alone contributed to initial success. Without restless activity, dash and reckless courage, Sivaji could not have risen from comparative obscurity to the acknowledged sovereignty of the Mahratta tribes. And without the same qualities, coupled with matchless skill in the arts of deceit and treachery, which an Akbar would have scorned to have used, the one-eyed lion of the Punjab would not have converted the leadership of a small Sukarchakia confederacy into the powerful sovereignty of a united Sikh kingdom. Again, while Akbar had to reconstruct the empire, which the genius of his grandfather Baber had won, and which the ill-fortune of his luckless father Humaiyun had almost lost, the Mahratta and the Sikh had no hereditary burdens to discharge, and no responsibilities to respect. Sivaji and Ranjit Singh were creatures of the time, adventurers who saw in the weakness of the Muhammadan Rajput or Sikh States of the period their own opportunities for advancement, and seized upon them with the boldness and selfishness of a Napoleon. Their rise to power was more sudden, more Napoleonic in its glamour and meteoric brilliance, but less consolidated and less enduring than that of Akbar. The Mahratta and Sikh sovereignties vanished as they arose, leaving nothing but ruin, terror and intrigue in their van. The empire of Akbar at his death extended eastward in an unbroken line from Cabul to Bengal and Orissa, and included the greater part of Central and Western India. He thus left to his successors a magnificent inheritance.

which a series of dissolute and incompetent Princes allowed to perish.

To group together these three types of Asiatic governments, ruled respectively by a Moslem, a Mahratta, and a Sikh—the first of which had died of inanition before it came into conflict with British arms, while the two last were crushed by the latter—and then to contrast them with the system which took their place, is the most effective method of drawing up a debtor and creditor account between them, and of showing the people of India what, under the most favourable circumstances, they might expect if the protection of the British *raj* no longer existed, and what, on the other hand, is their present condition under the supremacy of that *raj*.

The Mogul Empire dates rightly, not from the advent of Baber, but from the victory of Panipat—that great battleground of conflicting armies—gained by Akbar, his grandson, under the experienced generalship of Bairam Khan (1556<sup>m</sup> A.D.). Baber had, indeed, extended his conquests from the gates of Cabul to the banks of the Narbadá, but he did not live long enough to consolidate his power; and his son and successor, Húmayún, was not the man to weld together a newly constituted empire, made up of territories acquired by conquest from various divergent races, into one strong homogeneous whole. With no force of character, with no power of concentration, courageous but irresolute, accomplished but incapable of steady application to affairs of state, a witty companion and a generous master, the fitful career of Húmayún, an Emperor one day and a fugitive the next, was but a reflection of his own character—a combination of virtues and weaknesses which unfitted him to sustain the inheritance which his father had bequeathed to him. But in Akbar the Moslem world again points with pride to those qualities for universal rule which were the glory of the early Saracen Caliphs. At the age of fourteen the task of reconstructing the empire of Baber, which his own father had lost, devolved upon Akbar, and on the field of Panipat, which may be called his baptism of

fire, he gave the first evidence of his prowess as a military commander and of his disinclination to strike a fallen foe. When his adversary Hemu, the chief Minister and general of Muhammad Shah Adil, was brought before him, and he was urged by Bairam Khan to prove his sword on the "infidel," Akbar's reply was characteristic of his chivalrous nature: "He is now," he said, "no better than a dead man. How can I strike him? Had he sense and strength I would fight him." And this was the feeling which more than once influenced his action in after life. Thus, in his second expedition against his rebellious feudatories in Western India, he suddenly came upon the enemy at night when they were not prepared for him, believing he was still at Agra. But in order not to fall upon them unawares, he ordered his trumpeters to sound the alarm, and refused to attack until the enemy had been drawn up and were prepared for battle. He then headed the advancing column, dashed into the river, and, forming up his troops on the opposite bank, charged the enemy with the fury of a tiger, and gained a decisive victory. Indeed, the promise of his early years was amply fulfilled in his long subsequent reign. Resembling Cæsar and Napoleon in the rapidity of his movements, he never shirked personal discomfort or shunned danger when in the battle-field. And although he was ever courteous, accessible, and affable to all who had occasion to approach him, no Oriental or European monarch had a loftier sense of the dignity of his position, or knew better how to display it with all the accessories of unbounded wealth and magnificence—with his 5,000 elephants and 12,000 led horses—than did this unlettered genius, whose Court was the resort of all that was worthiest in the land. Nevertheless,

"In himself was all his state,  
More solemn than the tedious pomp that waits  
On princes, when their rich retinue long  
Of horses led, and grooms besmeared with gold,  
Dazzles the crowd."

Reading the accounts of this important reign which have come down to us from native and other sources, one is apt

to be carried away by too great an enthusiasm for the extraordinary man whose name sheds an imperishable lustre on the pages of the Mogul conquest of India. His conquests were more extended than those of his grandfather, and were more complete and durable. And yet Akbar was induced to undertake them, not for the mere sake of war or military glory, for he loved peace and the arts which flourish in times of peace ; but he was too keen-sighted a statesman not to realize, as his British successors were themselves forced to do, that there could be no lasting peace in India so long as the various petty States throughout the great continent were not all brought into submission to acknowledge the supremacy of a single Lord Paramount. It was his aim and ambition to fill that rôle, and he practically succeeded in doing so before he died. But if in prosecution of this policy, matured and consistently carried out with the highest political wisdom, his armies were ever on the march of conquest, he, nevertheless, took infinite pains to secure that these marches should be accomplished with the least possible injury to non-combatants. In a century when wars were not conducted even in Western countries on those principles of humanity which have in more recent times served to a considerable extent to lessen the horrors of war, it is surprising to find an Oriental monarch organizing a practical system for compensating owners and cultivators of the land who suffered damage by the movements of his troops or of his own camp following. Assessors were appointed to examine the various encamping-grounds occupied by troops in their march, immediately on their vacating the same, and to assess the damage caused, which was either paid in-cash to the landlords or raiyots concerned, or was deducted from the revenue assessments.

Again, the empire which Akbar aimed at establishing was not a Moslem empire to be conducted according to the principles of the Koranic law. It was to be universal in the sense of embracing *all* India, and it was to be cosmopolitan in the sense that it was to be governed by principles not peculiar to any given system, but by such as might.

command the obedience of all men, whether Moslem, Brahmin, Mahratta, Rajput, or Sikh. With this view, he selected for his principal officers, civil and military, men of well-reputed merit, and in making his selection creed and race were factors which he discarded. What Thurloe said of Cromwell might be said with equal truth of Akbar, that "he sought out men for places, and not places for men." Thus, Hindus occupied some of the most important offices in the State, and were included, like Rajas Todar Mull and Jai Mall, amongst his most confidential advisers. Nor had he ever cause to regret the trust he placed in them, for they served him well and loyally. Amongst professing Moslems, the two men for whom he had the most sincere affection were the two famous brothers, Abul Fazl and Shaikh Faizi. These men, liberal-minded like himself, free from all bigotry, accomplished scholars, and patrons of learning, were the Mæcenases of this Augustan age of Indian literature. It was under their influence that Akbar finally cast aside even a formal observance of the religion of the Koran.

A universal empire like his, administered on broad cosmopolitan principles, required a religion also which could appeal to mankind on high moral grounds—a religion, in fact, which could keep the moral conscience, or inner light of the human body, alive and shining, which was not intended merely to promote Islam, but to respect all consciences. What Akbar aimed at establishing was one of those forms of universal religion which was to unify mankind into a common brotherhood, and although, like other similar attempts, his also failed in its purpose, this need not prevent us from paying a generous tribute to the monarch whose mind was tolerant enough to conceive and to proclaim it. Akbar, indeed, appears in matters of faith and religion to have had a perfectly open mind, and as he was convinced that there was some truth in every religion, perhaps on Carlyle's principle that otherwise men would not have been found to take it up, he resolved to adopt that which was good, no matter in what religion it was to be found, and to discard the bad. Under the guidance of

his two most intimate friends, Abul Fazl and Shaikh Faizi, he carved out a religion for himself based upon the above principles, which he styled "The Divine Faith" (Din-i-Ilahi), admission to which was open to all, but which no one was to be compelled to adopt. The spirit of aggressive proselytism was not Akbar's spirit. The consciences of men were to be overcome by reason, and not by the sword. "My sole object," Akbar was wont to say, "is to ascertain truth, to find out and disclose the principles of genuine religion, and to trace it to its Divine origin." Influenced as he was by such lofty motives, it was not surprising that religious toleration was as much respected in his reign as it is now in any Western country; and the magnificent hall he built at Futtehpur Sikri, which he set apart for religious discussions in which professors of every faith were cordially invited to take part, not only proves the religious tendency of Akbar's mind, but his liberality of sentiment and freedom from bigotry. In fact, as the author of the "*Zubdatu-t Tawarikh*" tells us, "His Court became the centre of attraction to all sects, persuasions, and people, to the learned of Khurásán, Irak, Máwaráu-n Nahr, and Hindustan, to doctors and theologians, to Shíahs and Sunnis, to Christians and philosophers, to Bráhmans and professors of every existing religion." So that we would not be far wrong if we said that his attitude towards other religions might, perhaps, be best expressed in the words of one of the last of the great Roman pagans, Symmachus, that "the Great Mystery cannot be approached by one avenue alone"; while St. Augustine's notion of a future state, "of which the King is truth, the law is love; and eternity the bourn," would undoubtedly have received Akbar's cordial assent.

Turning to the internal administration of the country, the point which mostly interests a modern student is the system of land revenue which was introduced during the reign of the great Mogul Emperor. It is true that under the immediately preceding administration of the usurper Sher Khan, who had risen to power in the troublesome

days of Húmayún, and had assumed the royal dignity under the title Sher Shah, Sultān-i-Adil, some laudable efforts had been made to protect the agriculturist, and that an assessment had been introduced based on a measurement of the cultivation and an appraisement of the various crops. But Sher Shah's brief term of power, followed by the weak reign of an incompetent son, had not sufficed to cause his excellent measures to take any permanent root in the country; while the anarchy which more or less prevailed between the year 1545 A.D. (when Sher Shah was killed) and the year 1556 A.D. (when Akbar gained his decisive victory at Panipat) produced its natural effect in driving the agriculturist from the pursuit of his peaceful occupation. It was thus reserved for Akbar to recall the ploughshare to its work, and he early set himself to introduce a system which would promote the cultivation of the land which was then lying neglected. It is this system, as described in the "*Ayin-i-Akbari*," which, with certain modifications, was eventually adopted, or at least formed the groundwork of that introduced, by the British Government in effecting a land settlement in the various provinces of our great Empire in the East. Previous to Akbar's day the cultivator had been robbed to a large extent of the fruit of his labour, with the natural result that this labour was grudgingly given. To encourage agriculture, which Akbar had observed in his various warlike expeditions to be largely neglected, it was above all things needful, in the first instance, to fix the Government demand, which had hitherto been of a fluctuating character, dependent on the necessities of the imperial treasury, on a basis which would leave a sufficient margin to the occupier of the land to repay him for the labour he was required to spend upon its cultivation.\* Fortunately for the Emperor, he had in his service a Hindu Prince who was well qualified to undertake the task of introducing a land settlement, which he entrusted to his hands. This was the famous Raja Todar

\* Akbar fixed it at one-third, which could be paid, at the option of the occupier, either in kind or in cash by appraisement.

Mull, a native of Laharpur in Oude, though the "Maásir-ul-Umāra" erroneously says he was born in Lahore. He is described in the "Akbarnama" as an honest, sincere man, and devoid of avarice. It was said of him that he was a bigoted Hindu, incapable of transacting his duties unless surrounded by his household idols. And Abul Fazl adds, "Would that he had been free from hatred and revenge, and that harshness had not been so conspicuous in his character!" Be this as it may, he proved himself a good general and an expert in matters of revenue administration, and his system of making ten yearly assessments, based on the average production for a period of nineteen years of soils of different varieties, with a complete record of each land-holder's rights and liabilities, a liberal provision for remissions in bad seasons, and for the supply of seed-grains from royal storehouses, placed the agriculturist in a far better position than he had ever previously enjoyed. But in two important respects this system will not compare favourably with that which prevails under British rule. In the first place, Akbar did not succeed in elevating the position of the individual tiller of the soil, or in securing him rights independently of the land-owner or farmer, such as he now enjoys. In the next place, the assessments were relatively much higher than those which are now enforced, and it cannot be doubted that, despite the excellent instructions issued to collectors of revenue, there were fewer effective checks against exaction than exist under our improved methods.

Nor in the administration of civil and criminal laws do we find Akbar less zealous for the proper vindication of justice in his dominions. It is true he did not imitate the crude attempt of Sultan Sher Shah to frame a distinctive code of laws of his own, which he was doubtless aware had irritated both Moslems and Hindus alike. As the former were accustomed to regard the Koran and the latter the Shastras as containing Divine ordinances, which no human legislation, however wise or beneficent, could improve,



Akbar wisely enough abstained from attempting to play the rôle of a Justinian, and he left his courts to administer these laws according to the requirements of each case. But he was by no means indifferent to the mode in which his judges performed their duties; misconduct on their part, we may well believe, would have incurred his severest displeasure, and as the ultimate judge, whose sense of justice and right was completely unfettered, his authority could at all times be invoked by the injured suitor, and their knowledge of this fact doubtless had considerable influence in keeping the judges up to a lively sense of their own responsibilities and duties. In the punishment of criminals Akbar frequently enjoined the courts to temper justice with mercy, and no death sentence could be executed until it had obtained his confirmation. Again, while Akbar allowed Hindus to live under the benefit of their own laws in regard to civil rights, he did not hesitate to interfere with the strict enforcement of those laws when they appeared to him cruel or unjust. Thus, he anticipated to some extent our own later legislation by nearly three centuries, by forbidding the compulsory burning of widows, the Hindu practice of ordeal, and the marriage of Hindu children before a fit age; while he also furnished us with a precedent for permitting Hindu widows to remarry. In these wise ordinances the Emperor gave further evidence of the qualities of a true statesman which every historian accords to him.

Such was the man who was the glory of the Mogul Empire, but who can scarcely be called a Muslim Sovereign.\* If his character was not altogether stainless, we must remember the age and society in which he lived, and it must at all events be conceded that his record points him out as one of the most illustrious Oriental princes

\* Cf. "Tarikh-i-Badauni," vol. ii., pp. 211, 255; vol. v., pp. 524, 528; Elliott's "History of India." Badauni says there was "not a trace of Islam left in Akbar," vol. v., *ibid.*, p. 527.

who have ever ruled in India. As it is finely said in a Persian couplet of Abul Fazl :

"Akbar the King illumines India's night,  
And is a lamp in the Court of the House of Timur,"

which, if a poetical, is not a very extravagant estimate of Akbar's relation to the other imperial rulers of his race. A comparison has been suggested between Akbar and Charles I. of Spain, who was better known as Charles V. of Germany. But the comparison offers few resemblances. Like Charles, who finally abdicated, and thus closed his political career in January of the same year (1556) in which Akbar may be said to have begun his, the Delhi Emperor was left to guide the helm of empire while still a mere stripling (fourteen as compared with sixteen, the age at which Charles succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand); and again, like his European contemporary, he was continually engaged in wars to consolidate his vast empire. Both Sovereigns laboured conscientiously to discharge their high destinies in a becoming manner, and both were ready at all times to sacrifice ease and pleasure for the public welfare. Neither avoided labour or repined under fatigue in the arduous task of governing his extensive dominions, and both wielded the sceptre with a masterful hand. Both, again, on their death-bed assembled their nobles, and implored the forgiveness of anyone who had been wronged or neglected by them. But the similitude of the comparison cannot be extended much further. Akbar, as we have seen, freely employed Hindus in the highest offices of State, and showed no bias in favour of any creed or nationality. But Charles, who was born in Flanders, caused much discontent among his Castilian subjects by the undue favouritism he showed to his Flemish courtiers, on whom he bestowed every appointment of value. Again, Akbar, as I have pointed out, was most tolerant in matters of religion; but Charles had been too long under the tutelage of Adrian of Utrecht (afterwards Pope Adrian VI.)

to imbibe any such feeling towards a religion differing from that in which he had been educated.

If Charles ratified the Convention of Passau (1552), whereby the Protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion till the next Diet, he did it with no willing mind, and his whole previous attitude towards Luther and his followers was that of a temporizing policy with a latent but bitter spirit of hostility towards the Protestant schism. In a codicil to his will, written a few days before his death (1558), he commanded his son, Philip II., perhaps the most detestable monster and execrable bigot who ever wore a crown, to pursue and chastise the heretics with the utmost severity and vigour, to protect the holy office of Inquisition, and by this means "to deserve that our Lord will ensure the prosperity of his reign." Lastly, Charles was unlike Akbar in the result of his military exploits. Akbar was uniformly successful, but Charles, in his second war against Francis I. of France, lost half his army; while his siege of Algiers ended in disastrous failure (1541). On the whole, the comparison must be in favour of the Mogul Emperor. Nor would Akbar even compare unfavourably with two other contemporary European monarchs who were among the most eminent of their respective countries, namely, Elizabeth of England and Henry IV. of France.

But an Akbar is one of those rare and brilliant meteors which occasionally flash across and illumine the dark annals of the history of absolute monarchy, leaving a trail of light behind them even when they have vanished from sight. Akbar's immediate successors inherited scarcely any of his virtues, and had all the vices of the race to which they belonged. Jehangir was indolent, and had the Scythian love for wine and women. Shah Jehan was magnificent, and a great patron of architecture. The Táj Máhál, the Moti Musjid at Agra, and the Jama Musjid at Delhi, still survive to glorify his reign. But despite what Tavernier says of his reigning, "not so much as a king over his subjects, but rather as a father over his family," we cannot

forget that he caused his elder brother Khusru to be assassinated—at least, that was the general belief—that his sack of Agra was accompanied by the utmost cruelty and the perpetration of the grossest outrages on the wives and daughters of the inhabitants, that his marches while in rebellion against his father left desolation behind them, and can only be compared to the raids of an adventurer like Alá-ud-din, and that he also murdered his brother. Shahryár and every member of the royal blood who was at all likely to prove a rival to his throne. Intrigue and assassination supplied the place of wisdom and firmness, and were the chief instruments of his administration. Most of the Hindu Princes who were devoted to Akbar were alienated by the intolerant spirit of Jehangir and of Shah Jehan, and became refractory and turbulent; and finally, under the unscrupulous fanatic who assumed the high-sounding title of Alamgir—the Conqueror of the World—the magnificent fabric of empire which Akbar had constructed, began, after temporarily reaching its widest limits, to experience the seeds of decay, so much so that even a friendly contemporary writer—Kháfi Khan—had to admit that Alamgir's government was a universal failure. It was in this reign that the Mahrattas rose to power, and we first hear of the Konkan freebooter Sivaji, of whom we shall have to speak at greater length presently. The subsequent history of Alamgir's successors is a history of crime, of fratricidal wars, of gross oppression, of weakness, of plots, of treacheries, and of incompetence. But so deep were the foundations on which Akbar had raised his great empire, that a certain halo still surrounded the throne of the Great Mogul, even after every spark of vitality had vanished from the administration which bore its name. The victory of Baxar gained by Major Munro in 1764 gave a death-blow to that empire in the North; its last vestiges of authority in the South had disappeared by 1761, and as the result of the third great battle of Panipat, fought in the same year between the Mahrattas and Ahmad Shah, the Durani invader, it lay pros-

trate at the mercy of the Afghan victor. The titular dignity no doubt survived for nearly a century longer, and only ceased to exist in January, 1858, when the then occupant of the throne, Bahadur Shah, was convicted of ordering a massacre of Christians and of waging war against the British Government. The Mogul Empire thus perished after an existence of exactly two centuries, unregretted and unmourned, not by conquest at the hands of the British, but by internal decay, by the operation of those same forces which caused the downfall of the Saracen, and which have reduced the Turkish Empire to a shadow. Self-indulgence on the part of the rulers, zenana influences and intrigues, religious intolerance, and insufferable arrogance, produced in each case the inevitable consequences of effeminacy, weakness, and hatred, subverting all authority and undermining the basis of all empire. But even in its zenith the Mogul Empire could not compare with the present paramount rule in India, either in its strength, its resources, its administrative machinery, or in its general solicitude for the welfare and prosperity of the people; and one can scarcely credit any well-informed Muhammadan, not to speak of Hindus, Mahrattas, Sikhs, and others, asserting the superiority of the Mogul as compared with the British rule.\* If such a person should exist, let him read the account which a contemporary historian—Abdul Kadir Badauni—gives of the rapacity of the subordinate officials appointed to carry out Raja Todar Mull's reforms, and he will then have reason to bless his destiny that he has lived three centuries later, and under another and more enlightened and effective government. "A great portion of the country," says Badauni, "was laid waste through the rapacity of the Kroris, the wives and children of the raiyats were sold and scattered abroad, and everything was thrown into confusion."

\* This comparison is not intended to detract from the credit abundantly conceded above to Akbar as an able and enlightened ruler; but conceding everything that the most enthusiastic admirer of the Great Emperor could justly claim for him, the opinion expressed in the text would nevertheless hold good.

And again : " So many died from protracted confinement in the prisons of the revenue authorities, that there was no need of the executioner or swordsman, and no one cared to find them graves or grave-clothes." The same historian, no doubt a severe critic, speaks of the prevalence of indulgence and debauchery, extravagance in household expenditure, and accumulation of riches, as rendering it impossible to maintain the soldiery or to foster the peasants.

If I turn, in the next place, to Sivaji and his successors, it is not with the view of drawing any direct comparison between them and their former Mogul lords, for one might just as reasonably attempt to compare a Gaulish chieftain with Julius Cæsar. But the Mahratta Empire carved out by Sivaji illustrates another type of Oriental government, which is important for the purposes of comparison from the point of view already indicated.

And although Sivaji is not to be placed on the same platform with Akbar, he is nevertheless a very remarkable man. An uncultured freebooter who was brought up in the wild mountains of the Konkan, a region which had never felt the heel of the conqueror, Sivaji imbibed that spirit of independence and love of adventure which could brook no superior, and which at an early age brought him into conflict with the Muhammadan Kings of Bijapur, and still later with the crafty Aurangzebe. Sivaji was a good archer, a skilful spearman, a fearless rider, and an expert swordsman, accomplishments which marked him out for leadership amongst the lawless bands which then infested the country, and who readily joined his banner for the sake of plunder. While his father, Shahji, was serving the Government of the Sultan of Bijapur as a soldier of fortune in the Carnatic, and accumulating wealth, Sivaji was becoming the terror of that Government by the daring exploits he was performing in the districts of Poona and Sopa with the aid of his lawless Māwūlis. Now swooping down upon a treasure convoy, now attacking a hill fort, now sacking a rich town, now plunging his scorpion (*bichwa*) dagger into the vitals

of the unsuspecting representative of the Bijapur Government, who had consented to grant him a conference, and completing his deadly work with his steel claws (*wagnuch*), which he wore on his left hand, now entering with a few attendants at dead of night into the house of the Mogul Viceroy of the Deccan at Poona, and wounding him and killing his son and most of his personal guard, Sivaji was a constant nightmare to both the Great Mogul and the Sultan of Bijapur. But it is claimed for him that he at least respected cows, cultivators, and women, who were never molested ; and although he hated Muhammadans, he abstained, as a rule, from sequestrating any grants which had been made by their rulers in support of tombs, mosques, or shrines. Bold in enterprise, he was as ready to resort to dissimulation, deceit, treachery, or abject submission, in order to attain his ends. With the instincts of a statesman and the genius of an administrator, he combined the cruel nature of the tiger whom he hunted in his native mountains. He not only raised a large army, consisting of 7,000 horse and 50,000 foot, but he trained, disciplined, and officered it with a military insight and skill which excite our admiration. He also organized a powerful navy, consisting of eighty-seven vessels manned with 4,000 men, with which he made rapid descents on the Malabar coast and carried off much plunder. From a petty marauder he rapidly rose to a throne, and his empire at his death embraced nearly the whole of the Konkan, extending over 250 miles in length from Kalian to Goa, and 100 miles in breadth, besides scattered districts included in the Bijapur kingdom. Kings and Princes paid him tribute to purchase peace, and powerful Chiefs acknowledged his authority. No department of the State escaped his vigilance, his masterful mind grasped all details, and was the first to detect a blot in the administration. Implicit obedience was imposed upon both civil and military officials, and no departure from express instructions was permitted in any case.

• Rigid economy was observed in every department, and

all State accounts had to be closed at the end of the year, when balances due to the Government were recovered. His revenue system was not so complex as that of Todar Mull, but was calculated to insure a fair return to the cultivator, and protect him from exaction at the hands of the subordinate officials. The Government share of the produce was fixed at two-fifths, and that of the ryot at three-fifths, which was slightly more favourable to Government than that taken under the Mogul system. No military contributions were permitted, and Sivaji very wisely set his face against two other evils which are commonly found to exist in native Governments of the older type. In the first place he abolished the practice of farming out the revenue, and insisted on all collections being made by officers appointed by himself; and in the next, he introduced a uniform system of paying all his servants in cash, refusing to adopt the proposal of making assignments for this purpose on portions of the revenue of certain villages. By this means he avoided many abuses, preserved a more effective check upon the Government realizations, and infused a higher sense of responsibility into the minds of officials of all classes. "Make your men do their duty" was the advice he gave his younger brother Venkajee in one of the last letters he ever dictated, and no ruler more completely acted up to this injunction than Sivaji himself. Each man in his administration had his allotted duty, and it fared ill with him if he failed to discharge it properly. But though a hard and severe task-master, Sivaji knew how to reward loyal services with a liberal hand. He thus had the good fortune to be well served, and this circumstance, coupled with his generous treatment of Brahmins, and his own orthodox Hinduism, have secured him more than a fair meed of praise at the hands of his native biographers. He is represented as an incarnation of the Deity, and his wisdom, piety, and fortitude are set as an example for all time. But candour compels the faithful historian to say that the boasted wisdom of Sivaji was of that crooked:



kind which prefers deceit and treachery to fair, and open dealing; and his piety was the outward observance of all the ceremonial usages of a polytheistic religion, dictated by narrow ignorance and inflamed by a highly superstitious nature. His fortitude amidst trials and reverses which would have crushed many another man certainly stands out in bold relief and claims our unstinted admiration. But if we take the man as a whole—this “mountain rat,” as Aurungzebe contemptuously called him—he presents such an amalgam of vice and virtue, in which the proportion of alloy is unhappily largely in excess of the pure metal, that it is impossible to hold him up for later generations.

“To serve as model for the mighty world,  
And be the fair beginning of a time.”

A man who never hesitated to commit murder, who saw no harm in lying, who paved his way to power by plunder, treachery and bloodshed, who preferred to overcome an enemy by trickery rather than by a display of manly courage, is not a man for whom a distant generation can be expected to feel much respect or esteem. But his extraordinary success, his brilliant feats of arms, his personal daring and courage, his consolidation of the Mahratta power, and his administrative skill as a ruler, have converted him into a national hero whose name sheds a passing glamour over a brief page of Mahratta history, recalling the days of an empire which vied with the Mogul in greatness, and at the feet of which the Mogul Empire itself eventually lay prostrate.

A man like Sivaji, who founds an empire as the product of his own virile energy and prowess, is rarely followed by an able successor. His son Sumbhaji succeeded him in 1680 A.D.; but although he showed a certain vigour and capacity in the commencement of his reign, he was not fitted to wield the good sword Bhiwani which his father had bequeathed to him. Indeed, the innate barbarity of his disposition alienated his friends and made him odious to his subjects. He was captured in 1689 by a Mogul

officer, named Tukurrib Khan, who found him besotted with drink in his mountain retreat of Sungumeshwur, and he was soon afterwards publicly beheaded, his eyes having previously been burnt out with a red-hot iron, and his tongue removed for having blasphemed the Arabian Prophet. His son Sahu (or Shao) was for many years detained in the Mogul Court as a prisoner, but was eventually released and succeeded to his grandfather's throne. Long residence at the Mogul capital had accustomed Sahu to a life of ease and pleasure which unfitted him to rule a race like the Mahrattas. He willingly surrendered the reins to his Minister with the title of Peshwa, and contented himself with the society of the inmates of his seraglio. In that atmosphere he gradually sank into a state of mental imbecility, his chief amusement being in dressing out a favourite dog (which had once saved his life in a tiger-hunt) in gold brocade, covered with jewels, and placing his own turban on the animal. Upon his death (1750 A.D.) Poona became the capital of the Mahrattas, and for eleven years under the third Peshwa, a title which had become hereditary, the Mahrattas continued to extend their empire, and to carry it into the very centre of the Mogul possessions. But in 1761 the Battle of Panipat saw the overthrow of any cherished dream of Mahratta sovereignty supplanting that of the Mogul, and finally, in 1818, the Mahratta power was broken for ever in the time of the seventh and last Peshwa by the British forces. Under the direction of Mountstuart Elphinstone the country of the Mahrattas became a part of the Bombay Presidency, and the people were soon able to contrast the difference between the two systems of government. Thus ended an empire, which perished, as it was created, by the sword.

In many respects the rise of the Sikh power resembles that of the Mahratta, and the character of Rangit Singh has much in common with that of Sivaji. Both empires had a short-lived existence, and both arose in the conflict of race and religion, which was fanned into a blaze by the

intolerance of the Mogul rulers. In both instances the opportunity to cast off a foreign yoke was eagerly seized by a man of unbounded ambition, of iron will, desperate courage, and endless resource. And in both duplicity and treachery mark every step in the progress from obscurity to empire.

Rangit Singh, whose name has been interpreted to mean the "Lion of the Field of Battle," was so named by his father, Maha Singh, because he was born in the camp while Maha Singh was fighting his enemies. The capital of the small ancestral barony, or *misl*, was Sakkur, a village in the Manja, a tract of country lying between the Beas and Ravi Rivers, and this particular barony was, in point of importance, one of the smallest of the twelve confederacies into which the Sikhs had organized themselves. This organization was of an essentially democratical character, and each member of a confederacy believed himself to be the equal of every other member of the great fraternity, whether enrolled in his own or in any other confederacy. The whole body together constituted the fighting force of the nation, and was known as the "Army of God." Feuds and jealousies often drove the several confederacies into hostile camps, and each was envious of the possessions of the other. But let a common foe appear, like the Afghans, and their feuds and jealousies were forgotten, and they at once combined together and fought shoulder to shoulder as Sikhs, and not as Phulkians, Ahluwalias, Bhangis, or Ramgharias. A memorable instance of this is supplied by the story of the recapture of Sirhind by the Sikhs from the Governor of Ahmad Shah in 1761 A.D. Upon this occasion we find confederacies north and south of the Sutlej, who were bitterly antagonistic, uniting and raising a force of 23,000 fighting men to wipe out the disgrace of a former defeat, and thus to avenge the national honour.

It is important to bear this peculiar phase of the Sikh national character in mind, for it will serve to show how much more difficult it was for Rangit Singh, as the mere

leader of one of the smaller of these democratic confederacies, to win for himself the absolute sovereignty he so early acquired over them, and to exact that implicit obedience from them which he enjoyed to the day of his death, than if he had been a pure adventurer, one of those soldiers of fortune to whose standard mercenaries flocked for the sake of plunder, who owed his crown to their support, and who had no privileges to respect or liberties to safeguard. Rangit Singh was a Sikh ruling over Sikhs, a manly and stalwart race; he had to overcome the prejudices of a republican and warlike people, and bring it to acknowledge the yoke of an absolute monarchy, not by surrendering its manhood and its liberties, but as the consummation of a higher destiny. His object was to weld together the hostile confederacies into one strong, compact and powerful nation, of which he was to be the indisputable Sovereign, and he set about to accomplish this lofty ambition when he was yet a youth in his teens.

Born at Gujranwala on November 2, 1780 A.D., he lost his father when he was only eight years of age, and for some years he was left to the joint care of a mother whose character created scandal even in an age which is said to have been exceptionally immoral, and of a mother-in-law who was as ambitious as she was crafty and unscrupulous. Under such a training, the boy grew up, as might have been expected, debauched, drunken, deceitful, and cunning. With an exterior which owed little to Nature's adornments, and which was rendered still less attractive by the innumerable scars of a virulent attack of small-pox, which had greatly disfigured him, and had also deprived him of his left eye and distorted the right one, Rangit Singh's personal appearances, it must be confessed, were not in his favour. He was pronounced by Baron Hügel, who had visited him, to be "the most ugly and unprepossessing man he had seen throughout the Panjab." In physique also he had no counterbalancing advantages: he was short, had thin arms and legs, and a thick neck. But his head

was large—too large, it was thought by his critics, for his body—and his shoulders were broad. It is here that we have the only physical indications of the capacity of the man who was destined to reshape the history of the Panjab. The brain power which was working within that massive head was soon to electrify his countrymen, and the broad shoulders on which that head was sunk low marked the vigour and endurance which his enemies were soon to experience that no toil or privation could enfeeble or conquer. Intemperance and sensual indulgence did not succeed in untimely undermining his constitution, and he was a superb rider and a skilful swordsman.

While still only nineteen Rangit Singh had already possessed himself of Lahore, nominally as the Lieutenant of the Afghan Ruler. With the constant aid of his mother-in-law, Sud'a Kour, he rapidly succeeded in extending his conquests and in establishing his supremacy over the other Sikh confederacies. Within the short space of ten years he had so completely built up his empire from the right bank of the Sutlej on the east to Multan on the south, Peshawar on the west and Kashmir on the north, that the British Government, which had meanwhile taken the Sikh States on the left bank of the Sutlej under its protection, formally entered into a treaty-engagement with Rangit Singh as the Maharaja of Lahore. This treaty was concluded at Amritsar on April 25, 1809, and it is to the credit of Rangit Singh's good faith and good sense that, however treacherous in his dealings with his brother Sikh Princes and others, he was ever faithful to his engagement with the British. Rangit Singh was too well informed of the power and resources of the British Government to delude himself with any false notion as to his ability to cope with it in any open conflict. He wisely concluded, therefore, that his safety lay in leaving that Government in peace. So long as he kept faith with the British he had only his enemies in the Panjab proper to battle against, and against these he directed all his strength, vigilance, and craft.

His Sikh levies had the courage and the taste for war, but they were undisciplined and badly armed. He looked about for European help, and Italians, Frenchmen, and Irishmen, who had been trained in the wars of Napoleon, soon found their way to his Court, and were welcomed. With their aid the Sikh army was reconstituted, and became that formidable fighting force which afterwards made so gallant a defence against our own troops on the battle-fields of Firozshahr, Aliwal, and Sobraon. Rangit Singh had indeed a wonderful capacity for organization, and, like Akbar, he selected his officers solely on their merit, and without reference to religion. Muhammadans, Hindus, and Sikhs were indifferently employed. One of his most trusted officers, and for whom, perhaps, he alone had any real friendship, was the learned Fakir Azizeddin, a physician of great repute who won the Maharaja's favour by his skill in curing him of a severe ophthalmic attack. The Fakir became his Foreign Minister and his most confidential adviser. A thorough Persian in culture and manners, Azizeddin was reputed to be a delightful companion, and acquired the position at the Lahore Court which Abul Fazl had enjoyed at the Court of Akbar. Like Abul Fazl, Azizeddin was devoid of any narrow bigotry, and his tolerant spirit may be judged by his famous answer to his royal master when asked whether he preferred the Hindu or the Muhammadan religion. "I am," replied the Fakir, "a man floating in the midst of a mighty river. I turn my eyes towards the land, but can distinguish no difference in either bank." Such a man, learned, liberal, and eloquent, a courtier and a statesman, was indispensable for a ruler who was himself totally ignorant, and who had to rely on another to give his ideas shape and form. For Azizeddin the crafty Rangit Singh felt a personal regard, which was unusual in his dealings with his other officials. Selfish to the core, the Maharaja treated his officers like men on a chess-board. He moved and utilized them to suit the exigencies of the occasion, and if he could gain any advantage by doing so,

he was ready to sacrifice them without the smallest compunction or hesitation. And yet it is remarkable that he was well served, perhaps more from fear than from any higher sense of duty, for Rangit Singh never overlooked a fault. The consequence was that his government brought order and security in the place of massacre and pillage, which naturally made it popular with the lower classes. But his avarice was such that no rich man could indulge in any display of his wealth. The Chief of Buttala learnt this to his cost for making a too lavish and ostentatious display on the occasion of his sister's marriage to Sirdar Sher Singh. He was soon afterwards informed by the Maharaja that a man who could spend so much on a sister's wedding should be able to make his Sovereign a handsome contribution, and a sum of 50,000 rûpees had to be surrendered to avoid ulterior consequences. The poor Sháh Shújá, who had accepted an asylum at the hands of Rangit Singh when driven out of Cabul, also experienced the Maharaja's cupidity shortly after his arrival in Lahore. The unfortunate fugitive had one priceless treasure by means of which he might some day have resuscitated his fallen fortunes. This was the far-famed Koh-i-Nur, which from adorning, if legend speaks truly, the turbans of Pandu Princes and the thrones of Mogul Emperors, is at last among the most precious of the Crown Jewels of Her Most Gracious Majesty. Rangit Singh was determined to become the possessor of this magnificent stone, and when no other device could succeed in extracting it from the Afghan refugee, forged letters were produced implicating Sháh Shújá in planning an invasion of the Panjab. He was thereupon threatened with imprisonment, and was eventually compelled to give up the coveted treasure, which thus became the property of the Maharaja.

Enough has been said to show that Rangit Singh was not a character of whom any biographer could be justly proud. He was brave, capable, and active; a skilful administrator, an excellent judge of men, and tolerant or

indifferent in matters of religion. But he was a cold, unsympathetic, and hard master ; cruel and selfish ; false and treacherous ; immoral himself and indifferent to the morals of others, a drunkard, a "giant liar," and a miser. His Court was grossly immoral. His wives presented him with children who were not of his blood, but whom he acknowledged with the indifference of a man to whom honour was of no account. One was notoriously the son of a chintz-weaver, and Dhulip Singh was generally reputed to be the son of a water-carrier named Gúlu.

Even in his administration, if he checked rapacity in others, he freely indulged in it himself, and the one guiding principle of his system was to screw as much as he possibly could out of his subjects. No rights were respected which conflicted with the pecuniary interests of the State, and if his rule was just, it was said to be so in the sense that all were oppressed alike. At best a military despotism, Rangit Singh's government aimed not to promote the welfare of the people, but to accumulate wealth for the Maharaja's treasury. His local governors knew what he expected from them, and directed their measures accordingly. Diwan Sawan Mull, one of the best and ablest amongst them, was said to have been thoroughly corrupt, and to have resorted to practices which would have brought him to ruin in any civilized State. But a people who had never known better times, and who had often experienced far worse, were grateful for such benefits as they derived from the Diwan's administration ; they recognised his ability, they felt the stability of his rule, they saw him convert jungle-lands into oases of cultivation, and they were thankful and revered his memory.

Rangit Singh's death in June, 1839, brought his reputed son Kharrak Singh to the throne. But if his features bore some resemblance to the great Maharaja, it was soon apparent that, like Richard Cromwell, he had inherited none of his father's qualities as a ruler. His first act showed his ineptitude, for he attempted to supersede his late father's Prime Minister (Raja Dhian Singh) by a



creature of his own. The result was what might have been expected. Raja Dhian Singh had been trained in a hard school, and was a man of action. He knew his master to be incompetent, and he refused to be cast aside. He entered the Darbar Hall, and in the presence of Kharrak Singh slew his miserable rival with his sword. The new Maharaja, unable to resent the violence of his powerful Diwan, shut himself up, and surrendered the government into the hands of his able son, Nao Nihal Singh. Kharrak Singh's feeble mind soon gave way, and he died a little more than a year after his father. Nao Nihal Singh was now the rightful heir to the throne, and had he lived to fulfil the promise of his youth, the history of the Panjab might not have been written as it is. But while passing under a gateway, on returning from the obsequies of his father, the youthful prince was killed by a falling stone, doubtless set rolling by a treacherous hand. The succession now passed to Sher Singh, one of the many sons who had been foisted on Rangit Singh, but a besotted drunkard and debauchee could not long maintain an empire such as the great Maharaja had founded. He, too, fell under the hand of an assassin, leaving the son of the water-carrier Gúlú, the young Dhulip Singh, to bring the history of the Sikh Empire to a close.

I have now rapidly traced the rise and fall of three great Indian empires, a Moslem, a Mahratta, and a Sikh. They mark, as you will have observed, different periods of culture, and exhibit different dominant races and creeds striving for mastery, and displaying their capacity for government. I have endeavoured to bring out their good and bad points, to describe their successes and to indicate their failures. But in estimating their merits or demerits, we must, of course, bear in mind the surrounding conditions under which they each struggled for mastery, and we must not apply to them a standard applicable to other phases of social or political development. The picture intended to be presented is that of a native government at

its best, and according to a triple standard, representing the three most important nationalities which have influenced the history of India within the last three centuries. If this picture has been successfully drawn, as I have certainly endeavoured to draw it faithfully, it is one which offers abundant material for reflection and study. The Moslem, for instance, who points with pride to the Mogul Empire, will have to admit in candour that its glory is due to the elevation of principles which no extremely rigid or bigoted follower of the Arabian Prophet (to wit, Abdul Kadir Badauni) could fully reconcile to his conscience, and that this glory vanishes when, as in the reign of Alamgir, those principles are sacrificed to intolerant orthodoxy. The Mahratta or Sikh, who loves to recall the brave deeds of his national hero, of a Sivaji or a Rangit Singh, has to draw a veil over the crowded pages of his history which recount the murders, the treacheries, the deceits, and trickeries which would blacken any reputation. But where—I would venture to ask, and after making all due allowance for patriotic sentiment—is the Moslem, Mahratta, or Sikh, who, comparing the government under which he now lives with that of even an Akbar, or of a Sivaji, or of a Rangit Singh, could conscientiously say that the latter was as pure, as unselfish, as free, as beneficent, and as powerful, as the former? The question might be repeated from one end of India to the other, but the truthful answer re-echoing through the hills and valleys and plains would still bear witness to the incomparable superiority of the British administration.

On the other hand, let us never forget that *it is only by means of the past that we can rise to the conquest of the future*. Thus, the British Government itself has had much to learn from the histories to which I have referred. It has profited by experience, and it has seen the strong as well as the weak points of each of the preceding systems; where the one succeeded and where another failed; where a paramount power determined to rule with absolute impartiality

could safely imitate, and where it was bound to reject or to innovate ; where rocks and shoals were to be avoided, and where the path which led to progress and political and social development might safely be followed. Thanks to a succession of able governors, and, above all, to the zeal, single-hearted devotion, tact, and ability of our local officers, recruited for the most part from a service which is the pride as it is the mainstay of our Indian administration, we have succeeded as the outcome of a century of patient effort in framing a system of government which can safely challenge comparison with that adopted by any other foreign Government under similar conditions, and which has won the admiration of even our most unsympathetic critics.

The system of British administration in India is, in fact, the glory of the Anglo-Saxon capacity for government. It is based on justice, complete toleration and purity ; it teaches respect and consideration for others ; it fosters progress and enlightenment ; it recognises no distinctions of creed, caste, or birth ; and it treats all who are content to live loyally under one flag as fellow subjects of one Sovereign, whose sceptre is the emblem of freedom and civilization. Under the ægis of that sceptre, the diverse races of India, who once robbed, murdered, and pillaged each other, now live in peace, and all who love peace and desire prosperity and contentment for the people must pray that this sceptre may long continue to reign over a continent to which it has brought so many blessings.

## THE PROPOSED LAW REGARDING THE ALIENATION OF AGRICULTURAL LAND IN THE PANJÂB.

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THAT society, in all parts of India, has an essentially agricultural basis is a fact sufficiently well known and recognised. Five-sixths of the population gain their livelihood by cultivation ; and more than that number derive at least part of their income from the land. It is owing to this circumstance that the revenue derived from land has always been the sheet-anchor of State finance, and that the principle of taking a share of the produce of all cultivated land for the Treasury, is so ancient in origin and has been so persistently maintained. The methods of this revenue-collection have, in the course of centuries, necessarily varied. The "share" was at first a fixed proportion of the crop ; at any rate, it was limited by a custom which was rarely or never infringed. But as time went on the State share became liable to increase at the will of the ruler (usually a conqueror) : it was afterwards also converted into a money equivalent, and this soon obscured the original relation of the rate levied to the customary "share."

When British government, with its ideas of consistency, and respect for law and for secure and defined rights, was established in the various provinces, an important change came over the mode in which the "land-revenue" was assessed ; and the position of the land-holders was affected accordingly. Perhaps I should rather say that new views of the land-holders' position were adopted, and that the mode of assessing the land-revenue varied accordingly ; but the two things are in fact inseparable. However it may be expressed, a far-reaching change was necessitated

by a new view of the relation of the State to the people and to the land.

It is a question of purely academic interest whether, by old Hindu law or *ancient* custom of the country, the King, Emperor, or State was regarded (in any practical sense) as the owner of all land. As a matter of fact, when once the rule was assumed and acted on that the Sovereign could fix (and increase at pleasure) the proportion of produce, or the substituted money-rate, which he took, and when the amount actually levied became so considerable that it equalled (or nearly approached to) the full rental value of the land held, it followed that the cultivators or direct possessors of land became, *ipso facto*, the mere tenants or "rai-yats" of the State. And all the later Governments (Moslem, Sikh, and Mahrātha) which directly preceded our own, claimed to be, or acted as, the virtual owners of all land.

Without going into any detail as to the history of British land-policy in India, it may be shortly stated that the British Government, having necessarily succeeded to all the rights enjoyed by the preceding Government, found itself confronted with the *de facto* rule that the State was the owner of all cultivated land.\* And the administrators of our first acquired province, Bengal, were led to regard this as objectionable in principle. Lord Cornwallis went so far as to describe it as "ruinous." Accordingly, in Bengal, and afterwards in all Hindustan or Upper India, the assessment of the revenue was (in one way or another) so regulated—by the proceeding known as a Revenue Settlement—that the State no longer took the whole rental, but left a valuable margin which, in fact, enabled a private proprietary right to exist. At the same time that right was recognised as residing in those persons with whom the settlement was made. In short, private property in land was either formally or inferentially recognised both in

\* \* This limitation is adopted because the State still retains its right to *waste* and *unoccupied* land not included in any private holding or estate. It is on the basis of this unquestionable right that our "Rules for the Lease of Waste Lands," as well as our Forest Laws, are established.

Bengal and Northern India. In Bengal (as afterwards in Oudh) it is well known that circumstances had left certain native chiefs, large revenue farmers, or land officers of the Mughal régime, in such a position as to induce their recognition as *landlords* over (often considerable) "estates," embracing a number of "villages"—by which term we indicate the primary groups of land-holdings in which cultivation was very generally, in the first instance, established.

In the North-West Provinces and the Panjâb, when the settlements came to be made (many years after the Permanent Settlement, of Bengal), circumstances were different: there the "villages" were mostly found to be in possession of joint bodies, sometimes consisting of the descendants (widely extended families) of an original founder, grantee, or a later revenue-contractor; sometimes consisting of the members of a clan, or of some expanding family group, or even of voluntary associates. But in all cases such groups were endowed with a power of cohesion; they were willing to be regarded as jointly responsible and as (in whatever exact sense) collective owners of the village area. Here, too, without issuing any formal title-deeds or legislative declaration of ownership, the village bodies were recorded proprietors, and entitled to share among themselves (according to their own constitution and custom) the valuable property which had a real existence now that the revenue demand was properly limited and fixed for a long term of years.

But in the extensive territories included in the "Presidencies" of Madras and Bombay, speaking generally, the villages were of quite a different constitution from those in the North, and under the circumstances the Government found it advisable to retain the title of supreme owner of the soil; it accordingly recognised the actual possessors or "rai-yats" as persons entitled to a permanent, hereditary, and alienable right of occupancy\* of "Government lands."

\* One reason for this was the desire to leave the "occupant" free to *relinquish* his holding (on due notice given) if he did not feel able to

But the "occupants" were so assessed that they had all the practical benefits of peasant ownership.

Thus, in all the chief provinces, the Government in effect, and sometimes in form, divested itself of the ownership of land. But whether a legal ownership or a permanent occupancy right was conferred on private persons, in either case it was (at the time) considered necessary (whatever other limitations might restrict the title) to leave the owner or holder free to alienate, permanently or for a term, his land or interest in land. Free, that is to say, except so far as any existing native custom, family law, etc., did not already restrain his acts. I may beg attention to this exception; something more will have to be said of it presently.

It is worth while to notice that all the time this policy of recognising private ownership (or something practically equivalent thereto) was being worked out and applied, it never occurred to any of the authorities as within the sphere of practical policy to ask, whether the old *de facto* ownership of the State should not rather be diverted to a useful purpose than (practically) abandoned altogether? Might it not be retained legally and in form, for certain beneficial ends, while the working profits and real benefits of a (fairly assessed) holding were left to the several classes—superior landlord, joint village body, or individual raiyat—concerned?

If the settlement of a land policy had to be considered all over again in our own days, it would probably occur to many to consider carefully, and to some to advocate warmly, a rule that the older State right should be retained as a *nuda proprietas* or formal ownership; the important, if only, effect of which would be that while private persons derived all the benefits of possession and enjoyment, they could not alienate the land itself. And it might further have been made conditional in the case of a

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discharge the revenue obligation. In these countries, exceptionally, there are landlords and holders of "inām," or revenue-free lands, who are owners.

(raiyyatwārī or) occupancy tenure, that the right of occupancy itself should not be sold, or mortgaged beyond a term of years. Nothing of the kind, however, was contemplated during the long years in which the land-settlements of Bengal, the North-West Provinces, Madras, or Bombay, were being elaborated. Not only then was there once an unquestionable opportunity for restricting the alienation of land—and at that time people were quite accustomed to the idea\*—but the opportunity was deliberately, and of set policy, let go.

It is well, however, to note, that some restrictions on alienation have in special cases long been in force. I need not take account of the early prohibition in Bengal against leases for more than ten years, for that was purely in the interest of the revenue, and was soon withdrawn. But from the first, the permanently settled Zamindārīs (1801-2) of Madras were granted on the express condition of non-alienation, and of the succession going on by primogeniture. This, of course, was in the interest of the great estates, and to prevent their being broken up into a number of peasant holdings. In Oudh also, some sixty-five years later, the landlords were encouraged to accept primogeniture; and alienation, though not prohibited, was fenced round with various precautions (Act I. of 1869). Alienation is also restricted by law, in the case of the North Bombay Talukdārīs, or landlords.

Nothing, however, has been hitherto attempted as regards the great and interesting class of (proprietary) village communities in the North-West Provinces, parts of Oudh, and the Panjāb, or as regards the (non-proprietary) village aggregates of severalty holders throughout Madras and

\* Under later native government, sale of peasant holdings was generally restricted, chiefly, however, because the conditions of assessment did not leave any saleable value to a holding. In other cases restriction was imposed in order that the Rājā or Governor might levy a round fee for permission to sell. But in general, I think, the upper classes, holding on any privileged or superior tenure, were alone able to sell, and did so, but not very commonly.



Bombay. The consequence is obvious: the land-holder soon found out that he could borrow as much as he pleased to the extent of his (new-found) credit. He was not slow to exercise his privilege, and that, naturally, on the security (direct or indirect) of his land, or his occupancy right, as the case might be. Now, although it is true that the villager's almost sole taxation burden, the land-revenue, is regulated strictly by the average yield or average paying power, taking good and bad years together, still, the cultivator does not (as once remarked by Sir A. Colvin) live by "averages." He spends in a good year, and lays up nothing. In a bad year (and, indeed, very commonly in other years) he has to take an advance of cash from the money-lender to meet the inexorable demand for his revenue instalment, to say nothing of his occasional abnormal expenditure on weddings and other family ceremonies, when feasting and giving presents is the equally inexorable demand of social custom.

As time went on, notwithstanding the general moderation of assessments,\* village holdings, at least in certain localities, became heavily encumbered. This occurred equally under all systems—the "raiyatwāri" of Bombay or the "village system" of North-Western India. Acts have been passed for the relief of ryots in the Dakhan and elsewhere; they have rarely had any pronounced or complete success.† Agricultural savings banks, had they been earlier invented and really widely encouraged, might possibly have played a great part in the progress of peasant society; that I must not attempt to discuss. But, as a matter of fact, indebtedness has locally increased, and with it, as a natural consequence, the deprivation of owners or occupants of peasant holdings. In other words, the loss of their independent livelihood by the agricultural classes,

\* This general description is quite justifiable, in spite of local cases of drawback or of mistakenly high assessment. .

† See my "Origin, etc., of Village Communities in India," p. 146, *et seq.* (Swan Sonnenschein, 1899)—a little book designed to give a short and more popular account of villages and their economy.

and the transfer of their holdings to money-lenders, traders, speculators, and other non-agriculturists, who are rarely or never good landlords, and are often non-resident, has become so prominent an evil—at least locally—that some remedy is loudly called for.

Those unacquainted with Indian society, and its divisions of race and caste, will hardly form an adequate idea of the strong attachment of the peasant classes in North India (I speak of these more especially, as I have so long lived among them) to their ancestral acres—acres derived from a well-remembered (and perhaps once noble) ancestor, or representing an allotment of clan-territory. They will also hardly realize how, in certain provinces or districts, the feeling on all subjects is rather tribal than national, and how the rule of marriage *in* the "tribe," but *out* of the "clan," tends to keep up this condition. Moreover, we must remember the influence of the joint-family, with its consequent joint succession of heirs male, which is a universal feature of agricultural society, although it differs in detail from the joint-family of the Hindu law-books. More easily readers in England will realize the hostile feeling, and the bitter, if smouldering and repressed, resentment, with which the money-lender, or the agent of the town investor, as mortgagee or purchaser of shares or holdings, is often regarded in a village. The mere fact that he may be a Hindu of a trading caste intruded into a Muhammadan community, or that (in any case) he is of alien caste to the agriculturist body, is enough to introduce an element of discord into the community life of a village, where that community has at all preserved its solidarity. And there is often a deep-seated grudge and hatred of a more personal kind, because the creditor has made his claim so much larger than the debtor (without accounts or proofs) thinks it should be. The agriculturist broods over the loss which he never fails to attribute to the way in which his repayments have been ignored, or (if in kind) undervalued, and the interest run up. And this feeling is

too often not without some justification, or at least excuse. In the course of my judicial work I have tried more than one harrowing case of murder of a money-lender by a "disinherited" debtor in the village; and I have known serious riots originating in attempts to wreck a money-lender's premises, and burn his books or bonds; the excuse being that he was unjust or fraudulent, and had exasperated the people. Even if these were extreme cases—to be looked on sternly rather than compassionately, the mere fact that communities, whose habits have been fixed by generations of agricultural descent and unchanging tradition, may be broken up; and that proprietors of a dozen generations may be reduced, piecemeal, to working as landless labourers on a pittance barely equal to supporting the family, or perhaps be driven from their home and compelled to leave the district altogether, is a serious evil. In this way the ranks of habitual criminals are only too likely to be recruited, while parties and factions in the different sections of the village become pronounced, and smouldering discontent is ready to break forth into violence at any moment. We may talk as we please about the safe rules of political economy, and about the necessity for letting natural economic laws operate and run their own course, but the ruin of any considerable section of our agricultural races, whether in North India, or any other provinces, would mean a political and an economic loss and danger, the full extent of which it would be difficult to foresee, but the reality of which it is impossible to overlook.

But when the desirableness of a remedy by legislation is considered, it becomes a difficult question to determine what shall be the area to which a law restricting the sale of lands should apply. When the subject of such a law *in posse* was first heard of in England, I think an impression got about that the intention was to make a general law applicable to all British India. A general law would almost certainly be a failure; to say nothing of the far

wider scope for misconstruction, and the more extended opportunity for agitation by interested opponents, that it would afford. The provinces are so different that, while subjects like the Criminal and Civil Procedure, Police, Excise, and Stamp Law, can be uniformly provided for, it would never do to treat questions of tenure and land-custom on equally broad lines. For one thing, there would be much variety of view on the part of the different local authorities; and a general Act would consequently be hedged about with so many drawbacks, exceptions, and qualifications, that it would rarely be intelligible, and would fail to effect any beneficial result, except perhaps to the pockets of the pleader or revenue-agent. As, however, we now know that a single province is at present to be legislated for, there is no need to pursue the subject.

But while the objections to a "general" Act may be dismissed, there is a danger in the opposite direction. It is possible that a too restricted scope for the experiment may still find advocates. The long and careful inquiry which has preceded the introduction of the new Land Bill has naturally shown that, even in one province, the evil has affected some parts more than others. The evils attendant on alienation are only locally acute—under a variety of conditions, physical, climatic, and racial. Fortunately, this fact can be allowed for without incurring the evil of a too restricted application of the law in the first instance.

To apply the law only to certain limited areas would surely encourage the money-lenders to leave the "closed" districts, and transfer their business to the nearest district where there was no restriction. And if that were done the agriculturist would suffer. It is not the object to deny the land-owner all power of borrowing, or to drive the money-lender away: for the normal functions of the latter are often essential to the working of a perfectly solvent village community. As the *Pioneer*\* well puts it, "The scheme contemplates nothing more than a moderate contraction of

\* *Pioneer (Mail)*, October 13, 1899.

credit, and makes adequate provision for the satisfaction of debts within this narrower margin of credit. Applied to a whole province, it may reasonably be expected to have this effect, as it is beyond the power of the money-lenders to boycott a nation." But they might easily "boycott" certain limited localities set apart by law as if they were plague-spots.

In applying the law to the Panjâb only, but to the whole of that province, the Government are certainly well advised; and all the advantages of any further localization that may be needed—without the disadvantages—can be secured in another way. It will be in the power of Government to *exempt* any person or class of persons, any district or part of a district, from the operation of the whole Act, or any of its provisions.

Under these conditions no province could have been more suitable for selection than the Panjâb. It may be of some interest to explain why this is so. In the first place, it is no disparagement to other countries in India to say that the Panjâb contains many of the hardiest and best elements of the whole agricultural population. Here (as I have already had occasion to note) the villages are in the "joint" form, and consist of aggregates of tribal, or of family, holdings, and the *personnel* is bound together by ties of blood or of custom, and acknowledges a certain solidarity. Moreover, in most cases the tribal stage of society has hardly passed away. In some parts we have perfect tribes with their clans, septs, or other subdivisions all complete; and village social life, as well as the customs of land-allotment, or distribution of shares, are based on a tribal constitution. Even when the whole organization of a tribe does not survive, the original tribal condition of races like the Jat, Gujar, Āwān, Ghakar, and Rājput, is not doubtful. We find marked distinctions of *tribal*, rather than *local*, custom everywhere acknowledged. In no part of our dominions would it be more disastrous to have the agricultural village system broken up, and "shares" bought up by alien classes of money-lenders and speculators.

And there is another reason. There is a peculiar appropriateness in applying the first (and necessarily tentative) law to the Panjáb, because here more perhaps than in any part of India the idea of a limited power of alienation is, in principle, familiar, and the object of the law is most likely to be properly appreciated. The conditions of village life and of family or tribal association have accustomed the land-owners to regard their holdings as, in some measure, what I may call (at least in a non-legal sense) a "trust,"—as something which they may enjoy and profit by during life, but which they should hand on unimpaired to their descendants. They are quite familiar with the idea that ancestral land is inalienable except in the case of real necessity; they are equally familiar with customary restrictions which are designed to prevent family lands passing beyond the circle of the male agnates. They also observe rules of pre-emption which—whether generally efficacious or not—have always aimed at excluding strangers; so that if land is sold it should go to a relative, or, at least, to a co-sharer of the same section, or, failing that, to one of the same community. These circumstances certainly afford a *prima-facie* prospect of success; and it is not from the population of the Panjáb that any real or intelligent opposition will come. Opposition (from interested sources) can of course be manufactured (to order) throughout India, on any subject whatever.

I said that this proposal was no new thing. For many years past local officers have reported on it, and have sometimes drawn sad pictures of the local condition of things, while giving expression to grave warnings of evil to come. No surprise, then, can be felt at the introduction of the present measure in the Legislative Council of India. The Bill itself is the result of cautious and minute consideration of the subject, and is in form and substance just what is wanted. It is short, simple, and perfectly clear. The text has been published (and will for some time continue to appear) in the *Gazette of India*, and is

prefaced by a brief and practical "Statement of Objects and Reasons" by the Hon. C. M. Rivaz, who is in charge of the measure, and is eminently qualified by long and approved experience to deal with the details. No sentiment is wasted on the occasion, no apologetic hesitations find expression. "The expropriation of the hereditary agriculturist in many parts of the Panjāb," writes the Honourable Member, "through the machinery of unrestricted sale and mortgage, has been regarded for years past as a serious political danger. It is recognised that the danger is accompanied with bad economic results, that it is increasing, and that if not arrested it will grow to formidable dimensions." Such is the fact plainly stated, and it is one which cannot be controverted.

As to the provisions of the proposed law itself, they will be found to be marked by the same straightforward good sense that the introductory statement gives evidence of. A complicated, half-hearted measure, abounding in drawbacks and exceptions, and hedged with timid provisos, would be certain to fail. The experiment, if tried at all, is one to be tried fairly and squarely.

The term "land" for the purposes of this law is of course defined: it does not include (to put it untechnically) house sites in town or village; it means land used for agriculture or pasture, or for purposes subservient thereto.

The persons to be protected are agriculturists (the term being defined), who are either owners or hereditary tenants.\*

The authority who will exercise control in cases of alienation, in the first instance, is an officer of the revenue administration, of such rank as the Act provides. In certain cases it may be any officer whom the Local Government appoints; in other cases of greater importance, it will be an officer not below the rank of a Deputy Commissioner (which means the Collector or chief officer

\* The "hereditary tenant," as distinguished from the contract tenant, or tenant at will, has a defined position under the Tenancy Law of 1887.

of a district) or some experienced person who is vested with the powers of such an officer.

Alienation is of course either permanent or temporary; and we may regard the leasing of land (which might be arranged at a nominal rent) as a form of temporary alienation which also needs regulation.

Every *permanent* alienation will require an official sanction; but in the first place, if the person alienating is himself a non-agriculturist, or if the sale is to an agriculturist (owner or hereditary tenant) in the village, or to one belonging to the same (agricultural) tribe\* in the district, then the alienation will be sanctioned as of right, without objection. Otherwise an inquiry will be made into the circumstances, and the officer will be able (subject to appeal) to grant or refuse the application.

But even if an alienation is made (privately and) without sanction, it is not—Section 10(2)—entirely void; it is proposed that it shall be recognised only as a *usufructuary mortgage* for a certain term (prescribed). There may be good reason for this, but I confess I do not see why, in view of the facility there will be (and the absence of all expense and serious trouble) in getting sanction, the unauthorized permanent alienation should not simply be void. If there be any *bonâ-fide* mistake, the transaction could of course be renewed (and would be under the circumstances), and then sanction could be asked.

Generally, land is not sold straight off; the creditor first allows an "account" to run up in his "books." When the balance mounts up, and circumstances are suitable (the money-lender is as acute in noting the state of his creditor as a barometer is to mark changes in the air), he demands that the "balance" (with future interest) should be acknowledged by a (simple) bond on stamped paper. Then in the proper time a mortgage of land is suggested,

\* A register may be prepared and kept up in each district, showing what bodies of persons are "agricultural tribes" for the purposes of the Act (Section 4). •



and a sale is only in the last resort (unless we have a case of "land-grabbing," or a real desire to buy up fields as an investment.)

As regards the process of mortgage, four forms of this transaction have been customary. Two are now properly disallowed; the others are maintained within due limits. (1) There is the simple or "English" mortgage, in which possession is not transferred, but the property becomes liable to sale on the expiry of the date fixed, if the conditions have not been fulfilled. This form of mortgage is allowed, but subject to proviso that, in the event of non-payment, the land shall not be sold, but given in possession under usufructuary mortgage for such term, not exceeding fifteen years, as the revenue officer shall determine to be equitable; and this mortgage is to subsist for such sum as is then determined (the Bill gives details as to reckoning principal and reasonable interest). (2) The hitherto common form whereby the mortgagee is put in possession, and is to take the produce or rent in lieu of *interest only (without account)*, will, most properly, become illegal altogether. So also will (3) the "conditional sale," even if it was made before the date of the Act. (This is known as *bai'-bil-wafâ*.) But such a transaction can on application be converted into an usufructuary mortgage for a term of years, as the equity of the case may suggest. The other mortgage (4) that is permitted (and will doubtless become the standard form) is that known to custom as "*lekha-mukhi*," where the mortgagee in possession is bound to *account for his receipts* periodically, and to set them against both interest (of fixed amount) and principal, so that in time the account closes and the land is free. This may be for a term of years not exceeding fifteen, after which the land is returned free of debt. It is wisely also provided (Section 8) that when *one* mortgage has been made (or a "lease), the owner is not at liberty to make any further temporary alienation of his land during the currency of such mortgage or lease." It is perhaps not quite clear whether this

refers to a second mortgage of the *same* land, or any other mortgage of his (possible) remaining land not yet encumbered. It will be observed, also, that no hypothecation of produce unreaped, or reaped and still at the threshing-floor, is allowed. In the case of a "lease," it may endure for the life of the lessor (up to for fifteen years, but not more). Such a lease requires no sanction. To these provisions is added the general one that land cannot be sold in execution of any decree of Court past or future; and that no instrument which contravenes the rules of the Act can be admitted to registration.

The Act closes with the usual provisions regarding the course of appeal, and for power to the Local Government to make subsidiary rules for giving effect to the Act, and regulating the procedure and powers of officers in the matter of applications for sanction.

It is not intended to pass this Act till next summer session, by which time everybody will have had ample opportunity to study the simple provisions of the law and to submit their criticism.

#### TEXT OF THE LAND BILL.

*Introduced in the Council of the Governor-General of India,  
September 27, 1899.*

#### A BILL TO AMEND THE LAW RELATING TO AGRICULTURAL LAND IN THE PANJÂB.\*

Whereas it is expedient to amend the law relating to agricultural land in the Panjâb, it is hereby enacted as follows :

#### PRELIMINARY.

I.—(1) This Act may be called the Panjâb Alienation of Land Act, 1900.

(2) It extends to all the territories for the time being administered by the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjâb ; and

3. It shall come into force on . . .

II.—In this Act, unless there is anything repugnant in the subject or context—

(1) The expression "agriculturist" means a person who, either in his own name or in the name of his agnate ancestor, was recorded as the owner of land or as a hereditary tenant in any estate at the first regular settlement :

\* The *Gazette of India*, September 30, 1899.

Provided that the Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, may, by notification in the local official *Gazette*, extend this definition so as to include any persons or classes of persons in any part of the territories to which this Act applies:

(2) The expression "district" means a district as defined for the purposes of the Panjâb Land Revenue Act, 1887 :

Provided that the Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, may, by notification in the local official *Gazette*, extend or restrict this definition in any particular case.

(3) The expression "land" means land which is not occupied, as the site of any building in a town or village, and is occupied or let for agricultural purposes or for purposes subservient to agriculture or for pasture, and includes the sites of buildings and other structures on such land ; and

(4) The expression "Deputy Commissioner" includes any person authorized by the Local Government to exercise the powers of a Deputy Commissioner.

#### PERMANENT ALIENATION OF LAND.

III.—(1) A person who desires to make a permanent alienation of his land shall be at liberty to make such alienation on obtaining the sanction of a Revenue officer.

(2) Such sanction shall be given in all cases where—

(a) The alienor is not a member of an agricultural tribe ;

(b) The alienor is a member of an agricultural tribe, and the alienee is an agriculturist holding land as owner or as occupancy-tenant in the village where the land alienated is situated ;

(c) The alienor is a member of an agricultural tribe, and the alienee is a member of the same tribe residing in the district where the land alienated is situated.

(3) Except in the cases provided for by sub-section (2), the Revenue officer shall inquire into the circumstances of the proposed alienation, and shall have discretion to grant or refuse the sanction applied for.

(4) In the cases provided for by sub-section (2), the application for sanction shall be made to such Revenue officer as the Local Government may determine. In all other cases the application shall be made to such Revenue officer, not lower in rank than Deputy Commissioner, as the Local Government may determine.

IV.—The Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, may, by notification in the local official *Gazette*, determine for each district what bodies of persons therein are to be deemed to be agricultural tribes for the purposes of this Act.

V.—Where a Revenue officer sanctions a permanent alienation of land, no right of pre-emption subsisting in respect of such land shall be taken away or otherwise affected by such sanction.

#### TEMPORARY ALIENATIONS OF LAND.

VI.—(1) A person may make a temporary alienation of his land by way of mortgage in either of the following forms :

(a) In the form of a usufructuary mortgage, by which the mort-

- gator delivers possession of the land to the mortgagee, and
- authorizes him to retain such possession and to receive the rents and profits of the land in lieu of interest, and towards payment of the principal on condition that after the expiry of the period agreed on, or (if no period is agreed on, or if the period agreed on exceeds fifteen years) after the expiry of fifteen years, the land shall be redelivered to the mortgagor, and the mortgage debt shall be extinguished :

Any condition attached to any such usufructuary mortgage by which any legal or customary obligation of the landlord in respect of the land mortgaged is imposed on the mortgagor during the currency of the mortgage, or by which the right of the mortgagor to redeem the property at any time during the currency of the mortgage is barred or restricted, shall be null and void.

- (b) In the form of a mortgage without possession, subject to the condition that, if the mortgagor fails to pay according to his contract, the mortgagee shall have the right to claim a usufructuary mortgage in form (a), but shall not have any other remedy against the land mortgaged : such usufructuary mortgage to take effect from the date on which the mortgagee is placed in possession of the land, and to remain in effect for such term not exceeding fifteen years as the Revenue officer, on the application of the mortgagor, may deem to be equitable, and to be for such sum as may be due to the mortgagee on account of the balance of principal due and of interest due (not exceeding the amount claimable as simple interest for three years on the original debt).

(2) If any person has, before the commencement of this Act, made a mortgage of his land by way of conditional sale, or shall, after the commencement of this Act, make any mortgage of his land not permitted by the Act, such mortgage shall be null and void :

Provided that the Revenue officer, on the application of the mortgagor or the mortgagee, may order the mortgagor to execute a usufructuary mortgage as permitted by sub-section (1) for the term of fifteen years, or for such less term as the Revenue officer considers equitable.

(3) Applications under this section shall be made to such Revenue officer, not lower in rank than a Deputy Commissioner, as the Local Government may determine.

VII.—Any person may make a lease of his land for a term of fifteen years if the lessor shall so long live, and any such lease made by any person for a longer term shall be deemed to be a lease for the term permitted by this section.

VIII.—A person who has made a mortgage or a lease of his land in any form permitted by this Act shall not be at liberty to make any further temporary alienation of his land during the currency of such mortgage or lease.

IX.—(1) If a mortgagee or lessee remains in possession after the expiry of the term for which he is entitled to hold under his mortgage or lease,

the Revenue officer may, of his own motion or on the application of the person entitled to possession, eject such mortgagee or lessee, and place the person so entitled in possession.

(2) The power conferred by this section shall be exercised by a Revenue officer not lower in rank than Deputy Commissioner.

#### GENERAL PROVISIONS.

X.—(1) No person shall be at liberty to make any permanent alienation of his land unless in manner permitted by this Act.

(2) Any such permanent alienation made without the sanction required by this Act shall take effect as a usufructuary mortgage on the conditions prescribed by Section VI., sub-section (1), clause (a).

XI.—Every instrument or agreement whereby an agriculturist purports to hypothecate the produce of his land or any part of, or share in, such produce shall be void.

*Explanation.*—The produce of land means :

(a) Crops and other products of the earth standing or ungathered on the holding ;

(b) Crops and other products of the earth which have been grown on the land, and have been reaped or gathered and are deposited on the land, or on a threshing-ground, or within the village in which the land is situate or the agriculturist resides.

XII.—No land shall be sold in execution of any decree or order, whether passed before or after the commencement of this Act.

XIII.—No instrument which contravenes the provisions of this Act shall be admitted to registration.

XIV.—(1) An appeal shall lie from the order of a Revenue officer granting or refusing sanction to a permanent alienation of land or dealing with an application under section VI.

(2) If the order is that of a Tahsildar or other Revenue officer lower in rank than a Deputy Commissioner, the appeal shall lie to the Deputy Commissioner ; if it is the order of a Deputy Commissioner, to the Commissioner ; if it is the order of a Commissioner, to the Financial Commissioner.

(3) Except as provided by this section, no proceedings shall be taken to question the validity of any order made by a Revenue officer under this Act.

XV.—The Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in Council, may, by notification in the local official *Gazette*, exempt any district or part of a district or any person or class of persons from the operation of this Act or of any of the provisions thereof.

XVI.—(1) The Local Government may make rules for carrying into effect the provisions of this Act ;

(2) In particular and without prejudice to the generality of the foregoing provision, the Local Government may make rules prescribing the Revenue officers to whom applications may be made, and the manner and form in which such applications shall be made and disposed of.

## BANKING IN INDIA.

BY HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD, M.A., BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

THE complete reorganization of the monetary system of India now in process of being effected by the Indian Government is the most important economical event in the history of that country.

The monetary system of any country comprises (1) the system of coinage, and (2) the system of banking and paper currency.

The Indian Government has already passed an Act to restore its ancient gold currency to India which it enjoyed for thousands of years, until on January 1, 1853, when by a single stroke of his pen Lord Dalhousie demonetized the whole of the gold currency of India, which was estimated to amount to £120,000,000, and for the first time silver became the sole legal tender throughout India.

But in 1864 the whole of India revolted against the silver standard, and earnestly requested that its gold currency should be restored to it, and that the sovereign should be made the standard unit. The Government has now at last taken measures to carry into effect the unanimous demand of the people of India in 1864, and therefore I need not further refer to it. It will, however, necessarily take some little time to complete this great operation, but when the gold currency has been established on a secure and permanent basis, the next thing to be done is completely to reorganize the system of banking and paper currency, which is in the most crude, barbarous condition, and utterly inadequate for the growing wants of the country.

The Indian Government has declared its intention of instituting a thorough and exhaustive inquiry into the whole question of banking and paper currency, and it is to be hoped that they will be very careful as to the selection of the persons to whom the inquiry is entrusted. So long as a country is in a stagnant state, and its industry is mainly

agricultural, a purely metallic currency may suffice for it. But the invincible objection to a purely metallic currency is that it is entirely inelastic. It may be compared to water used as a motive power; but when, on an established metallic currency, a well organized superstructure of credit is raised, it is like converting water into steam. "If you were ignorant of this," says Demosthenes, "that credit is the greatest capital of all towards the acquisition of wealth, you would be utterly ignorant," and this when credit was in its rudest and most undeveloped state, when it was no more to be compared with its organization at the present day, than the early form of the steam engine in Newcomen's day was to be compared with its development at the present day.

The great American statesman and jurist, Daniel Webster, said: "Credit has done more, a thousand times, to enrich nations than all the mines of all the world." And at the present time the power and progress in wealth of any country chiefly depends on the organization of its system of credit.

No more striking example of this can be given than that of Scotland, which is universally acknowledged to possess the best organized system of credit in the world. Upon a metallic basis of £5,000,000 is raised up a structure of banking credit amounting to about £100,000,000, and these banking credits produce exactly the same effects in every respect as an equal quantity of gold. It is no exaggeration, but a melancholy truth, that at the period of the Revolution in 1688, and the foundation of the Bank of Scotland in 1695, partly owing to such a series of disasters as cannot be paralleled in the history of any other independent nation, partly owing to its position on the very outskirts of civilization, and far removed from the humanizing influence of commerce, divided into two nations, aliens in blood and language, Scotland was the most utterly lawless and barbarous country in Europe. And it is equally undeniable that the two great causes of her progress in civilization and

wealth have been her systems of national education and banking.

Other countries when they wish to execute great works seek to borrow British capital. But the prodigious progress of agriculture and all the great public works in Scotland—roads, harbours, canals, railways, and others—have been executed by means of her own banking credit. Scotland never had to go beyond her own borders to borrow an ounce of foreign capital. What the Nile is to Egypt her banking system has been to Scotland; and it is fortunate for her that the foundations of her prosperity were laid broad and deep before the gigantic fallacy was dreamt of that the issues of banks should be inexorably restricted to the amount of gold they displace; that no increase of money can be of any use to a country; and before Mill had proclaimed to the world that to create credit in excess of specie is robbery!

Whenever the spirit of enterprise awakes in a country, either in commerce or industry, it is indispensable to create great banks with the power to issue notes to supplement metallic money. What is it that has permitted the prodigious development of industry and commerce in Germany in recent years? It is simply the creation of her stupendous banks.

India is now assuming a great position as an industrial and commercial country, and it is absolutely necessary to reorganize her whole system of banking and paper currency, which is, as I have said, in the most crude and barbarous condition, on the best European models. In the proposed reorganization of the banking system of India two plans have been suggested.

1. To institute a great State Bank with a capital about equal, and a constitution similar, to that of the Bank of England, which should absorb the Presidency banks, and establish a great dominant bank similar to the Bank of France.

2. To reorganize the Presidency Banks, enlarging their



powers, and to leave the development of banking free to private enterprise.

To the establishment of a great State Bank in India similar to the constitution of the Bank of England I am invincibly opposed. It is sufficient to say that the present constitution of the Bank of England is founded on a mass of dogmas which are utterly erroneous, and which in a series of commercial crises which have taken place since 1844 would infallibly have brought about the stoppage of every bank in the kingdom if the Act had not been suspended. It is absolutely certain that if a great commercial crisis took place in India with a State Bank founded on the model of the Bank of England, it would cause the stoppage of every bank in India, and make the Government itself bankrupt.

No doubt the Bank of England exists as a great fact, but its monopoly is utterly contrary to the fundamental principles of Free Trade. No other English-speaking race tolerates the existence of a dominant bank. Scotland from the very first energetically protested against a monopoly in banking. Her system of banking was freely developed by practical men of business, and was never interfered with by legislation till 1845, and it is universally acknowledged that her banking system is the best in the world, and the system of credit is more fully and perfectly developed there than in any other country.

The United States had a dominant bank, which by the testimony of the ablest American economists inflicted incalculable evils on the country, and was finally suppressed by President Jackson. Neither Canada nor Australia will tolerate a dominant bank—in fact, it is just as erroneous to grant a monopoly in banking to a single body of persons as to grant a monopoly of any sort of trading to a single body of persons.

It is impossible to give any account of the history of the monopoly of the Bank of England here, but it is sufficient to say that it has been the cause of millions and millions of

losses to the country, and already it is seen that the period of its dominancy is coming to an end, and cannot possibly survive the next great commercial crisis and monetary panic which is sure to come. I am happy to say that Sir Henry Fowler, in the Indian Currency Committee, expressed a hope that the debt of the State to the Bank of England would be paid off, and so leave the field clear for the reorganization of the banking system of England. It would therefore be a vital error to institute a system of banking in India which is doomed to extinction in England.

In my opinion, the only true system of banking to institute in India is to reorganize the Presidency banks, and to permit the free extension of banking by private enterprise. But whichever system be adopted, there is one thing indispensable—that there should be no limit imposed on the banks in their power to issue notes.

When, about 1809, the extravagant issues of the Bank of England had seriously depreciated the value of the bank-note, one of the measures proposed was to impose a limit on its power of issuing notes. But the Bullion Report, which is a great landmark in the history of economics, emphatically condemned the plan of imposing a limit on its power of issuing notes, because it said that there were times of commercial crisis in which it was indispensable that the bank should have the power of issuing notes to support houses which could prove themselves solvent, though their assets might be temporarily unavailable. This doctrine received universal approval from the highest commercial authorities. Sir Robert Peel said in 1819 that he would never consent at any period, however remote, to impose a limit on the bank's power of issue. Mr. Thornton, one of the most eminent bankers in London, and one of the authors of the Bullion Report, said in 1804 that if an Act were passed similar to what was afterwards enacted in 1844, it would lead to *universal failure*, and this was fully verified in 1847, 1857, and 1866.

The fact is that Sir Robert Peel had conceived the extraordinary idea that all commercial crises were due to the excessive issues of bank-notes, and that if he could only impose a limit on them, it would prevent commercial crises from arising. But Peel did not seem to be aware that the most terrible commercial crises and monetary panics in the last century took place in countries where there were no bank-notes at all.

Everyone who is conversant with the organization and mechanism of banking, into the details of which it is impossible here to enter, knows that imposing a limit on the issue of notes is no protection at all against the creation of excessive and unsound credit, whereas when a great commercial crisis takes place there is no possible means of assuaging it except by banks having the power to issue notes to support commercial houses who can prove themselves to be solvent, but whose assets are not immediately realizable. Amateur writers on economics and legislators who never had the faintest notion of the organization of banking have had bank-notes on the brain.

In the monetary crisis of 1855 I was in the direction of a bank, and circumstances came under my observation which have never been mentioned in any book nor in any discussion on the subject in Parliament, which showed me that the true supreme control of credit and paper currency is in the rate of discount. In 1856 I said in my work on banking that the true supreme method of controlling credit and paper currency is by adjusting the rate of discount by the *state of the bullion in the bank and by the state of the foreign exchanges*. This principle is now universally acknowledged and recognised to be true, and every bank in the world is now managed by this principle.

In the Committee of the House of Commons of 1858 which sat upon the great monetary panic of 1857, Mr. George Ward Norman, who was one of the keenest supporters of the Bank Act of 1844, acknowledged that the Bank of England found that this principle was amply sufficient for all their purposes.

At a meeting of the Political Economy Club, Sir John Lubbock observed to me that it was the greatest discovery of the age. As this principle is now fully understood and acted upon by all bankers, it is perfectly unnecessary to impose a limit on the issue of notes by banks, which was utterly condemned by all the highest authorities on banking at the time it was proposed, and the experience of the Bank of England since 1844 has shown that in times of commercial crisis it can only produce universal disaster.

The Indian Government has declared its intention of instituting a thorough and exhaustive inquiry into the whole question of banking. It has now a *tabula rasa*. It has the opportunity of instituting a system of banking to last for all time, and it is to be fervently hoped that it will carry out its declared intention, and that it will adopt that system which is proved to be the best by solid reasoning and ample experience.

It would be quite out of place here to enter into greater detail, which would not interest lay readers; it is sufficient to lay down certain broad general considerations. But if any person cares to go more deeply into the subject, I may mention that I have exhibited the whole of the scientific principles and organization of modern banking in my "Theory of Credit,"\* to which I may refer any readers who may wish for fuller information.

\* Publishers . Longmans and Co

## THE EURASIAN PROBLEM IN INDIA.

BY A. NUNDY, BARRISTER-AT-LAW.

ONE of the most difficult problems which the British Government will have to solve in the near future is that relating to the Eurasians of India. The question is daily growing in importance by the increase in numbers of those who belong to this community, and it will require most delicate handling. Claiming to be of the same flesh and blood as the ruling race, and at all events a direct result of the occupation of India by the British nation, they, with some show of reason, seem to think they ought to receive some special consideration and exceptional treatment. That they are loyal to the country from which they or their ancestors derived their birth may be admitted as a matter of course; in fact, they are proud of their connection, be it ever so remote. They have in times past rendered most valuable aid in upholding the power and prestige of the Government, and at present contribute very largely towards making up a volunteer force, whose services may be requisitioned in the event of any foreign aggression or internal disturbance. But of late there have been indications that a spirit of discontent is moving amongst them—a feeling that they are receiving, neither at the hands of Government, nor of non-official European employers of labour, that consideration to which they imagine themselves to be entitled. Some do not hesitate to assert that the Government is loosening the tie that binds them to it by withholding from them what they consider to be their just claims. It is thus quite within the bounds of possibility that they, without becoming actively hostile, may make themselves very troublesome and create a cause of anxiety to the Government.

So far back as 1860, Lord Canning, the first Viceroy of India, fully realized the peculiar significance of the

Eurasian problem when he wrote: "I can hardly imagine a more profitless, unmanageable community than one so composed as the Eurasians. It might be long before it would grow to what would be called a class dangerous to the State, but very few years will make it, if neglected, a glaring reproach to the Government, and to the faith which it will, however ignorant and vicious, nominally profess. On the other hand, if cared for betimes, it will become a source of strength to British rule and usefulness in India." And Lord Lytton, writing twenty years afterwards, recorded a minute in which, whilst deploring the condition of this community, he struck a warning note as to the consequences which would inevitably ensue unless some measures were devised to avert what he called "this great political and social danger." He drew the attention of the Local Governments to the question, and appointed a Commission in 1879 to report on the education of Eurasian and Anglo-Indian children, with the result that certain facilities were granted these classes for educating their sons and daughters, a sum of money being appropriated for that purpose by the Government. At the same time encouragement was given to an organization, in different parts of the country, of associations for the welfare of Anglo-Indians and Eurasians. What has been the outcome of these measures? It would be idle to disguise the fact that these remedies have failed to accomplish any good. The evil is more accentuated now than it was before. The education thus provided has to some extent been availed of, but the opportunities for utilizing this education have been limited. Lord Lytton had foreseen this difficulty, when he wrote: "We cannot hope that measures for the education of destitute European and Eurasian children will be successful, if they are undertaken without reference to the means of existence available for such children in after-life." Whilst, on the one hand the number of those to be provided for has very largely increased, on the other hand the education imparted to the natives has had the effect of ousting to a great extent the

Eurasians from that class of appointments which they had previously held; moreover, the Government has found serious obstacles in the way of making any special provision for them, and the non-official European employers of labour are showing a preference for men that are born and bred in England. As to the associations that had been started in various centres, they unfortunately failed to produce any good results. They had practically lost sight of the object, which ought to have been their chief consideration, that of consolidating into one community the divergent sections into which the Christians of European descent in India are divided, and had allowed questions of colour and position to influence their mutual relations. No serious attempt was made to infuse life into a community, not only indifferent to its own interests, but practically inert, and to stimulate it with a desire for self-respect, self-help, and mutual co-operation, so that by a combined effort there would be some chance of promoting the moral, mental and physical welfare of the individuals of which it is composed. Curiously enough, these associations gave indications of life only when their feeble efforts were put forward to resist what they considered the encroachments of the natives in their attempt at self-advancement and in their agitation for obtaining administrative reforms. As a matter of fact, those persons for whose benefit these associations were organized took but little interest in them. They were composed of a handful of members, most of whom thought they had done their duty when they had paid a small annual subscription, and as to any practical results, they might have been non-existent.

Before investigating the causes which have reduced the Eurasians to their present condition, it will be desirable to obtain a precise idea as to who these people are, and how it is they happen to be split up into so many sections and sub-sections. In the last census the number of Eurasians in India is given at 80,000, but at least 20 per cent. more may be safely added to this figure to represent the real

mixed population in India, for it is an undoubted fact that a large number of those belonging to this class took advantage of a fair but tell-tale skin to pass themselves off as pure Europeans. Taking into account the increase in their number within the last ten years, the Eurasians may fairly be reckoned at the present time at 120,000. A writer in Madras has under the authority of Government written a series of "bulletins" on anthropology. The last number of the *Museum Bulletin* contains an interesting account of the Eurasians. Mr. Edward Thurston thus describes the community: "In colour Eurasians range from sooty black through sundry shades of brown and yellow to pale white, and even, as a very rare exception, florid or rosy. The skin darkens with advancing age, and even among those with fair skins there remains a tell-tale pigment on the neck, knees and elbows, as also in the axillæ, the glands of which, as in the native, pour out under the influence of emotion or exercise a profuse watery secretion." In some cases, indeed, there is hardly any trace of the European to be found in them. Those which may be said to form the lower strata of the Eurasians are generally to be met with in Presidency towns, and in smaller numbers they are scattered over the most important cities of India, and are usually called "East Indians."

"East Indians" contribute perhaps much the larger proportion of the mixed population, and are the descendants mainly of Portuguese settlers, partly by marriage and partly by concubinage with native women. To these must also be added the descendants in the third or fourth degree of British soldiers serving the East India Company, some of whom made India their home, and contracted marriages more or less legal with natives. Their progeny in the first instance were, of course, Eurasians, but by inter-marriages with "East Indians" or pure Indians, the European blood diminished, till at last very little of it is found in the veins of the present generation. The condition of the "East Indians" is especially wretched—they find they



have no home, no ties to bind them to one country or another, and are fully cognizant of the fact that they are looked upon with contempt by the Europeans and shunned by the Indians. They bear European names, no doubt, and adopt a kind of European dress, and speak a corrupt form of a European language, but in their habits and mode of living they are strongly Oriental. They profess the Christian religion, but are most impartial in their devotions to deities of other religions. They will as readily illuminate their houses in honour of a Hindoo goddess, or make offerings to the *Tazias* in the Mohurram in adoration of a Mahomedan saint as they will burn a couple of candles to propitiate the Virgin Mary. That they have degenerated, and are degenerating still more every day, is an undoubted fact, and now in the words of the late Archdeacon Baly, one of the best friends this community has ever had, they have come to be recognised as "in the mass an immoral, pampered and unproductive class, too idle or too conceited to submit to hard work and practise an honest industry as unbecoming their European descent. It has so little of European energy and manliness, and approaches so nearly to the natives of the country in habits and mode of life, that except in the external profession of a different faith, and in the partial use of a different language and mode of dress, there is not much distinction between them."

The Eurasians, properly so called, are mostly of English descent, their male progenitors having come out to India to fill subordinate offices under Government, or in mercantile offices and railways, or it may be they were adventurers in search of a living. They settled in this country and contracted marriages in some cases with the better class of "East Indians," and in others with Indian women. Some of them no doubt are descendants of soldiers, who, owing to some fortuitous circumstance, have been prevented from sinking into the class of "East Indians"; on the other hand, there are not a few who can trace their ancestry to Europeans of high rank, who, previous to the existing facilities

for returning to and visiting their homes, were in the habit of forming connections with the women of the country, who to all intents and purposes took up the position of a wife, whether or not a legal ceremony of marriage had been observed. Indeed, if we look back to the past history of India, we will find the names of some most distinguished officers, civil and military, who belonged to this class, and whose sons and daughters, having received a good education, married pure Europeans, and thus transmitted their Indian blood to their descendants, many of whom at the present moment are holding a high position in Anglo-Indian society, but they would feel deeply insulted if anyone insinuated that there was any mixture of blood in their veins. The Eurasians taken as a class are undoubtedly on the increase, for they receive large accessions from the domiciled Anglo-Indians, who often contract marriages with them and become absorbed in them. By the Indians they are called *kiranis* (lit., clerks), which at one time accurately described their occupation, for their one aim in life seems to have been to procure clerkships, and to live and die in that capacity. Before higher education was imparted to the pure Indians, there was an ample field for the employment of Eurasians as section writers and clerks in various offices; but with the spread of education they came to be gradually ousted by the Hindoos and Mahomedans, who were found competent to do the same work on a much smaller remuneration. Fortunately for them, a very wide and extensive field of employment has been made available, which, though not very lucrative in all its branches, on the other hand, does not demand a very high education from those who join its ranks. The network of railways that is gradually spreading over the length and breadth of the land affords employment to thousands of Eurasians, who in large centres form quite a community of their own.

But what are the evils which have retarded the material and moral advancement of this community? The evils are many, and are far-reaching in their results. They may

be summarized and considered under the following heads : (1) The helplessness and indifference of the Government to provide some means of relief ; (2) the prejudice and dislike of the Eurasians on the part of the Anglo-Indians ; (3) the oversensitiveness, false pride and indolence of the Eurasian, and his hankering to Europeanize himself ; (4) the utter absence of any sentiment or desire for union amongst the members of this community, and their lack of patriotism.

1. *The Helplessness and Indifference of the Government to provide some Means of Relief.*—I have already indicated that the Eurasians have good grounds for asserting a claim upon the Government for a special consideration at its hands. Why, then, has it failed to discharge its duty in this matter ? To this various answers are given. Some would ascribe it to the indifference of the Government to the Eurasian, and hence it has been proposed to send a monster petition to Parliament, as if that would bring the executive to its bearings ; others point out its helplessness as the reason why it has been prevented from doing anything for this community. The truth lies between the two : the Government has been both helpless and indifferent. It is helpless, because it stands pledged to govern the country free from any favour or prejudice as to race, colour, or creed. It is therefore compelled to employ the fittest person, and there is no doubt whatever that the Hindoos and Mahomedans have more readily availed themselves of the facilities for education so as to qualify themselves for some of the best Government appointments. It is helpless, because with a limited exchequer it has to adopt a policy of economy, and to resort to the cheapest market for carrying on the ordinary work of administration, and it is needless to say the Indian supplies the cheaper article. It is helpless, because, though the Eurasian is standing at its door praying for help, he will not stir an inch to help himself. Perhaps this disinclination to self-help on the part of the Eurasian is the best justification the Government has for doing so little for his benefit. But, at the same time, the

Government cannot be altogether acquitted of the charge of indifference, for, unless it is prepared to own its administrative incapacity, how is it that it was not able to devise some plan for organizing Eurasian regiments, and thus utilizing a population sunk in abject misery and becoming more degraded every day? It is indifferent, because it does next to nothing to encourage technical education, so that the people of the country, whether Eurasians or Indians, may qualify for some at least of those posts for which men have to be brought out from England. It is more than indifferent, when it practically deprives the Eurasians of the privilege of holding a few good appointments in the higher grades of the Police, Public Works, Education, and other departments, preferring Englishmen nominated either at home or appointed by the Viceroy.

2. *The Dislike of, and Prejudice against, the Eurasian on the Part of the Anglo-Indian.*—It would not only be mere affectation, but it is really detrimental to their interests, for the Eurasians to close their eyes to the fact that the Anglo-Indians generally entertain a decided prejudice against them, and that there are many who do not hesitate to show it in their behaviour towards them. Unfortunately, these feelings are not confined to Anglo-Indians in any particular sphere of life, but pervade all grades of English society. The British soldier strongly objects to the Eurasian apothecary, and a few years ago the members of this community had almost this department closed against them, had it not been for remonstrances addressed to Government by the Calcutta Association. The merchants and tradesmen prefer to employ, as clerks and shopkeepers, Europeans whom they pay at a high rate. The planter selects as his assistant a young man of pure English blood. As to what goes on in the railway is no secret. A soldier who has taken his discharge is at once engaged at Rs. 60 or Rs. 70 a month to start with, whilst the Eurasian has been doing the same work for years, and has not yet obtained the same remuneration. Many a deserving

Eurasian has been passed over in civil employ because his superior officer had a prejudice to his class. The missionary societies in connection with the Church of England select for ordination either pure Indians or pure Europeans, and have deliberately refused to accept such as are of mixed blood. In the late controversy on the Eurasian Problem, in which the Anglo-Indians took a prominent part, one called the Eurasian "a lazy, helpless, useless lout"; another said "that he is wanting in self-reliance, pluck, honesty, and truth"; a third asserted, "if he is at all sharp, he is too sharp, and needs too much looking after; and if dull, then he is no use whatever." But it is not only in the struggle for existence that the Eurasian finds himself hampered by prejudice, but this feeling is evinced in a more pronounced form in private life; and if the truth were known, it is the fear of his being brought into closer contact with the Eurasian that often makes him act unfairly to members of this class. Ordinarily the two classes do not come into contact with each other, but there are some Eurasians who, by virtue of their position, are admitted as members of the club in Mofussil stations, and are thus thrown into the company of Europeans. Their experience is indeed humiliating: in most cases they find they are merely tolerated, there is no approach to intimacy, no disposition shown to arrive at such a friendly footing as characterizes the relations of two Englishmen towards each other. There is indeed a great gulf that divides the two classes, and it seems utterly impracticable to bridge it.

3. *The Oversensitiveness, False Pride, and Indolence of the Eurasian, and his hankering to Europeanize himself.*

—It would be idle to disguise the fact that the Eurasians themselves are responsible to a great extent for the deplorable position they are placed in at present. No doubt other causes beyond their control have contributed to this result, but for all that, they cannot be absolved from their own responsibility in this matter. The mass of the Eurasians are certainly poor, and therefore unable to give

their sons a good education ; but even in this respect the members of this community have made matters worse for themselves by neglecting the opportunities afforded them. Competition from all sides has been very keen, and in the struggle for existence they have met many reverses ; but has this struggle been carried on by them in such a way as to overcome some of the difficulties that have crossed their path ? When we take into account the fact that the Indian has first to learn the English language, and then proceed with his general studies, we cannot but be struck with the fact that he is either more diligent or has a greater aptitude for learning, since he is able successfully to compete in examinations with the Eurasian, who started with many advantages in his favour. The Indian climate is no doubt very trying and exhausting, but is it wholly responsible for the general impression that the Eurasian loves his ease, and would rather sit at home doing nothing than engage in work which he either considers not sufficiently dignified or remunerative, or not in accordance with his tastes ? Some thirty years ago a fairly large number of Eurasians were members of the executive and judicial services, or were heads of departments in various offices. Now in these offices only a few of them are to be found, fewer still in the executive, and none at all in the judicial. This is owing, to a great extent, to the fact that a knowledge of the vernacular languages is required for these services and offices, but the members of this community have sedulously abstained from learning these languages, with the desire to prevent anyone perceiving that there was anything Indian about them. Eurasians have been found, who pretended inability to speak the dialect of that part of India in which they were born and bred, or they speak it so badly that it would have been impossible to utilize them in a position where it was essential that they should be able at least to converse with freedom. And can it be honestly denied that there is a good deal of justification for the European employers of labour cherishing a low estimate of the Eurasian, and con-

plaining of his being lazy and wanting in diligence and perseverance? An Anglo-Indian post-master in the Mofussil once told me that on several occasions, when the superior authorities had sent Eurasian clerks to his office, his life had been made a misery to him. They were irregular in attendance, one wanted to go to a prayer-meeting in the evening before his work was finished, another to a cricket match, and a third to escort some ladies to the band-stand, with the result that the whole office was demoralized. Then, again, can the Eurasians be altogether acquitted of the charge of improvidence, due to some extent to their imitating the Anglo-Indians who are in better circumstances or more highly placed? The community, taken as a whole, is poor, no doubt, but even as regards those amongst them who are enjoying a substantial income, we find that their children do not receive a good education, partly because they have always lived up to or beyond their means, and have saved nothing, and partly that by the time a lad is sixteen or eighteen years old he thinks more of dress and society than he does of education. Many an English merchant in quest of a clerk on Rs. 30 or Rs. 40 a month fights shy of a young man coming to him dressed in the height of fashion, and rejects him simply because he suspects that he will live beyond his means, and may give way to temptation.

4. *The Absence of any Sentiment or Desire for Union, and the Lack of Patriotism.*—This constitutes a great hindrance to the advancement of the Eurasians, for not only is there an absolute indifference to the general welfare of the community, but we find a complete estrangement amongst individual members of it. We find one brother divided from another, and both from the sister, the father alienated from the son. And why? Because circumstances have placed them in different spheres of life. Thus, there is a complete disintegration of family ties and interests, and if this be so where the family is concerned, it can be imagined how absolute must be the estrangement in the case of strangers.

A Eurasian, as soon as he obtains a certain social position, proceeds to ignore the existence of those of his class who are not equally fortunate, carrying it sometimes so far as to avoid exchanging a word. The Bishop of Lucknow, in his annual address last year to the Allahabad Association, laid special stress on this matter. He said: "There are, I know, some men who, when they rise to a position, are apt to forget their origin and their domicile—apt to kick away the ladder up which they have climbed." There are thousands of well-to-do Eurasians scattered over India of whom it may be said, that their interests are centred in their self and in the immediate members of their family, who have joined no associations, and are altogether careless as to the poorer members of their community. Some years ago a general meeting of the N.W.P. Association was convened at Allahabad, and of the many that were invited only three attended, two of whom happened to be passing through during the Christmas vacation.

But the lack of patriotism in the Eurasian is an evil against the recognition of which he has deliberately set his face, whilst it is gradually undermining the whole fabric of his existence, and will surely in the near future bring about a serious catastrophe. The success of the Englishman is due to his indomitable energy and perseverance, his love of independence, and his patriotism, which is prominently developed in the American or Canadian, or Australian or South African colonist. Wherever the Englishman goes he is actuated by the one desire to make the country of his adoption a home to all intents and purposes, and by all the means in his power to advocate the interests of that country. And this characteristic is more strongly developed in his descendants, who are deeply attached to the land wherein they were born, and whose advancement and prosperity claim their first consideration. But what do we find in India? The Eurasian refers as his home to a country which his forefathers quitted for ever, and of which he possesses absolutely no knowledge, and is indifferent to.



the fate of that country wherein he resides, and which is to provide him and his descendants with a living. The Indian blood which flows in his veins should constitute a sufficient reason for enlisting his affections, but this is a fact which he altogether ignores. And even apart from this claim on him, he might make a virtue of necessity, considering how his own welfare is dependent on the prosperity of the country, and show some little interest in its affairs. But no ; the attitude he adopts is, " Perish India ! it is no concern of mine."

Is the condition, then, of the Eurasians utterly hopeless ? I think not. If they were to correct the failings which we have pointed out, and if the Government and the Anglo-Indian employers of labour do their duty towards them, there would be some amelioration in their condition. Let us consider what each can do towards this desirable end.

1. The eradication of race prejudice. . Let the Eurasian cultivate self-respect, and show the people around him that he is not ashamed of himself. Let him by his conduct impress upon the Anglo-Indian that, though not quite the same as what he is, the Eurasian is as good as he is. But what he does at present is this : he goes to the Englishman and says, " I am what you are, and——" Well, before he has finished the sentence the Englishman has laughed outright. The Anglo-Indian has a horror for affectation and the putting on of false appearances ; he would gladly concede the respect due to a Eurasian, but that the latter insists on making himself out what he is not. Nothing can do away with the fact that he is of mixed blood, but why need he be ashamed of this ? The higher castes of Indians are Aryans, and come from the same stock as the Englishman, who, by the way, is a product of a curious mixture of the Phœnicians, Kelts, Romans, Saxons, Danes, and Normans. Amongst the Eurasian grievances is one that none of their men are ever appointed as members of the Supreme or Provincial Councils. How can the Government nominate them when they take a pride, as it were, in displaying their ignorance

about India, and do not profess to be interested even in their own community? But with a more healthy sentiment pervading amongst them, it is certain the Eurasians would begin to take an interest in the land of their birth, and would adapt their studies and their aims in a different direction to what they are doing at present, as well as avoid those pitfalls and snares of improvidence, which they fall into by a close imitation of the Anglo-Indian.

2. Let the Eurasians cultivate a spirit of union amongst the members of their own community, and assert themselves as such, not acting as mere appendages to the Anglo-Indian. Let associations be organized at different centres, and branch associations at every large Mofussil station. Let fresh life be infused in those already in existence in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Bangalore, and Allahabad, and let deputations of two or three members go forth from these cities and hold public meetings, or interview prominent Eurasians in different stations, and thus secure adherents to the good cause. There is some talk of starting a Eurasian journal in Allahabad. Nothing could be better, for there is urgent need of this community being roused from its apathy by some home truths being told to it by a party whom they cannot suspect of bearing any ill-will towards them, and who will denounce in no sparing terms the failings of the Eurasian. And, indeed, it would be most desirable to have separate journals for each Presidency, so that local interests may not be overlooked. Within the last two years the existing associations have given indications of a certain amount of activity. But to start with, a blunder has been committed which will in the long-run be detrimental to the interests of the Eurasians. The name by which these associations have hitherto been known was Eurasian and Anglo-Indian Association, but the Calcutta Association first started the idea that it was desirable to drop the term Eurasian, not only as applied to it, but as regards the Eurasian himself, and call him Anglo-Indian. As was to be expected, the proposal was actively resented by the *bonâ-fide* Anglo-Indian, and a certain

amount of plain speaking was indulged in by both sides. Notwithstanding these mutual recriminations, the proposal was adopted. The other associations were appealed to. Bombay, where the Portuguese element strongly predominates, accepted the Calcutta suggestion; Madras wisely refused; Allahabad cannot make up its mind one way or another, and has deferred the consideration of the subject. Thus, by one stroke of the pen the dark-skinned Eurasian of Calcutta and Bombay has been converted—at least in name—into the white-complexioned European. What was the necessity of this change in the name which a community has borne for a long period? It was said that some Anglo-Indians and a larger number of Eurasians, who, on the strength of a fair but tell-tale skin, were desirous of passing themselves off for what they were not, refused to join associations that were styled Eurasian. What has been the net result? The names of a few Anglo-Indians and a few Eurasians, who were ashamed of themselves, have been enlisted, but for all practical purposes it has done the Eurasian community no good, whilst it has subjected it to a good deal of unnecessary ridicule. Advertisements that used formerly to be worded, “No Eurasian need apply,” now appear in the form, “None but pure Europeans need apply.” The planter or merchant, when he receives an application from an “Anglo-Indian” writes back to inquire if he is a pure European. The traffic manager of a railway, when applied to for the post of a guard or driver by one bearing this dubious title, takes good care to satisfy himself as to the identity of the individual. Thus, the Eurasian by posing as an Anglo-Indian does not benefit in any way, but by entering into a partnership with him is likely to do himself harm. Each class has its separate interests and its separate grievances; the aims of the one are naturally higher than the aims of the other. If the demand of the Anglo-Indian Association is conceded by the Government, and men for the higher appointments in the Police, Public Works, etc., are more largely recruited in India, the Eurasians will not necessarily benefit by this, for they will

be quietly ignored ; and if non-official European employers of labour respond to the appeal addressed to them, there is not the slightest likelihood of the restriction " No Eurasian need apply " being removed. The single-mindedness of some of the Anglo-Indians in their desire to associate the Eurasian in a joint agitation is not very convincing. There are no doubt a few who are actuated by good motives, others are notoriety-hunters, and others, again, have the shrewdness to perceive that by themselves they have neither the right to expect any sympathy nor to assert any demand. They came out to this country in the different services, or in the railway, or as merchants, or barristers, and will leave India as soon as they are entitled to a pension or have earned a competence. Some of these would like their sons, who have failed to do anything in England, to be provided for, and with the influence they possess they sometimes succeed in their endeavours. But they feel they cannot assert any substantial claims, hence their desire to combine with the Eurasians. At the same time, they do not care to be associated with anyone calling himself a Eurasian ; they have therefore tried to wheedle those who belong to this class to drop their obnoxious name. The number of domiciled Europeans in India is comparatively small, and of the lower class of them it may be said that some have married Eurasians and become identified with them ; and as to others, they are thrown into the society of members of this community, and in the next generation or two will become absorbed with them. It is the non-domiciled Anglo-Indian, and the higher class of those which are domiciled here, whose interests are not co-ordinate with the Eurasians, and association with whom can do this class no good. Of course, the sympathy and advice of men like Bishop Clifford and Justice Knox will always be valuable, but for any active work that has to be done the Eurasians must depend on their own exertions, and those of the leaders chosen from their own community.

3. The establishment by Government of technical and industrial schools. Government is open to the charge of

having done so little to encourage technical and scientific education. Having regard to the number of railways, factories, mills and mines that are being opened, a large field of employment is available to the Eurasian, if he were qualified; but not being so, it is at present appropriated by imported European labour. If the necessary training had been given, hundreds of Eurasian youths who are now almost destitute would have been provided for; but it seems as if it were the deliberate policy of the Government, just as it buys stores in England which might be had cheaper in this country, to perpetuate the employment of English skilled labour, to the detriment of those born in this country. This is undoubtedly a matter in respect to which associations of all communities might combine, to start a vigorous agitation, and bring pressure to bear on the Government to create facilities for obtaining a good technical, artistic, and scientific education, to encourage the pupils by offering rewards and prizes to the most deserving, and by giving them employment, if declared efficient, and, lastly, to form at different centres museums, by which the public taste might be cultivated and information diffused.

4. The removal of restrictions to promotion from the provincial to the Imperial service. The division into two services has struck a serious blow to the Eurasians. Formerly a good many men at the present moment holding appointments in the higher grade of the Police, Public Works, Educational, and other departments were promoted from the subordinate grade. Now a hard and fast line has been drawn, and no Eurasian can expect any advancement, however efficient he is, or what meritorious service he has rendered. Surely an experienced inspector of police may reasonably be expected to make a more efficient head of the district police than a raw youth who knows nothing of the people, their language, or their habits. The Engineering College at Roorkee has produced some very capable men, but it appears to be the deliberate aim of the Government to reduce it into a second-rate institution, so as to draw all its officers for the Public Works Department from

Cooper's Hill. Of course, if the Eurasians, who are the chief losers, choose to sit quiet and do nothing, they need not grumble at their position. They must not only agitate, but qualify themselves to meet the demand there is for skilled labour. If duly qualified, there is every hope that they will meet eventually with justice both at the hands of Government and the non-official employers of labour.

5. The organization of Eurasian regiments. After making full allowance for those who may be able to secure appointments under the Government, in the railways, or elsewhere, there will still remain a large number of Eurasians who have to be provided for. What can be done for them? Various schemes have been propounded, but have not been acted on, as they were found to be either unsuitable or impracticable. Bearing in mind the result of the attempt at Eurasian colonization in Whitefield in the Madras Presidency, we may dismiss the scheme of hill settlements as one possessing too many difficulties to be attended with success. The Eurasian has neither the desire nor the experience and physique requisite for a farmer on a small scale, ready to put his hand to the plough if necessary. There is no room, either, for emigration, which has been suggested by some. Recent events have shown how strictly the colour-line is drawn in the colonies, who would without doubt object to and disallow Eurasian immigration. There then remains only one other alternative, that of organizing Eurasian regiments. This is a very vexed question, which has already been decided adversely to the Eurasians, but the Government must see that this class is daily increasing, and that their destitution is still more on the increase. The highest authorities have predicted that, unless something is done to relieve them, they will become a source of anxiety. The Government has therefore to face this difficulty, and resort to the only remedy available, that of organizing a number of Eurasian regiments. Surely our statesmen will be able to remove any obstacles to the achievement of such an important object.

## EXPLOITATIONS IN UGANDA.

BY HAROLD BINDLOSS,

Author of "In the Niger Country."

THERE have been issued two important Parliamentary papers\* dealing with this comparatively newly-opened region, the report on the Uganda railway by Sir Guilford Molesworth, K.C.I.E., and Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald's account of his expeditions into the surrounding territory. Even glanced at superficially they demand attention, but the interest is deepened to those who, knowing how the Englishman lives, and too often dies, in tropical Africa, can read between the tersely-written lines, and realize at what cost this extension of dominion has been won for us. The story of the Uganda railway would make a romance in itself, as would that of many a similar undertaking carried out successfully in spite of heat, starvation, and fever, and afterwards recorded in brief official terms. But this work was done with precaution and foresight, and therefore without needless loss of life—some there must always be—for the sick were skilfully tended, and it thus compares favourably with other railways in the tropics whose every sleeper was laid in blood.

It may be taken as an axiom in many parts of Africa that one railroad is far better than either troops or gun-boats (which latter on the East Coast station cost some £110,000 per annum) for the putting down of slavery, while without it the advent of the white trader only encourages the hateful system. The reason for this is plain. The slaves formerly shipped overseas in dhows from Muscat were after all a minority, while wherever the European sets up his factory there is need of means of transport between the hinterland and the coast, for merchandise travels long distances in Africa. To all intents and purposes there are no roads. Beasts die on the West Coast of

\* Parliamentary Papers, Africa, Nos. 5 and 9.

something akin to fever, on the East of the tsetse fly, and the head of the *tenga-tenga* man is the only means of replacing them. Therefore, as most negroes despise laborious work, the inland, and unostentatious, slave trade keeps pace with the extension of the white man's commerce. In West Africa this is also the case, and a caravan of 9,000 men once entered a certain town with merchandise for shipment from a British port near by, many of whom were slaves. Now, one locomotive will do the work of scores of porters, especially in sterile regions where each man must carry many days' rations as well as his load, and by killing the demand naturally ruins the trade.

Further, traffic into Uganda was almost crippled by the fact that it took nearly three weeks to traverse a foodless region, so that if the donkeys which carried the commissariat died, as they generally did, the *ulendo*, or expedition, came back helpless. The railroad which will change all this, and much more besides, was commenced at Mombasa in December, 1895, and the initial difficulties can only be thoroughly realized by those who know the tropics. There was neither shelter nor food available for the swarm of subordinates and labourers imported largely from India, speaking many different languages, and often antagonistic to each other. There was neither wharf nor jetty, an indifferent harbour, and in the heat of the tropics, intensified by the distressful steamiess which hangs over the edge of the sea, material had somehow to be landed on an open beach and dragged up a steep incline. Then the worthless and drunken were weeded out—and we read there were many of these—cranes, houses, hospitals, and workshops had to be built, and with infinite difficulty a commissariat established, while the port was presently moved to Kilindini, on the further side of Mombasa Island.

Next it was necessary to construct a temporary wooden bridge a third of a mile long to the mainland, and shortly afterwards the Rabai range rose across the path, where the



constructors were forced to practically double the track, laying a temporary one with sharp curves and heavy grades to bring up provisions and materials for the builders of the more level permanent one. Indeed, this expedient was necessary throughout much of the way. About the fiftieth mile the rails ran into the Taru desert, where there was less grading; but a desert in Africa is by no means always a level waste of sand. Instead, much of it is covered with dense, dwarf forest, laced and bound together by many kinds of thorns, and it is necessary to enter such a waste to form even a faint conception of it. Every growing thing seems contrived especially to lacerate the human flesh, while so closely is the whole bound together that only an axe or machet may open a passage. Further, the stuff when hewn down will seldom burn; thus, treble labour is necessary to pile it clear of the track, while nothing eatable can be found in it.

Again, through all that country there is a dearth of water fit for use in boilers, much less for drinking, and special tank-trains had constantly to be run. Indeed, when one reads how in this place it was charged with bitter salts, and in another merely liquid mud, one wonders how it was possible to keep steam on the locomotives at all, or save the labourers from destruction. Water in the tropics is a treacherous article. There are streams in West Africa of which if a horse drinks he dies, though to human beings they are innocuous, and the reverse at times holds good. Then, for some reason good water when stored in tanks occasionally develops unsuspected properties, and decimates a camp with dysentery. Thus, as was to be expected, more sickened of such diseases than fever, and it is a high testimony to the medical skill that thrice the number did not perish. Fever, too, from the same reason, was less fatal than usual in such undertakings, although the total of suffering was sufficient, and that it is trying to work in blinding heat or the still worse suffocating damp of the tropics when shaken by malaria, the

'writer can testify. One's head aches intolerably, there is a racking pain down the back and in every joint, while to remember things in their order is exceedingly difficult; indeed, he can recall trying to pay coloured labourers some £50 in British currency, and taking all day to count it. This is at a blood-temperature of about  $102^{\circ}$ ; when it rises to over  $104^{\circ}$  or  $105^{\circ}$  the sufferer's troubles cease, for he either dies off quietly or lies still in a blessed indifference to pain and surroundings.

Later arose the difficulty of transport from rail-head to the advance parties, in which camels, mules, oxen, donkeys, died off as imported; in one expedition, for instance, one returned out of 120, while an unfortunate contractor lost three lakhs of rupees, and out of 130 camels and 140 bullocks saved only 15, half-dead. The humble "jigger" also crippled the human carriers and coolie labourers, and there seem to have been some 15,000 of these, while, without tracing its genealogy, the writer may mention what he has learned from a personal acquaintance with the pernicious insect. Throughout much of tropical Africa, if you walk with uncovered feet, even in tent or house, you will probably find a curious tickling follow, most likely under the big toe-nail—that is to say, if one is lucky. Then the wise man gets a negro skilled in such matters to take the tiny intruder out with knife or needle, while if this is neglected or impossible, burrowing deeper presently it swells, and a numerous progeny eat their way through the foot until the latter rots away. You may see negroes often with only the stump of an ankle left, and the writer has been told, though he has not witnessed it, that the jigger invades other portions of the body as well.

There was next a stretch of uncovered, rolling desert, utterly devoid of food, to traverse in the Athi plains, while all the time the varying level rises from the coast to the heights of the interior, until some 350 miles from the sea a ridge 7,800 feet above tide-level has to be crossed, and a precipitous dip negotiated into a rift 2,000 feet deep,

which, extending far north and south, divides the Kikuyu and Mau escarpments, the latter rising some 3,000 feet above it. Here for a time at least rope-inclines perforce will be used. Then there is an abrupt slope down to the journey's end on Lake Victoria. So malaria-swamp, impenetrable scrub, mountain ridges, scorching plains, and the fluted sugar-loaf escarpment—for such the twin heights appear in profile—had to be surveyed and crossed with mostly untrained labourers, many sicknesses fought with, and sometimes armed raiders, too—perhaps one of the most difficult pieces of rail-laying attempted in the world. Yet between December, 1895, and December, 1898, 256 miles had been laid, at a cost of some 1,500 men of all colours dead or invalided, though perhaps the most difficult work remains yet to do.

Even when the steel highway is finished to the waters of Victoria, it appears, commercially speaking, very doubtful whether we shall ever get our money back. With the exception of the Singo highlands and some other uplands, the country is evidently unfitted for European colonization; that is to say, the majority of white men will more readily find a grave than a home in it, and the others exist as it were upon sufferance. The rivers, too, which elsewhere serve as channels of communication, are here rather huge obstacles, for many are choked with papyrus and forests of giant reeds impassable by canoe, and often unfordable by carriers, so close are their nine-foot stems. Then there is the labour difficulty, for the Waganda and their offshoots are scarcely adaptable, and an ever-present trouble in finding food, the banana fried half-ripe, or made into flour, being practically the only thing available, and we find it recorded that all provisions for the 15,000 railroad men had to be imported. It is curious that while banana flour is largely made by these unskilled semi-savages the writer once found a white man in the Canaries who had spent much time and money on all kinds of costly appliances, and failed to satisfactorily produce it.

• Still, the coolie may perhaps colonize Uganda, and once established there on an outlet from the heart of Africa, even if we fail, as we probably shall, to settle white cultivators upon the soil, we may hope to set up a great mart for British goods, and gather in equatorial produce, which would otherwise gravitate westwards through the Congo State. It has been proved elsewhere that when the market is opened wholly unexpected customers flock in, while, strange to say, distance seems no object to the slothful African. At least, it is so in other parts of the Dark Continent, for the negro even more than the Bantu seems born with the trading instinct, and from almost unknown regions, passed often through many hands, merchandise flows in.

Then there is the moral side of the question, the suppression of slavery, the letting in of civilization, and the establishment of even justice, which the British, though somewhat egotistically and often blunderingly, accept as their special mission. There is evidently need for the latter, because between the Soudanese mutineers who until recently appear to have run riot over the country, Moslem raiders from the North, and predatory intertribal wars, the state of Uganda has not been a happy one. Also—surprising, perhaps, to those who have not seen the same thing elsewhere—the work of the officials in attempting to maintain the Pax Britannica has been further hampered by the preachers of peace, because the missionaries' adherents of different faith, besides hating each other with a deadly hatred, occasionally coerce the heretical or collect proselytes by force of arms. This is unfortunate, but I know much the same appertained in the Niger country, where, as in Uganda, Protèstant and Roman Catholic alike by disputes, which are often more than wordy, bring discredit on a common Christianity. In both regions the mutual recriminations have almost a ludicrous side, especially in Uganda, when one party declares it has made twice the number of converts the other has, and the latter answer

that the said converts were incorrigible thieves and drunkards they had turned out of their fold. To those who cared to follow it, and remembered Justinian, a recent newspaper correspondence must have proved an interesting object-lesson. And meantime through much of dark Africa, one and indivisible despite its wrappings of superstition, the faith of Islam steadily advances, teaching at least sobriety, and more or less skilled industry. It has struck the writer, among keener observers, that the missionaries often fail by reason of what some of them glory in—the casting out of fear, because the negro seems as yet hardly fitted to grasp the idea of doing well for the love of it, and a grim, sword-hilt religion, with its *lex talionis*, makes a finer man of him. It is also little use sending him a man whose only qualifications are zeal and allegiance to the doctrines of his particular sect, for even the naked heathen discriminates, and looks for moral power or personal bravery. Failing to discover these, he classifies his would-be teacher as a “white bushman,” sometimes, I regret to say, with a forcible British adjective and the word “low” in front of it.

Much light has been thrown upon the lesser-known region surrounding Uganda proper by the work of the expeditions under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdonald, especially that northwards by the great Lake Rudolf towards the Abyssinian border. Here again the lack of food and the native cultivator's insecurity of tenure are made manifest, while the story is chiefly that of a grim race with starvation, and a running fight by unfed men with the physically splendid Turkana, who stalked them through the undergrowth or tried to storm the midnight camp, fighting on occasion with desperate gallantry. Well it was for the white officers that they had good men from the fighting Soudan, and loyal Swahilis to follow them. In fact, in spite of its cut-and-dry record—for the Government does not encourage sensational writing—the account of the starving column limping at last into Ngabato, with the last ounce of rations exhausted, to find the relief expedition

had not arrived, and how stubbornly holding on with a twelve days' march ahead they met it the same day, form a thrilling narrative.

Another expedition starting to Latuka, partly in the hope of joining hands with the Egyptian forces viâ Sobat and the Nile, penetrated the mutineers' country and territories partly ruled by Moslem potentates. Here again food could not be found, and men starved and sickened on rations of ground-nuts. They were further soaked in drenching rain, the equatorial deluge which, coming down in solid sheets, hurls the mould into the air, scrambled and hewed over mountain-sides and through bamboo jungles. During the march there was the constant prospect of trouble with the late mutineers, and Captain Kirkpatrick sent out with a survey party was treacherously murdered, after which a hard battle was fought. This northern region would seem to be overrun with well-trained soldiers, who have set up petty kingdoms of their own, Emin's men, old Egyptian soldiers, mutineers from the British service, and some Dervishes, while apparently its subjugation would be most difficult.

Indeed, the more one investigates the present condition of the region about Uganda, the stronger is the conviction that the few white men have entered a hornets' nest. Still, more difficult things have been done than its setting in order, and it is gratifying to find that some of these splendid banditti are tendering allegiance to the Government again. In Africa, at any rate, the warrior-robber, who has seen the error of his ways, if ruled with a strong hand makes an unexcelled policeman. That is why on the West Coast our black constabulary are largely recruited from Moslem semi-raiders of the hinterland, who proved at Bida and elsewhere that they will fight to the death beside their new masters. The tribesman of this kind seeks diligently for the strongest and boldest leader.

During the whole of these expeditions the officers were forced to curious expedients to purchase donkeys, which

where available replaced the "human carrier" as a transporter of commissariat. However, as the murderous tsetse confines its operation to the region nearer the coast, goats, sheep, cows, and bullock-skins were the medium, six donkeys being the value of one cow, and one donkey representing ten sheep. The rupee has been lately introduced as a means of currency, but so far with small success. Britons abroad often do curious things, and there is a ludicrous side of the matter when one reads of an army officer setting up as a connoisseur of donkeys. Still, there is no doubt he did it thoroughly, with the conscientious attention to details, and not so much adaptability to circumstances as the power of forcing circumstances to adapt themselves, which characterizes the British colonizer the world over.

The last march of the split expedition to the help of the starving column returning from Lake Rudolf forms a splendid story, of the collection of food in spite of almost unsurmountable difficulties, and fighting a way through the fastnesses of savage ranges, where every chief conspired to throw obstacles in their path. Shot at by poisoned arrows, rushed by spearmen, storming caves and barricades, crossing an apparently unscalable range, they held on, and at last, fording the Wei Wei River amidst the wildest enthusiasm, met the starving column they had faced so much to help. One likes that phrase "wild enthusiasm"; it shows the real human nature through the concise simplicity of the Government report, in which no man tells how much it cost him to do the thing. That appeared desirable, so we did it, he says; another was murdered, and we buried him.

The moral of the whole is that Uganda and its surroundings is not the kind of place one would recommend rash emigration to. All the way from Lake Rudolf to Mombasa its inhabitants have apparently much difficulty in feeding themselves; indeed, of late they have died like flies of famine, and the even worse sicknesses that follow.

There is also, perhaps, a danger of trouble with the Abyssinians, for bands of their predatory horsemen periodically raid it, and Menelik's Christian warriors are clearly foemen of the very grimmest kind, as evinced by the awful Italian defeat at Amba Alagui. Still, with the help of the sturdy Soudanese and the faithful Swahili, in due time we shall doubtless establish some degree of order and prosperity there; while lying as it does in the fairway between Rhodesia and the Egyptian Soudan, it forms an important link in the chain of British influence—we were going to say territory—which is extending from Table Bay to Alexandria. Whether Egypt and the Transvaal will eventually be permanently welded in, too, as yet it is premature to say.



# MOROCCO: THE MOGADOR CONFLICT, DECEMBER, 1899.

BY ION PERDICARIS.

A SHEREEFIAN FIRMAN, MARCH 1, 1879.

"By this present Edict we publish, by the grace of God, and confirm the powers accorded by our ancestors—may God have mercy on their souls!—to the foreign representatives at Tangier, which powers we hereby authorize them to exercise, to wit, to admit or refuse all vessels arriving at the ports of our empire, to declare quarantine against them, and to determine its duration according to sanitary regulations.

"The exercise of these functions by the foreign representatives, who are more familiar with and better qualified to administer such sanitary laws than others, is strictly limited to the sea, and does not apply to the land.

"The delegations of these powers by our forefathers to the foreign representatives is an evident proof of the friendly regard of the latter, and shows the pains they take on behalf of our subjects.

"Under the Imperial seal of the Sultan Mulai el Hassan."

A MOST gracious and reasonable epistle, as the reader may observe, but, alas! the good Sultan, Mulai el Hassan, is dead these five years since, and with the advent of the boy Sultan, Mulai Abd-el-Aziz, who in all things is guided by the advice of the Grand Vizir, Ben Mūsā, the relations existing between the Sanitary Council, referred to in the above rescript, and the Moorish authorities, are not only less cordial than in those days, but have reached a stage which threatens not merely the efficiency of the Council, but its very existence.

Early in this year, 1899, urgent representations were made to the Mekhazen, or native Government, to forbid for the present the annual departure of Mohammedan pilgrims for Mecca, in view of the likelihood of the outbreak of the plague either at Mecca itself or on the route traversed by the pilgrims. Such a measure had been adopted on former occasions, but this year the Moorish Government declined to accede to the suggestion.

Some hundreds of pilgrims from different parts of Morocco consequently embarked, and before their return cases of plague had already occurred at Jeddah, the port whence the Hajis re-embark on their return journey. The Sanitary Council thereupon decided that all travellers arriving from foul or suspected ports should undergo quarantine on the small island at Mogador, which had hitherto been used for this purpose on similar occasions. The island in question is not especially well adapted to the requirements of a quarantine station, since it is situated too near the mainland and to the town of Mogador itself, so that evasion is not impossible, as the natives are good swimmers ; still, it is the only available locality where it would be possible to isolate the occupants without employing a considerable armed force. Unfortunately, this very circumstance had led the Moorish authorities to select the site for the establishment of a prison, where a large number of unfortunate political captives were already confined. The demand for its cession was at first categorically refused.

The returning pilgrims would soon arrive. There was but little time for prolonged negotiations between the Council at Tangier and the Grand Vizir at Morocco City, as it requires quite one month for an answer from the capital, even when it pleases the dilatory natives to give their immediate attention to official despatches, and all that could be secured was the unwilling concession of the unoccupied portion of the island, far too limited an area ; and, besides, it would be impossible to isolate cases owing to the crowded prisons close at hand, and the constant communication between these and the town which could not be controlled. Some of the more energetic among the foreign representatives at once proposed a joint naval demonstration off Mogador, and the occupation of the island by force, if it should not be immediately vacated and the prisoners be removed.

The various Ministers consulted their respective Governments, but the replies were uncertain, and there was no

unanimous resolution. Fortunately, the Russian Minister, who had just returned from Morocco and had been received with especial attention as the first representative directly accredited by the Tsar to the Sultan of Morocco, wrote a friendly but emphatic letter urging the Sultan to accede to the demands of the Sanitary Council, a course advised by other European counsellors nearer at hand, and at the eleventh hour the Mekhazen very reluctantly conceded the use of the entire island, and ordered the removal of the prisoners, many of whom had already died of diseases consequent upon overcrowding, filth, insufficient nourishment, or simple starvation, thus outrageously anticipating His Imperial Majesty's orders.

This was in May last, the period when the foreign Ministers generally absent themselves on leave. On this occasion two only, the Italian and the Spanish Ministers, remained at their posts, but the latter, Don Emilio de Ojeda,\* is, fortunately, one of the most strenuous defenders of sanitary interests, and chiefly at his suggestion it had been decided, before his colleagues took their departure, that each foreign Government should advance a sum of 10,000 francs to temporarily equip the Mogador lazaretto. In this way a sum of 70,000 francs was procured, which sum, it was assumed, would ultimately be reimbursed by the Sultan's Government. It was further agreed to purchase disinfectants, stoves for the disinfection of clothes, and to have temporary shelter erected for the pilgrims on their arrival.

The chiefs of the various other legations thereupon gracefully took their departure, leaving their secretaries to carry out these instructions.

Early in June Dr. Cortes, the physician of the Sanitary Council, accompanied by a force of some thirty infirmary

\* Monsieur de Ojeda's reputation is not confined to Morocco ; he has held, among other important posts, that of Secretary to the late Hispano-American Peace Commission at Paris, and is an accomplished littérateur and an admirable linguist.

attendants and artisans to erect the stove-sheds, etc., started for Mogador.

The Moorish officials assert that no communication was addressed to the native authorities at Morocco or to the Governor or port authorities at Mogador, and that the expedition, disregarding every form of courtesy or official etiquette, proceeded to take possession of the island, and to erect the stoves and sheds which they had brought with them without the permission of the native Government.

The Moorish authorities, both at Mogador and at Morocco, who realized that sooner or later they would be called upon to pay for this expense, a quite unsolicited outlay and activity, were all highly indignant. Whilst most unfortunately the foreign Consuls at Mogador, although they had been duly informed, by their respective legations at Tangier, of the measures to be executed, were also unfavourably disposed, and complained that the sanitary physician, Dr. Cortes, who was in command, did not call upon them, nor solicit their good offices; prior to commencing operations. As a matter of fact, Dr. Cortes, on his arrival at Mogador, was informed that a vessel crowded with returning pilgrims was expected in a few hours, so that he was obliged to remain on the island to hurry all preparations; but, as soon as he was free to do so, he called on the French Consul, who was the doyen of the consular body at Mogador.

These Consuls, it should be explained, are mostly resident merchants, and as such were opposed to the island being used as a lazaretto, fearing that its proximity might prove prejudicial to trade and to the shipping interests generally. This opposition of the Consuls has, indeed, been always an awkward feature in the question, but it is especially to be regretted that the Moorish authorities should have been allowed to utilize it at this critical juncture as a weapon against the Sanitary Council. As to the assertion of the Moorish authorities, that they had not been duly notified, this is absurd in face of the fact that both Dr. Cortes and the President of the Sanitary Council had, before the expedition left Tangier, called on the Sultan's

delegate Minister of Foreign Affairs at Tangier, to whom the object of the expedition had been fully explained, and this delegate Minister, Haj Mohammed Torres, the official medium of communication, himself gave them a letter for the Governor at Mogador.

Notwithstanding these precautions, the Moorish authorities at Mogador, disregarding the instructions received at Tangier concerning the cession of this island as well as the letter from Sid Torres to the Governor, proceeded to remove, by armed force, the material landed at the island, and ordered Dr. Cortes and the employés of the Sanitary Council to withdraw. This outrageous violence and discourtesy to the Sanitary Council, composed, as it will be remembered, of the chiefs of all the foreign diplomatic missions at Tangier, could scarcely have occurred at a more embarrassing moment, as shortly afterwards the outbreak of the bubonic plague at Oporto was announced, and between Portugal and the coast of Morocco there is frequent communication, owing to the fishing boats and other Portuguese sailing craft which visit these ports. The country was thus threatened by a new danger calling for greater vigilance and increased sanitary precautions, at the very moment when the only body competent to protect Morocco from the invasion of this dread disease was, by the stupid and malevolent action of the Moorish authority, deprived of all power to contend with difficulties, to deal with which it would require all and more than all the resources at the command of the foreign representatives.

The plea by which the Moorish Government attempted to justify its subordinates, in a somewhat insolent despatch to the representatives at Tangier, was that the cession of the island as a quarantine station had been a merely temporary or conditional measure, and that the erection there of buildings or other works without prior authorization from the Moorish Government, would constitute a definite occupation, and that the Shereefian Government would resist, if necessary by armed force, any such attempt. The despatch further reminded the foreign Ministers that they

had frequently of late exceeded their powers in other respects, thus adding gravely to the gross offence already offered at Mogador.

It is, perhaps, difficult to exaggerate the importance of this incident, although some of the foreign Ministers, on their return from their summer leave, affect to make light of it, and seem even disposed to justify, to a certain extent, the Moorish authorities by blaming those who remained at their post, and especially the *chargés d'affaires* who, in the absence of their chiefs, were left to deal with such serious responsibilities, without time or opportunity for prolonged negotiations. It seems, however, to the writer that any considerations which tend to exonerate the Moorish officials only increase the importance of this comminatory incident, and that for the foreign Ministers to tolerate, collectively or individually, such an ignominious *fracasso* of their official prestige would be a grave indiscretion.

For the moment the Sanitary Council employed the only retaliatory measure by which they might hope to ward off the invasion of the plague, by telegraphing to Jeddah and all suspected ports that any vessels embarking pilgrims or other passengers would be refused admission to all Morocco ports, and fined £5 for each and every passenger whom they might attempt to land.

Thanks to this energetic decision, we have thus far escaped all contact with the sources of contagion.

The essential points to be considered are, first, the urgent necessity for quarantine protection in a country like Morocco, where it would be quite impossible to isolate individual cases or to carry out any house-to-house inspection, owing to Mohammedan customs and the inviolability of domiciles, which absolutely prohibits such precautionary measures; whilst the general indifference or fanatic fatalism of the natives adds an insuperable difficulty, should the disease be once introduced into towns, like most of those in this country, where the filth of ages is generally allowed to fester with undisturbed carelessness as to the consequences, since the devout Mohammedan argues that if the

plague should break forth, it is God who so wills it, and that to interfere with His decrees would be a blasphemous outrage upon the supernal administration.

It is, in fact, quite wonderful that the intervention or establishment of a European Sanitary Council should ever have been admitted, and, still more, that its extension by delegation to a quasi-municipal organization, composed of resident foreigners and Israelites at Tangier, should also have been more lately tolerated.

In the first instance, indeed, the latter body was presided over by a Moorish delegate, who, however, ultimately withdrew, nor has it since been possible to secure the attendance of any native official. Still, the Hygienic Commission, known to the Moors as the *Tindif*, is not only allowed to collect a tax on the slaughter-house, which tax is applied to sweeping and paving the streets, and also to building or repairing drains, etc., but the authority of this Commission is generally recognised by the Moorish officials, so that minor police powers are occasionally exercised with the support of the local authority.

The Commission also supplies antidiphtheritic serum, and also vaccine, gratis to the community, and has, moreover, now procured the Yersin serum in case of the appearance of any symptoms of bubonic plague, of which thus far there has been no indication whatever. Besides all this, the Commission pays for the electric lighting of the principal streets and for the interment of dead animals, whose Moorish owners allow them to lie unmolested where they may have fallen.

The reader will therefore realize how important to the mixed community of Tangier and the coast towns of Morocco are the functions exercised, directly or indirectly, by the foreign representatives, either as members of the Sanitary Council or of the Lighthouse Commission, which latter administers the light at Cape Spartello, to the west of Tangier, and the road leading to the lighthouse, a handsome building erected by a French architect at the Sultan's expense, but which is maintained by the following Powers :

Germany, Austria, Belgium, Spain, the United States, France, Great Britain, Italy, Portugal, Holland, and Sweden and Norway.

When it is remembered that, in addition to their normal diplomatic or political duties, every legation also exercises judiciary functions, its members constituting a tribunal to which the subjects of the respective Powers are amenable, it will be seen how varied and important are the responsibilities and obligations of the Ministers and Consuls-General accredited to the Sultan of Morocco, but who reside in Tangier.

None of these various functions, however, expose the foreign representatives to such harsh and adverse criticism, or constitute, on the other hand, such undeniable proof of their disinterested and unselfish devotion to the public well-being, as those entailed by their position as members of the Sanitary Council, over which each chief of a mission presides in turn for a period of six months. It is therefore earnestly to be desired that some *modus vivendi* regarding the Mogador lazaretto may be established. The matter at present is in the hands of the Italian Minister, who is now at Morocco City, where he in his turn has gone to present his credentials to the Sultan—somewhat tardily, as Signor Malmusi has now been in charge of the Italian Legation for nearly three years.

Unfortunately, questions of collective or general interests are too frequently sacrificed in favour of the special demands of the legation directly concerned, to which claims each Minister, on his occasional visits to the Court, devotes his utmost energy of persuasion or menace, as the case may be; and as the Mekhazen has learnt by repeated experience that questions which concern merely general interests, entail neither naval demonstrations nor other forms of constructive coercion, whilst, on the other hand, the neglect to satisfy even the least important or most monstrously unjust demands on behalf of the subjects or native protégés of the foreign Powers leads to serious trouble, it naturally follows that questions of the gravest



importance affecting trade, commerce, or sanitary interests are too often relegated to the Ides of March.

As in the present instance the most important of the outstanding Italian claims has just been satisfactorily settled (I refer to the purchase of the *Bashir*, the small armoured cruiser ordered in Mulai el Hassan's reign from Messrs. Orlando, of Leghorn), possibly the road will be more clear, and Signor Malmusi more at liberty to devote attention to the important case entrusted to his care.

With regard to the present Italian Mission, which, like the Russian, is one rather of courtesy than of any political importance, it is amusing to observe the comments of the Continental press, and especially of the Paris papers, with their fierce intimations that Italy must remember that there are only two Powers to whom Morocco can be of any concern or interest, viz., Spain or France—a piece of quite uncalled-for and swashbuckler bravado, intended, evidently, more for England's ear and for Lord Salisbury's especial attention than for the Quirinal.

It is clear from other utterances that France is still hoping for some compensation for the Fashoda incident, here in Morocco. Has not the *Temps*, together with other accredited organs of French opinion, plainly declared that should England succeed in adding to her domains the two South African republics, France would assume the position of paramount power in Morocco? It is difficult to see on what ground, or how the extension of English law throughout Southern Africa could injure the interests of other nationalities. As a matter of fact, the failure of England to maintain her supremacy there, would probably prove more dangerous to the independence of Morocco than would England's success, as nothing would so excite and stimulate French colonial zeal as some irreparable blow to English prestige.

It will be well, therefore, if both English statesmen and Moorish officials will bear in mind the great advantage which France's conterminous Algerian frontier would afford, should France deem it desirable to exert

pressure on the Sultan's Government. It is also wise to realize the personal element at the French Legation, where the term of Monsieur de Monbel's occupancy is drawing to a close, unfortunately, perhaps, for Moorish peace of mind, since we shall lose a most capable diplomatist of the class by whom France was more frequently represented in former times than at present, a man of a just and courteous disposition, of excellent family, and large means, a most notable sportsman, well known at Chantilly and on the turf elsewhere, and, above all, a most charming companion. Whilst the pace at the Tangier Legation is likely soon to be forced by younger men of another type, not less able, perhaps, but certainly likely to be less conciliatory and patient in dealing with the exasperatingly evasive native officials, with whom Monsieur de la Martinière, during his archæologic explorations had already, in former times, come into sharp collision long before the appointment of this distinguished young savant to the post of Consul-General and first Secretary of the French Legation at Tangier, had been contemplated.

It must therefore be admitted, if we take into consideration Monsieur de la Martinière's somewhat hasty disposition together with the present arrogance of the Moorish officials generally, and especially the extraordinary self-sufficiency of the Grand Vizir, just now flushed with his facile success in repelling the salutary intervention of the Sanitary Council at Mogador, that we have not far to seek for the elements of a wholesale conflagration.

It may be generally premised that the longer any foreign representative remains in Morocco, the less is he likely to initiate any departure from established precedent. On the other hand, as each new arrival enters upon his duties, the greater is his confidence in the possibility of improving the antiquated procedure, which so urgently demands some infusion of hopeful energy; but, alas! even a short stay at one of the Tangier legations seems too often sufficient to transform the newcomer into a hesitating valetudinarian, who, having apparently abandoned all hope of any improve-

ment, quietly succumbs to the constant checks and pin-pricks, to which the slightest display of any desire to initiate the most obviously essential modification at once exposes the would-be reformer. Thus it comes to pass that in exact proportion as a Minister learns what should be done, does he become incapable of acting at all, contenting himself with the paltry satisfaction of merely hindering any attempt on the part of his colleagues to accomplish what each has tried in his turn, and where each, in his day, has been thwarted by the spirit of petty international or, worse to say, even personal jealousy.

The situation would not be so distressing as it is, could any improvement be hoped for from the native administration, or if the Moors could be induced to accept the advice of the more capable amongst the Europeans in the employment of the Sultan, some of whom might have saved the Shereefian Government from many an *impasse* which has exposed Morocco to serious danger, involving subsequent humiliation; but the native views on all economic questions are so hopelessly wrong that it seems quite impossible to hope for any amelioration. For instance, they imagine that were the exportation of cereals allowed, subject even to an export duty, the country would be left without a sufficient supply for home consumption; that the export of horses, which is absolutely forbidden, would only benefit possible foes, and that the value received would rather be injurious to established order than beneficial, since the tribesmen, could they but afford the luxury, would arm themselves more effectively, and the standard of revolt be more frequently raised. But it is unnecessary to add to the list of offences against reason and good government of a land, where the native authorities often refuse to allow the grain, which encumbers the ports of the more bountiful provinces, to be shipped to neighbouring towns where the poor are suffering from scant supplies and from starvation prices. It is almost needless to observe that no Government, which should consider the reduction of its population to a condition of pauperism, as the only policy consistent

with its own security, could exist in any but an Asiatic or Mohammedan community, and yet the strangest feature in the situation is the fact that, were the Sultan's Government involved in a war with even the most humane of the foreign Powers, it would be undoubtedly supported by this same oppressed and ill-treated population. It is perhaps this very consciousness which may seem to the Mohammedan rulers of this country to justify them in their own retrograde and exclusive policy, and which makes them doubt the value of the advice of any European. The Sultan's Government might, however, do well to reflect that if Europeans do not always understand the conditions which affect the native mind, they do realize those which will influence the final action of European Governments, should the latter be forced by Moorish obstinacy to adopt a more coercive policy.

Speaking of European advisers reminds me of an interview published not very long since in the *London Times*, wherein Kaid Maclean, formerly an officer in H.M.'s forces stationed at Gibraltar, but who has now been for many years in the employment of the Shereefian Government as military instructor, gave some very interesting information concerning the Sultan's army of some 40,000 men; but the impression of military experts is that, notwithstanding the admirable quality of the Moor as a fighting unit, it would require many years still of European discipline and a much better organization than is possible under native officers before these forces would be able to meet on equal terms a European army corps of similar numbers, notwithstanding the intelligent devotion of Kaid Maclean and his untiring zeal, qualities which were highly appreciated by the late Sultan Mulai el Hassan, and which have even won such half-hearted confidence as the present Grand Vizir accords to those whom he least dislikes. It would be well indeed if Ben Musā would more often consult his subordinate, and it would be well, also, if English merchants and manufacturers would also take to heart the advice tendered to them by the gallant officer, who urges his

countrymen to study the conditions of the native markets, and to show more readiness to adapt their goods to the requirements of purchasers. But when Kaid Maclean tells us that English trade with Morocco is falling off, he is, unfortunately, not speaking quite by the book, since the last consular reports show, on the contrary, an increase both of British imports into Morocco and of exports from the Moorish ports north of Mogador of £71,320 in 1898, as compared with the returns for 1897, whilst German imports and exports at the same ports for the same period show a decrease of £28,830. Possibly the returns from Mogador, when received, may tend to alter the difference in favour of Germany, who of late years has proved the most serious competitor of Great Britain in Morocco.

There is no doubt that German commercial travellers are more active than those representing British firms, whilst not only are German manufacturers more ready to meet the local requirements of customers in countries like Morocco, where poverty and ancient customs have been long allied, but the freights asked by German steamers are lower than on English lines, and the service, so far as care and punctuality in delivering goods, far superior. Indeed, it is mortifying to admit that merchants and residents here often have to complain of the frequent delays in the receipt of goods from England, and that sometimes packages disappear altogether, and are either lost or stolen in transit. Another serious local grievance is the defective management of the English Post-office at Tangier, a branch of the Gibraltar Colonial Post, and therefore, most unfortunately for us, not under the control of St. Martin's-le-Grand, nor is it subject to H.M.'s Legation at Tangier; for Sir Arthur Nicolson, whilst one of the most considerate chiefs, would not tolerate such a lax and inefficient service, due chiefly to the absence of properly trained English employés. I may add, in this connection, that Sir Arthur is the only chief, past or present, of any legation whose name has to my knowledge been mentioned by the faithful, during

the mosque services, with mingled praise and gratitude for the equal justice displayed alike towards Christian and Moslem.

With regard to the effect here of the war in the Transvaal, I regret to say that, owing to the unfair tone both of the Spanish and the native Gibraltarian journals, the feeling is distinctly anti-English. The more ignorant among the natives, and even some of the better-class Moors, imagine that the adversaries who have dealt such heavy blows are the South African blacks, and it is perhaps felt to be some compensation to the punishment of the Khalifa's forces at Omdurman, that the negroes of South Africa should have inflicted checks upon the English arms, the seriousness of which even the English themselves admit, whilst by the Continental papers, whose echoes reach the café and the bazaar, their importance is grossly exaggerated.

The rulers of Morocco will do well to carefully watch the course of events to the close, when they may perhaps discover, from this terribly costly object-lesson in international political economy, that it is not merely trade prosperity alone which follows the path of unrestricted commercial facilities, but that security from invasion is subject to similar conditions, and that in exact proportion to the spirit of selfish exclusion shown by the nation or community is the danger of subjection. Let Morocco realize that trade and commerce are the master forces of modern life—forces which will not always tolerate the independence of those retrograde and ignorant communities, who are neither able to develop the natural resources under their control, nor willing to learn from others who might, if allowed, sweep aside the stupid restrictions which convert into a desert of woe and despair a land, that requires only the magic of intelligent administration to be transformed into a paradise, a land literally flowing with milk and honey, and with hidden stores of copper and silver and gold also, wherewith to pay the piper.

## ST. HELENA IN THE PRESENT TIME.

BY HIS EXCELLENCY R. A. STERNDALE, GOVERNOR OF  
ST. HELENA.

I AM afraid my readers will not find St. Helena in the present quite so interesting as the quaint details of "ye olden tyme" given in my former paper.\* We do not hang and quarter, burn, and flog in the way that used to give a zest to the humdrum existence of insular life in those days. That was a condition in which it is fortunate that history does not repeat itself. I have a more pleasing picture to draw of the time since the emancipation of the slaves, a measure which was initiated by Sir Hudson Lowe during the period of Napoleon's incarceration in the island. As Sir Hudson Lowe's character has been so often drawn, as that of an over-severe and unsympathetic gaoler, it is pleasant to turn to his philanthropic endeavours to ameliorate the condition of the slave population, and in so wise and far-seeing a manner that when, some years after, the full effect of it was realized, the baneful results of sudden manumission which were experienced in the West Indies were not apparent in St. Helena. The first step he took was to free the coming generation, and after much deliberation he induced the slave proprietors to agree that after Christmas Day, 1818, all children born of slave parents should be free.

The cause of the parents was still further advanced by General Alexander Walker, who became Governor in March, 1823, and who made great efforts to improve their religious and moral condition, and to fit them for their full emancipation, which, at a cost of £28,000, took place in 1832. It may take some generations to eradicate habits of dependence and indolence which are the hereditary outcome of so long a period of serfdom, but education has told, and is telling, on them, and, as Melliss writes of them:

"They are a very quiet, tractable, inoffensive people, amongst whom crime is small, murder unknown, and burglary so little thought of that doors

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\* See April, 1899, pp. 345-352.

and windows of houses are not secured by bolts and bars, or even locks and keys."

I can confirm this, for during twelve criminal sessions, over which I have presided as Chief Justice, on all except two occasions have I received white gloves. Civil litigation is common enough.

They are kindly disposed one to another, showing much sympathy in sickness and trouble, and are courteous to strangers, who are generally much struck by this, and by the comparative purity of the English spoken by them. Their faults are lack of energy in overcoming difficulties, and their proneness to accept a failure as a finality—take, for instance, vine culture. I remember in years gone by splendid grapes in St. Helena, but the vine disease was introduced and the vines perished, never to be replanted. The same thing happened in Madeira, but the people there took heart and tried again, and with success. It is a common story in St. Helena, "Oh yes, I remember such and such things when I was young, but they died out long ago."

That lemons were common in the island is proved by the many places, such as Lemon Valley, Lemon-tree Gut, etc., being called after this fruit, which is now extinct and has to be imported from abroad. And with peaches, the same story of the good old days—no finer peaches to be seen anywhere, but now from ungrafted, unpruned, in every way neglected trees, miserable, worm-infested crops of worthless fruit are gathered.

Providence has been kind to the coffee-tree, which still flourishes and bears abundant crops of excellent coffee of the old Mocha stock, but for all the care that man takes, it might have gone the way of the grape and the peach. I, who have seen the care, the pruning, manuring and hoeing of coffee plantations in India, have never ceased to wonder at the generosity of the St. Helena tree, which often bears its white starry blossoms whilst the pickers are gathering the ripe fruit. There is much land now devoted to pasturage which would yield a better return under coffee cultivation,



but there is the drawback of scarce and dear labour ; however, this might be overcome. I have shown that the tree does not require so much attention as in India, and the picking can be done by girls at sixpence a day, supervised by women who get a shilling. Ordinary labourers' wages have now gone up from two shillings to half a crown a day, owing to military and other works in hand. I had an idea that tea would grow well, not so much for export as for island consumption. Some years ago, whilst inspecting the Lawrence Asylum at Ootacamund, I found that the boys were drinking tea which they had grown on the estate, and had made up at a neighbouring factory for a few annas a pound (I think two annas). I saw no reason why the poor of St. Helena should not be able to buy tea at sixpence a pound, grown in the island and made up at a small central factory. That tea will grow is proved by the existence of some China plants which were introduced in the time of the East India Company. In 1896 I tried the experiment, having taken out with me a native of India who had been for nine years an overseer on a tea estate in Assam. I got some tea seed and reared a number of plants, but in the meantime I had to return to England, and whilst there to recall my tea-planter, and on my return I found that the rabbits had devoured my young tea seedlings, and so ended an experiment, which cost me nearly a hundred pounds. But still I feel inclined to try again under my personal supervision. But whatever experiments are tried in the starting of any industry, they should be tried by those who will devote the whole of their time, labour, and money to it, as a tea or coffee planter does, when he goes out to India. Land is not dear here—the average price of estates lately sold has been from £10 to £15 per acre—but as the culturable area is limited, it does not often come into the market. As I said before, much valuable land is now kept solely for pasturage, which would, if highly cultivated with coffee, yield a much better return. That island coffee is now in demand is proved by the fact that, having sent away last month a barrel

of coffee from the Government House plantation as a sample to Messrs. Lewis and Peat, coffee brokers, of Mincing Lane, with a view to ascertaining its quality, I discovered that I could not purchase any island coffee from other sources, as the whole stock had been bought up by the contractors for the troops, Messrs. Solomon and Co., who kindly let me have a little for my own consumption. It was only the other day I was pointing out to some friends, who had lately arrived, some coffee-trees on an estate, which had been allowed to run up from 12 to 15 feet in height; they looked the picture of health, and were bearing freely, but ought to have been pruned down to about 4 or 5 feet.

In 1869 the Government attempted to introduce cinchona, but without much success. A nursery was farmed under the supervision of a skilled gardener sent out from Kew, who raised about 10,000 plants from seed, of which about one half were put out on the slopes of Diana's Peak; but the experiment was discontinued in 1870, by Admiral Patey, who came out as Governor with instructions to reduce expenditure, and in the retrenchments which ensued, the gardener from Kew was struck off. From that time the cinchona-trees were left to shift for themselves, and now there are probably not more than 150, some of them fine ones and fairly healthy. At the present time, the cultivation on such a limited scale as could be carried out here would not be commercially profitable, as the large cinchona plantations in India, Java, and other places have brought down the price of the bark. Still, the trial has shown the wonderful capabilities of this little island, where, in an area of 47 square miles, plants from all parts of the globe have been grown with success; and one remarkable feature of this adaptability of soil and climate has been the struggle between the indigenous and the imported flora, which has resulted in the former being driven back to the central mountain range, the northern edge of the vast crater which existed in the volcanic period, the southern portion of which is now under

the sea. As the Red Indians slowly retreated before the pale faces, so the old flora of St. Helena, which clothed the now barren rocks down to the sea in the days when, in 1502, Juan de Nova discovered the lonely isle on the birthday of St. Helena, the mother of Constantine, has retreated inland to the peaks of Actæon and Diana ; there you will still find the ferns of the place, from the stately tree-fern and the huge *Diplazium*, with its seven-foot fronds, down to the tiny filmy fern (*Hymenophyllum capillaceum*). Here too, the foliage strikes you as being of an old-world character. The trees have a weird, unfamiliar look, such as one would associate with the megatherium and the mylodon. Sir Joseph Hooker, in his lecture on Insular Floras, refers to that of St. Helena as being "most interesting ; it resembles none other in the peculiarity of its indigenous vegetation." In another part he says, speaking of the indigenous species : "Forty of them are absolutely confined to the island. These forty are absolutely peculiar to St. Helena, and, with scarcely an exception, cannot be regarded as very close specific allies of any other plants at all." It is to be regretted that some of the most interesting species have become extinct, among them the beautiful ebony-tree (*Melhania melanoxylon*), of which no traces remain, save a few crooked bits of wood, occasionally disinterred from the soil in places where it grew, and even these are becoming very scarce. Yet this was one of the most abundant trees, probably one of those which in Juan de Nova's time clad the rocks with verdure down to the cliffs overhanging the sea. It was so abundant that it was cut down to burn the lime used in the building of the fortifications. The destruction of the forests and extinction of many of the indigenous plants were due to the ravages made by goats, which in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries existed in thousands, laying waste the country. In 1709, the Governor proposed to the Court of Directors of the East India Company, that the goats should be systematically destroyed for the preserva-

\* tion of the ebony-trees, but was told that he was not to do so, for the goats were more valuable than ebony!

It was only in 1810, that steps were taken to rid the island of these animals, but then it was too late to save the forests, and much of the beauty of the place was lost; still it is very beautiful in the interior. Those who pass by the island and see only frowning precipices of brown lava have little conception of the verdure of the inland hills and valleys. St. Helena was aptly described by an eminent Russian, His Excellency M. de Kologrivoff, who paid us a visit last year, as "an emerald set in granite." The diversity of the scenery is remarkable, and I have heard various people describe it to me as reminding them of Scotland, Ireland, Derbyshire, Devonshire and Switzerland. If any of our artists, who roam afar in search of new pictures to place on the walls of the Academy, would only spend an English winter, our summer, in this island, they would be amply repaid for the trouble and expense. There are few scenes in the world grander than that from the ridge just below Actæon's Peak, looking down on Sandy Bay. You look down the huge crater of the extinct volcano, a crater four miles across, of which the southern edge is under the sea, and the northern, on which you stand, is clothed with the only remaining forest of indigenous trees; to your right front the grassy slopes of Mount Pleasant, backed by a dark fringe of pines, juts out into the amphitheatre of rugged rocks, which stretch around in ranges crested with wild fantastic peaks which seem to have pierced through the strata of basalt, scoria, and many-coloured marl by some titanic force. Nearest to us, almost in the centre of the basin, rises Lot, a huge monolith of hard, felspathic graystone, which on a ridge 1,444 feet above the sea rises nearly 300 feet; beyond, again, on a further ridge, stands another solitary sentinel in Lot's Wife, a column 260 feet high on an elevation above the sea of 1,550 feet. More columnar remains, called the Asses' Ears, break the skyline into rugged peaks; down

the water-worn sides of the steep mountains run diagonal bands of many-coloured marls ; whilst here and there on a grassy knoll, embowered in trees, nestle cosy little houses with fertile gardens, and down at the bottom of the bowl is the little bay, with the surf breaking on the shore, and the wide expanse of the Atlantic Ocean stretches away to the horizon. Could Napoleon have ever stood here with folded arms, and with bitter thoughts have drawn an analogy between his life and that of the volcano at his feet, cold, hard, and dead after a period of fiery activity ?

We who live in days of calmer reflection think more charitably, or I should say more dispassionately, of the man who brought sorrow into millions of homes to gratify his insatiable personal ambition, than our fathers did, who loathed the very name of Buonaparte, and in this island would not officially or privately give him the title of Emperor,\* and therefore Byron's ode may seem to us an outpouring of spiteful vituperation ; still, here I may quote as *apropos* to the subject some of the mildest lines of that scathing verse, written by a pen steeped in gall while yet Napoleon was alive :

“ The triumph, and the vanity,  
The rapture of the strife—  
The earthquake voice of Victory,  
To thee the breath of life ;  
The sword, the sceptre, and that sway  
Which man seem'd made but to obey,  
Wherewith renown was rife—  
All quell'd !—Dark Spirit ! what must be  
The madness of thy memory !”

I am writing now in the library where Sir Hudson Lowe used to receive his reports from Longwood ; the room is unaltered : the same furniture, the same old mirror over the fireplace, the same old books on the shelves. I only wish they could speak of the scenes that Dr. O'Meara mentions in his “Voice from St. Helena.” There are a few articles of furniture from Longwood in this house, which belonged to the captive Emperor—a

\* This feeling still lingers ; for some time one of my officials drew my attention to the fact that I had in a despatch styled Napoleon as Emperor.

cabinet and shelves in the drawing-room, and Napoleon's bookcase in the billiard-room. The billiard-table is of a still older period, and is a curiosity in itself. I found it in a lumber-room, and have had it restored, and it is now an excellent table; the cushions are new as far as the india-rubber is concerned, but the woodwork belongs to the last century. The bed is a marvellous piece of joinery, consisting of small pieces of inch-thick oak dovetailed together like a parquet floor. The marking-board counted only up to 21, which was the old game, when people played with the mace or butt, and it and some of the cues of heavy wood, ringed at the base, bear the name of a now forgotten maker, Fernyhough, of Silver Street, Golden Square. It is within 3 inches of the modern full-sized table, but the height has had to be reduced somewhat, to bring it to the requirements of the present mode of playing.

The house itself was built in 1795, a massive stone building with an imposing front and two wings stretching back, and containing within them the spacious library and a small paved courtyard. The many corridors are rather bewildering to a new-comer, and so the methodical mind of my predecessor hit upon the plan of attaching brass plates to all the bed and dressing rooms, denoting the Governor's, the Admiral's, the Baron's, and the General's suites. The children's school-room he appropriately named "Chaos." The grounds are very extensive, embracing a broad, undulating space between two ranges of pine-covered hills. The extraordinary adaptability of soil and climate I have before alluded to is here very apparent, for in the woods round the house may be noticed trees from every part of the world—huge Norfolk Island pines, one of them 110 feet high; the *Araucaria excelsa* we buy in pots at home, and value for house decoration, here a timber tree; the Australian blue eucalyptus, of which a giant near the house measures  $16\frac{1}{2}$  feet in circumference at a man's height from its base; the English oak and the Indian bamboo grow side by side. The Pandanus of the South Seas, stone pines from Italy, Scotch firs, Bermuda cedars, trees from

Ceylon and China, and flowers from all lands. . The arum lily, which in English winters we buy at a shilling a flower, is a weed here, filling swampy places with its broad green leaves and snow-white blossoms, and pigs are fed on its roots.

Now I must say a few words about the climate of St. Helena, especially for invalids. Considering its geographical position, it ought to be tropical, being well within the tropics; but there is a steady, cool trade-wind blowing from the south-east all the year round, with a few exceptional days when it may veer to the north. The cool currents from the Antarctic regions may also have an effect on the temperature, but certain it is, that the summers in the interior are as cool as those of England, whilst the winter temperature seldom falls below 50°. Sunstroke is unknown, though you may see Europeans playing cricket or riding with only small caps on their heads, and often bare-headed even in the summer. For chest complaints, I should think this island more suited than Madeira. Invalids who go to the latter place to avoid the English winter come in also for the Madeira winter, whereas if they prolonged the sea-voyage for another ten days in delightful calm weather, they would come in for the St. Helena summer, dry yet cool. The only drawback to St. Helena is the want of house-room. There are no hotels, nor even a boarding-house, but there are a few houses in the country which could be hired for the season. It is a very sociable place, and since the garrison has been largely increased, there is always something going on in the way of tennis, golf and hockey, and cricket is played all the year round.

The St. Helenians are steady church-goers, and most of them belong to benevolent and other charitable societies. The two chief denominations are Church of England and Baptists. The former is presided over by the Bishop, assisted by the Vicars of the parishes of St. James's, St. Paul's, and St. Matthew's, who are also Canons of St. Paul's Cathedral. None of the churches can lay claim to any architectural beauty, but are capable of much improvement had we but the funds; but Church matters are at a low

ebb financially, and the property of the see has much deteriorated. Oakbank, the Bishop's residence, situated in the midst of 30 acres of the most beautiful grounds in the island, has been destroyed by white ants, and the Bishop has to live in a small inconvenient house, whilst for lack of a few hundred pounds this lovely estate is being sold for less than a third of what it cost. It was subscribed for in years past by the residents, but the people are poorer now and their resources have lately been called upon to assist in providing an endowment, so as to raise the income of the see to £400. These white ants are of a South American species, introduced in the timbers of a Brazilian slaver which was condemned in St. Helena many years ago. They work under cover, so that a beam may appear sound to look at, but crumbles at a touch. Jamestown was nearly destroyed by them about thirty-five years ago, and a fine organ in St. James's Church perished, and now we are without an organ in the island. The cathedral has a small one which should properly be placed in the museum; it has a tiny keyboard, no pedals, and was at one time fitted with a barrel containing a limited number of tunes. When I first came here it was in a ruinous condition, and the services were conducted with a very indifferent harmonium, but fortunately our present postmaster, Mr. T. Bruce, who at one time had been engaged in organ-building, came to the rescue and the old instrument was repaired. But it is very desirable that the principal place of worship in the island should possess an organ even as good as what most country villages in England have. In no place in the world would it be more appreciated, for the St. Helenians are devoted to music. There is a local band, the performers being mostly labourers and outdoor servants, and I often see the men, after their day's work is over, trudging down to Jamestown to attend the evening practices. The church choirs are also popular with them, and some of their voices, though untrained, are very good; and at funerals they almost always have a hymn sung at the close of the service by the side of the grave.



## ZOROASTER, THE PROPHET OF ANCIENT IRAN.\*

By JOHN BEAMES, BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE (RETIRED).

IF anyone wishes to know all that is at present known about Zoroaster, that mystic sage and founder of a still living religion, whose figure looms out so dimly through the shadows of the early world, he will find his desire amply gratified in the present volume. It is not too much to say that the learned and keen-sighted American Professor makes the ancient Iranian prophet live again, scatters the fog of myth and legend which had gathered so thickly round his name, and sets him clearly before us as a real personality, thinking, teaching, suffering, dying a martyr's death, and leaving behind him a faith which remained for centuries one of the great religions of the world. And he does this, not by imagination or conjecture, but by a comprehensive survey, and critical analysis of all the available information, both ancient and modern. His method is an excellent one, and worthy of imitation by all scientific writers and students. He gives first, in a masterly condensation, in broad firm lines, the whole of the facts as he himself has worked them out from his wide extent of reading. Then he says practically, "This is how I make it out to have been, but I do not wish to impose my view upon you. Judge for yourselves. Here is a list of every scrap that has been written about it by Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and all kinds of other people. This point is doubtful, so I give you a separate essay on it, putting all the *pros* and *cons* fairly before you with the references, which you can look up if you care to do so. This other point is obscure, and unfortunately there is no information about it, so we can only judge by inferences. I give you in another essay the reasons which have led me to the conclusion in my text. You can weigh them for yourselves." A method so frank, candid, and unbiassed as this naturally begets confidence, and we follow our teacher with a feeling of certainty and assurance.

In pursuance of this system the first half of the volume contains the history of the life of Zoroaster in general terms, while the second part consists of learned essays on special points which those who do not care to go deeply into the scholarship of the subject may leave unread. But the whole volume absolutely bristles with references. At the beginning there are several pages containing a list of works connected with the subject; at the foot of every page are dozens of references, and among the appendices are long passages from authors in various languages quoted whole. The reader is not expected to take any assertion for granted, chapter and verse are given for every statement.

It is difficult still further to condense what is already so concise, nor can

\* "Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran," by A. V. Williams Jackson, Professor of Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University. New York, the Macmillan Company. London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., 1899.

it be done without some sacrifice of detail. The main facts, however, resulting from the inquiry may now be given ; for fuller information the reader is referred to the delightful volume itself.

The original form of the Prophet's name in the Avesta is Zarathushtra, concerning the meaning of which there is much doubt. Scholars are agreed in seeing in the latter half the word *ushtra* = camel ; many old Persian names end in this word, as also in the names of other animals, such as *aspa* = horse, *gao* = cow—"totemistic family survivals," the author calls them. Similar animal names are common in other early Aryan races. The Greeks had their Philippos, Xanthippos ; the Germans their Beowulf, Landwulf (Landulf), their Bear and Worm. As to the first part, however, there are half a dozen conjectures, all more or less unsatisfactory.

The date of his birth, disregarding the extravagant antiquity of B.C. 6000 assigned to him by the imperfectly informed Greek and Latin authors, is now generally accepted on the faith of consistent Zoroastrian tradition, supported by Arabic allusions, as B.C. 660. His birthplace was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Lake Urumiah, in the ancient Median province of Atropatene, now called Azarbaijan, the extreme north-western district of modern Persia. Of his family, Iranian tradition gives a long genealogy, ascending to Gayomard the first created man. The family name Spitáma by which the Prophet himself is generally known—Zarathushtra Spitáma—appears to be derived from the Aryan root *svit* = white, and as usual in such ancient pedigrees, is borne by the eponymous hero of the princely line. His father's name was Pourushaspa, and his mother's Dughdhova. He was thrice married, and had by his two first wives, three sons and three daughters. By his third wife no earthly children were born, but from her are to be descended three millennial prophets, whose existence, however, belongs to legend rather than to history.

Legendary also, of course, are the traditions regarding his birth, early youth, and preparation for his high mission. He laughed when born ; demons and wizards, the priests of the religion he was destined to overthrow, plotted his destruction, and persecuted him by magic practices. Even his father Pourushaspa is drawn into their conspiracy. But he overcomes all their arts, and until he reaches his thirtieth year spends a life of seclusion and meditation in the deserts and in mountain caves. At the age of thirty revelation comes to him, and he enters upon his public career.

In the year B.C. 630 his visions began. The angel of Good Thought, Vohumanah, summons him to the presence of the Supreme Being, Ahuramazda, where he is instructed in the true religion. The scene of this occurrence is fixed by tradition on the banks of the river Daitya, in Azarbaijan, which has been identified with the modern Kizil uzen, a tributary of the Safid river. Seven times in the following years he has conferences with Ahuramazda and the six Amesha Spentas (Pers. Amshaspands) or archangels ; but the details of these visions, though interesting in many ways, have no place in a discussion which has for its object to fix definitely, as far as possible, the historical facts in the Prophet's life. They belong rather to the study of the religion which he founded. One convert only

was made in this period, the Prophet's cousin, Maidhyoi Maonha (in Pahlavi Metyomah).

Then apparently followed a time of wandering and unsuccessful preaching of the new religion. The Prophet begins to despair, but an inspiration reaches him, and he sets forth on a journey, which was to bring him permanent success, to the Court of the powerful King Kai Vishtaspa (Pers. Gushtasp) the ruler of Balkh. He meets with the King on the racecourse, a characteristically Persian incident, and then and there proclaims the faith of Ahuramazda, and invites him to believe in it. The King seems at first to have been inclined to comply, but the priests of the established religion, "the deadly Zāk and the rest of the Kigs and Karaps," vehemently oppose the newcomer, and according to one tradition induce the King to imprison him. Another legend relates how he won his liberty by curing a favourite black horse of the King's. He is admitted to a public dispute with the priests, "the controversy about religion with the famous learned of the realm." Eventually Zoroaster is victorious, and the King openly accepts the new faith, and a vision of three of the mighty Amshaspands, or archangels, is vouchsafed to him, which fully confirms him in his belief. Two of the royal counsellors, Frashaoshtira and Jamasp, ally themselves to the Prophet by marriage, and the latter becomes so devoted an adherent that after the Prophet's death he succeeded him as the official Head and Supreme Pontiff of the religion. The King's brother, Zairivairi (Pers. Zarir) and one of his numerous sons, Spentodāta (Pers. Isfandiyār) also become faithful followers.

Under royal and princely patronage the religion spread rapidly all over Iran, and seems even to have extended to neighbouring countries. There are traditions of conversions in Turan (Turkistan generally); of Brahman sages from India, who came to argue and went away converted; even of wise men from Greece coming on a similar errand with similar results. It is even possible that the Prophet himself, after his successes at Court, may have gone on several missionary journeys to the adjacent lands. But his chief care was the founding of Fire temples (Atash-gah), three of which were pre-eminently holy, and their names have been preserved by tradition. The first, Atur Farnbag, or the fire of the priests (Farnbag = Hvarenobagha, "fire of the divine glory"), the site of which is uncertain; the second, Atur gushnasp, the "fire of the warriors," situated on Mount Asnavand on the shores of the Lake of Urumiah; the third, Atur Burzhin mitro, the "fire of the labourers," situated near Tus in Khurasan.

This prosperous time of peace was followed by dark days of religious wars. Concerning all of these wars there is not sufficient information to enable us to construct a connected story. But of the wars with the great enemy of the faith, Arejataspa (Pers. Arjāsp), the Turanian, there is abundant tradition, some part at least of which is probably founded on fact. The date of the outbreak of the first of these wars is now fixed by scholars as B.C. 601. It originated in the refusal by King Vishtasp to continue payment of the tribute hitherto paid to Arjasp, and this refusal appears to have been suggested by the Prophet himself. Religious grounds were thus mixed up with political ones. It was the Faith, against the

unbelievers. Arjasp's ultimatum demands, among other things, that Vishtasp shall abandon the new creed. Arjasp is called King of the Khyons, and his kingdom lies beyond the Oxus. More than this is not certainly known, but the whole subject is learnedly and exhaustively discussed in an appendix. In the war which ensues, the scene of which appears to have been round about Merv, the Iranians are victorious chiefly owing to the heroic valour of the King's brother, Zarir, and his son, Isfandiyar, the former of whom, however, falls in battle. Then follows a period of peace, during which the Avesta is written down by Jamasp from the dictation of Zoroaster, and the gallant Prince Isfandiyar carries out "a great crusade in foreign lands," conquering and converting, the sword in one hand and the sacred book of the Avesta in the other.

But treachery, as usual in Eastern Courts, is at work. Isfandiyar had been promised the crown of Iran as the reward of his success, but he is now accused of plotting against his father, and is cast into prison. Then comes the end. Hearing of Isfandiyar's imprisonment the heretic Arjasp collects his forces and invades Iran. Vishtasp was absent on a visit to Seistan. The capital was insufficiently protected, though the aged Lohrasp, father of Vishtasp, who had long ago abdicated and was living in retirement, comes forward to defend it. He falls in battle before the walls of Balkh, the city is taken, eighty priests are massacred in the very act of worship, the sacred fire is extinguished, and, crowning woe of all, the Prophet Zarathushtra himself is slain by an impious Turanian in front of the altar.

The date of this event is fixed at B.G. 583, when the Prophet had reached the age of seventy-seven. The catastrophe in which he was involved, so far from being the death-blow to his religion, gave it fresh life, so true is the saying, "*Sanguis martyrum semen ecclesie.*" Isfandiyar was released from prison, put at the head of a fresh army, routed and utterly destroyed the invaders, pursued them into their own country, where Arjasp was killed and his capital taken. Henceforth the Faith is firmly established as the national creed of Iran.

Such, in the barest outline, is the story of Zoroaster. So much at least may be now taken as solid fact, as well established as most generally accepted facts of ancient history. Much as we may miss the environment of mystery, and regret the ruthless destruction of many a pleasing myth, it is undeniably more practical to begin at least with the probable and the credible. Starting from this solid foundation future labourers may build up an edifice of larger dimensions and more trustworthy construction than was possible before this necessary work of clearing away the rubbish had been accomplished. Not that even in this vivid portrait of the ancient Iranian lawgiver, everything is absolutely certain. On the contrary, it is admitted that many points are still open to doubt, and very much still remains to be worked out. In the present volume there is no attempt at tracing the origin or stages of development of the Mazdayasna religion, no adequate solution of the numerous difficulties raised by the date now accepted for the Prophet's career. We do not know who Vishtasp really was, nor how far he can be identified with the Hystaspes of the Greeks,

or brought into harmony with the chronology of the Achæmenids. Dr. West's valuable labours have cleared up much, but the chronological system of the Bundahishn is so obviously artificial, and even incorrect, that were it not for the invaluable reference to the taking of Babylon by Alexander there would be no safe point of departure for calculation.

There are also many other more technical questions awaiting investigation and settlement. These will more appropriately be included in researches on the religion which Zoroaster founded. It is certainly much to be hoped that the learned Professor, whose firm grasp of facts, and keenly discriminating judgment has made this ancient sage a living reality to us, will ere long follow up this volume with another, in which he will go through the whole range of surviving Zoroastrian literature—Gáthas, Yasna, Visparad and Vendidad—and bring to bear on the religion which they teach the same lucid clearness of exposition that he has so admirably devoted to the life of its founder.

## THE CONGRESS OF ORIENTALISTS AT ROME.

BY PROFESSOR DR. E. MONTET.

THE Twelfth International Congress of Orientalists was held in Rome from October 3 to 15 last, the climate of the capital of Italy being such as to render it necessary to delay by a month the date of its usual assembly. It brought together a very large number of members, Orientalists by profession, others interested in Oriental research. The Italians received them with their usual politeness and kindness, and the organizing committee neglected nothing to make their visit as agreeable and interesting as possible. Count de Gubernatis, the president of the organizing committee, placed all his time with the utmost cordiality at the service of the foreign scholars who had assembled. The municipality of Rome, the Ministries of Public Instruction and of Foreign Affairs, the Press, the municipality of Tivoli, vied with the organizing committee in their reception and cordial welcome. The Vatican alone abstained, and gave the Congress the cold shoulder, and hence surprisingly few Roman Catholic clergymen were to be found among its members. It pretended to see in the Congress in Rome a liberal, anti-clerical, and political manifestation. It is true that the King of Italy had given it his patronage, which was sufficient for the Vatican to take dislike to it.

Indeed, politics were attempted, though without success, to be introduced, and I believe that this is the first time that it has been tried to transform Orientalists assembled in session into politicians. The Roumanians, who were numerous, during several meetings, wished, by votes of a political character, to influence the Congress in favour of their country. The Congress, although favourably disposed towards Roumania, declined, and thus may be congratulated on their wise decision.

It is to be regretted that several subjects foreign to Orientalism had also a large share in its deliberations. This happened repeatedly in the section of the History of Religion, and in that of Greece-Orient and Orient-America. It even went so far as making a proposition in favour of the unification of the calendars now in use. This motion, very legitimate in its way, and which cannot be too much commended, obviously did not come within the province of the Congress.

The Congress was divided into twelve sections and sub-sections:

- (1) *General Indo-European Linguistics and Paleo-italic Languages* ;
- (2) *Geography and Ethnography of the East* ; (3) *History of Religions and Folklore in connection with the East* ; (4) *China and Japan* ; (5) *Burma, Indo-China and Malay* ; (6) *India and Persia* ; (7) *Central Asia* ;
- (8) *Semitic Languages and Literature* ; (9) *Mussulman Literature, History, Civilization* ; (10) *Egyptology and African Languages* ; (11) *Greece and the Orient* ; (12) *America and the Orient*.

From this very extensive programme it will be seen that it is impossible for me to give a full account of the work of *all* sections. I will pay special

attention to the Semitic portion, and will give only a summary of the others.\* Before beginning, I may say that there has been much valuable work done, of which I shall point out the most important, apologizing to those of my colleagues whose labours I am unable to specify.

#### SEMITIC SECTION.

Professor Guidi made a communication on a Syriac history ending about the year 1233; also on a history of King Claude of Abyssinia (1540-59).—Mr. Gaster read an interesting paper on the magical alphabets of the Cabala.—Professor Goldziher gave a lecture on a work by Brönnle entitled "Ali Ibn Hamza and his Criticisms on famous Arabic Philologists."—Mr. Seybold gave a report of his Spanish-Arabic studies, and of the edition of the large "Glossarium Latino-Arabicum" of Leyden, the printing of which will shortly be completed. He proposed the compilation of a grand "Thesaurus Arabico-Latino-Hispanicus."—Professor Goldziher also made a second communication on the chu'übite movement in Spain.—Mr. Jastrow read a paper on the name of Samuel (from the Assyrian *schumu* = descendant; Samuel = descendant of El) and the root *sha'al*.—Dr. Ginsburg discoursed on the Hebraic abbreviations with respect to a Sephardic Bible issued from the Geniza of Cairo, and entirely written in abridgment.—Mr. Lasinio made a communication on the Oriental manuscripts in the Italian libraries.—Muhammad Sherif Salim introduced an apologetical work on the future of the Arabic language.—Professor Goldziher read a report on the scheme for a Mussulman encyclopedia, a project which originated at the last Congress of Paris. The result of the project is that since 1897 the matter has made little or no advance. Professor Houtsma of Leyden has been entrusted with the editorship of the encyclopædia. The committee will take steps with the Governments interested in it, and the learned societies, in order to obtain their pecuniary co-operation, which is indispensable.—Mr. Westermarck described the worship of saints in Morocco.—Dr. Haupt made a communication on the sanitary basis of the Mosaic ritual, which called forth an observation from Mr. Bulmerincq regarding the fact that the ritual precepts of Leviticus and Deuteronomy have their basis on a religious order.—Rabbi Gollancz read a memoir entitled, "Specimens of Charms from Syriac MSS."—Mr. Israel Levy discussed some Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus, and maintained the thesis of the Syriac origin of these fragments.†—Professor Euting describes and translates an Aramaic papyrus of the Strasbourg library, dated (a curious fact) the 14th year of Darius.—Professor Merx made a communication on the age of the Targum of the Song of Solomon, of which Origen expounded the system of allegorical interpretation; the Targum would thus be anterior to the seventh century.—Professor Hommel spoke of the goddess *Ashera* (*Athirat*) in the inscriptions of Southern Arabia.—Mr.

\* We shall not refer under a special heading to the history of religions, which has been discussed in every section. We shall point out more especially in this regard the communication of J. Reville on the Congress of the History of Religions which should meet in Paris this year.

† See our Quarterly Report in this number.

Johansson read a memoir on the *Habiri* of letters from Tell-el-Amarna. The *Habiri* are certainly not Hebrews, as it has been asserted, but the Sagas mentioned in the same documents.\*

On the motion of Dr. Kantzsch the Semitic section unanimously protested against the absurd accusation brought against the Jews of the use of Christian blood for ritual purposes, an accusation unworthy of the end of the nineteenth century.

#### OTHER SECTIONS.

*India and Persia.*—Professor Deussen presented a paper on the history of the philosophy of the Upanishads.—Professor Hardy read a memoir on two books treating of the piety of Buddhism.—Mr. Jackson explained the plan and method of his dictionary of the Avesta, which he is preparing with the assistance of Mr. Geldner.—Count Pullé made a communication on the cartography of India.—Mr. Macauliffe spoke of the life and writings of Guru Gobind Singh, the tenth guru of the Sikhs.†—Professor Leumann treated of the legend of Brahmadata.—Mr. Gerson da Hunha read a memoir on the Rama-tankas.—Miss Plunkett read a paper on astronomy in the Vedas.—Mr. Hewitt read a memoir entitled, "History of the Ark or Ship of the Gods, its astronomical origin, and later forms."—Dr. Hoernle communicated a memoir on an exhibition of the British collection of Central Asian antiquities (manuscripts, xylographs, etc.).—Mr. Radloff gave a short account of his work on the manuscripts, books and inscriptions discovered by the Clementz expedition in Tourfan.

Several votes or resolutions were carried by the section: On the expediency of a translation of the sacred books of the Sikhs, on the realization of the project for a Sanscrit-Chinese dictionary by Takakusu and Buniyu Nanjio, on the publication of an edition of the Mahabharata in the recension of the South (Sanskrit Epic Society), and, finally, on the critical study and thorough examination of Jainism.

*Egyptology and African Languages.*—Mr. Borchardt read a memoir on the papyrus found at Kahun last winter.—Mr. Virey made a communication on some words of the text of Menephtah relating to the people of Canaan and the Israelites. The sentence respecting Israel should be thus translated, according to the author, "Israel is rooted up, there is no more corn in it [Egypt]," which confirms the date of the exodus under Menephtah.—Dr. Gregorio read a paper on the *Ewe* language (Togo region, West Africa).—Mr. Revillout presented a memoir on the legal state of the

\* I myself presented to the Semitic section two memoirs—one on the first origin of the people of Israel, and the other on a medal bearing a Hebrew inscription and the image of Jesus. The ironical inscription of the medal (Italian), of the fifteenth or sixteenth century, is, to our mind, the work of a humanist, sceptical as regards the Christian faith; the Hebrew is also too peculiar to be the work of an Israelite.

† "Mr. Macauliffe, after many years of preliminary labour, retired from a high official position to study and translate the Sikh Scriptures in collaboration with the chief native scholars of the Punjab, and his rendering has been examined by them verse by verse. The result is to place one of the most interesting and, for military purposes, the most important development of Hinduism in a new light. A vote was passed expressing the hope that means would be found to secure the publication of this large and valuable contribution to Oriental scholarship."—Special Correspondent *Times*, October 16, 1899.



*Nemhu* serfs in contradistinction to the nobles at different periods of Egyptian authority.—Mr. Schmidt made a communication on the wrappings of Egyptian mummies.—Mr. Guimet showed a curious list of objects recently discovered (timbrels and sacerdotal ornaments of a priest of Nimes), Egyptian objects found in France in Roman tombs.—Professor Schiaparelli discoursed on papyri of the Egyptian museum of Turin.—Mr. Erman gave an account of the Egyptian dictionary published by the Academy of Berlin.—Mr. Botti made a communication on the Pharaonic monuments of Alexandria and its environs.—Professor Haupt read a work entitled “The Mitanian wives of Amenophis III. and Amenophis IV.”—Professor Naville read a paper on the Karnac texts concerning Queen Hatasu.—Mr. Schmidt spoke on Pharaoh Petibast of the demotic papyrus of Vienna.—Professor Schiaparelli showed a picture representing a Coptic textile fabric of the Turin Museum. On this tissue is represented a fair-faced and fair-haired person of the type of the Ababdeh, descendants of the Blemmyes (a unique example of the appearance of those formidable invaders).

*Central Asia.*—Mr. Kunos communicated a work on the modern literature of the Osmanli Turks.—Professor Vambéry spoke of the ancient language of the Osmanlis.—Mr. Balint discoursed on the origin of the Circassians, who are the descendants of the nobility of the Huns.—Mr. Huth spoke of the results of his journey among the Tunguses of the Yenisei.

*China, Japan, and Australasia.*—Mr. Kumazo Tsuboi read a paper on a book of geography and ethnography, entitled *Lingwai-taita*.—Mr. Chevalier lectured on Korean head-dresses.—Professor Marre gave a list of Portuguese words adopted in the Malay language and the terms showing the several styles of poetry, terms which the Malays have borrowed from the Arabs.—Mr. Hoffmann explained a new theory of the invention of ciphers, which are not of Hindu-Arabic origin, but really derivatives of the nine Chinese characters representing units.—A very long discussion, which had no practical result, took place on the elaboration of a uniform system of transcribing Chinese characters. The section closed with a resolution carried by a majority that *each* country should fix upon a uniform and official system of transcription.

*Geography and Ethnography of the East.*—Mr. Urechia made a communication on the ethnographical chart of Europe, and especially of the European Orient.—Mr. Sergi spoke of the origin of alphabetical writing, showing that the Phoenicians could not have invented the letters of the alphabet, but that they merely simplified the characters known in the basin of the Mediterranean before their appearance in history (alphabetical signs of the dolmens in France; pebbles, coloured with signs analogous to those of the grotto of Mas at Azil, etc.).

*Greece and the Orient.*—Mr. Krumbacher reported on the progress made in Byzantine studies since the last Congress.—Mr. Strzygowski drew attention to some miniatures in a Vatican MS. illustrating a Byzantine ceremony—the reception given to a *fiancée*. These kinds of illustrations are extremely rare.—Mr. Furtwaengler spoke of the relationship between Grecian archaic and Oriental art.—Mr. Gauckler explained the results of some

excavations that he had made at Dermach, in the centre of old Carthage, in a Byzantine basilica of the sixth century.—Mr. Botti spoke of some works in Egypt on the topography of Alexandria, and excavations made in that town.

*America and the Orient.*—The problem of the Asiatic origin of the Indians has been broached by several learned men. Mr. Sergi has explained his idea of American anthropology (Asiatic, Melanesian and Negritic types); there were two tides of immigration (Asiatic and Oceanic).—Mr. Del Paso y Troncoso presented a paper on the phonology of the Mexican language; the author is of opinion that the Mexicans came from the shores of the Pacific.\*—Mr. Grossi read a paper on the zoological mythology of the Indians of the Amazon, and also one on the language of the Fuegians; he finally explained the arguments, which he considered weak, that were brought forward in favour of the Asiatic origin of the Indians. The same scholar also made a communication about the pyramids and *teocalli* of the Indians and the mummies of the Old and New Worlds. These various communications, generally, became the subject of lively discussions; this section, being few in numbers, only represented the South (Europe and America).† Many views were expressed in this section regarding the development in Italy of American research (*viz.*, the foundation in Rome of a museum, an American library, and an *Italo-American Society*).

The above is, I may say, but a very short and imperfect summary of the learning and activity of the Congress. One can see that its labours were great. If many of the subjects treated belonged to some special points of Oriental learning, it must be acknowledged that subjects of a general order have also been discussed. As I stated, in addressing the inaugural meeting on the part of the Swiss Universities, it is in this spirit that future Congresses should labour if they wish to maintain their *locus standi* and to perpetuate their existence; for it is quite evident that strictly learned gatherings should address themselves to the study of the great problems which constitute the very essence of scientific investigations.‡

At the final sitting it was decided that the next Congress should meet at Hamburg in two years' time.

\* The same scholar entertained the section with the proceedings adopted by the first missionaries in Mexico to inculcate the Divine truths.

† I myself lectured in this section on some of the ethnographical and linguistic relations existing between the Orient and South America (Brazil and Argentina).

‡ Whilst the Congress was proceeding some excavations which were being made in the Forum led to the discovery of a broken stela, bearing an inscription in archaic characters (query Latin or Etruscan). Several hypotheses have already been expressed. We saw the monument when still in the soil from which it was unearthed, surrounded, or, rather, buried, under the rubbish, and could only examine it by the light of a smoky torch. The letters on the stela struck one as resembling the Phœnician. I shall have something more to say on this subject at a future date, and also regarding the Oriental inscriptions which I have noticed in the old towns of Phœnician origin during my journey through the South of France whilst on my way to the Congress in Rome.

## QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

SINCE our last report the three last volumes of the "Transactions of the Eleventh Congress of Orientalists," which was held in Paris in 1897, have appeared.\* They contain papers on the languages and the archæology of Aryan and Mussulman countries, on Egypt and the languages of Africa, on Orient-Greece and Byzance, and also on the ethnography and folklore of the East. We need not dwell again on the interesting contents of these papers, with which we presented the readers of this Review in 1897, in the special report which we then submitted of the Paris Congress.†

The last parts (14-18) of the "Recueil d'archéologie orientale" (Vol. III.), by Clermont-Ganneau,‡ which have appeared, include several interesting studies, and among others there is one about Palestine at the beginning of the sixth century, according to the Syriac treatise entitled "Les Plérophories," of a certain Jean Rufus, Bishop of Maioumas. This treatise, written about 512-518, is contained in a manuscript of the ninth century in the British Museum. We have to announce some further accounts of Gezer and its environs, Gath and Gath-Rimmon.

Noeldeke has published a second edition, corrected and improved, of his excellent sketch of Semitic languages,§ the first edition of which appeared in 1887. We recommend this work to those desirous of forming an idea of this important branch of languages.

The most remarkable work in general which we have to announce in the present report has been published in England; it is the first volume of the "Encyclopædia Biblica," a critical dictionary of the literary, political and religious history, the archæology, geography, and natural history of the Bible, edited by Cheyne and Sutherland Black.|| Among the contributors we notice the names of Addis, Tiele, Charles, Noeldeke, Moore, Bevan, Driver, Marti, Benzinger, etc. These names suffice to show the strictly scientific character and value of the work. As far as it is possible to judge from this first volume (letters A—D), the publication appears to be much more independent from a dogmatic point of view than the "Dictionary of the Bible" edited by Hastings, which we brought to our readers' notice in our last report. We cannot but congratulate the authors of the "Encyclopædia Biblica" on the method in which the work has been conceived and drawn up; it is remarkable for its clearness and preciseness;

\* Paris, E. Leroux, 1899.

† *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1897.

‡ Paris, E. Leroux, 1899.

§ "Die semitischen Sprachen." Leipzig, Tauchnitz, 1899.

|| London, A. and C. Black, 1899.

the articles are, as a rule, short or of a moderate length in proportion to the importance of the matter treated of. The subject is divided into paragraphs, each having a heading in large type; nothing could be more practical, or more handy for the reader. The maps and engravings (too few in number) are extremely well done. Particularly interesting are the articles on "Amos," "Apocalypse," "Apocalyptic Literature," "Apocrypha," "Aram," "Baruch," "Canon," "Canticles," "Chronology," etc. The article on the "Acts of the Apostles" does not sufficiently take into account the labours of the School of Baur, and does not render them justice; it is this school alone that has explained the particular character of this Biblical volume. The article "Asherah" concludes with the obscurity of the etymology and meaning of the word, and it is quite undecided on the character of this emblem. The author, however, should have been able to be more precise, considering the facts that we are possessed of for solving this problem. We have other remarks, but they would take too long; suffice it to say that the work is an excellent one, and that we shall look forward with impatience for the continuation.

OLD TESTAMENT.—HISTORY OF THE NATION AND RELIGION OF  
ISRAEL.

The most curious publication we have to point out is perhaps the "Bible Polyglotte" of the Abbé Vigouroux, of which two volumes, including Genesis, Exodus, and Leviticus, are on sale.\* The print of the original texts and the maps and figures are remarkable, and what deserves equally to be commended is the cheapness of the edition. The Hebrew is published from the (uncorrected) Masoretic text, the Greek (Vatican MS.) from the Sistine edition of Rome, 1587; to which must be added the Vulgate and the French translation by Glaire. The disparities between the Hebrew, the Septuagint, and the Vulgate are carefully shown, several introductions and notes accompany each volume. The archæological annotations, illustrated by figures copied from monuments, are the best parts of the work. As to the scientific character of the publication, one may judge from the following lines, which we have copied from the introduction to the Pentateuch "Both the Jews and the Christians have always believed that Moses was the author of the five books of the Pentateuch. The authenticity of the Pentateuch is confirmed by the archaisms and expressions which are characteristic of it. The books of Moses possess an old appearance produced by words and forms which have since become obsolete, as well as by the poetical character of its prose and the powerful originality of its poetry. These archaisms, moreover, are not met with in the Book of Joshua. The Pentateuch, besides, does not contain any foreign words other than Egyptian. All this proves that it was written during the time of the exodus, and that it is the work of Moses, as the Jewish and Christian traditions have always taught." This work will have the advantage of propagating amongst Roman Catholics a knowledge of the original texts of the Bible. •

Two volumes have appeared of the series of "The Sacred Books of the

\* Paris, Roger et Chernoviz, 1899.

Old Testament printed in Colours," by Haupt\* : Ezekiel by Toy, and Isaiah by Cheyne. These are the critical editions of the Hebrew to be recommended. The work of Cheyne, in which the various parts of Isaiah by different authors are indicated by a great variety of delicate tints, which the eye does not always clearly distinguish, is, above all, remarkable for the numerous critical notes which accompany the text. We may point out in this connection an interesting pamphlet by Littmann† on the epoch of Tritojesaia (Isaiah lvi.-lxvi.), which he fixes between 457 and 445 ; the text of Ezekiel, annotated by Toy, is also a good work, and in which one is pleased to read a Hebrew text *in black*, without any addition of colours !

Wellhausen has published in a third edition‡ his well-known dissertations on the Hexateuch and the historical books of the Old Testament which appeared in 1876-77 in the "Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie," and in the fourth edition (1878) of the Introduction to the Old Testament by Bleek. These important re-edited works are accompanied by about 70 pages of fresh notes (Nachträge).

Amongst the commentaries that have recently appeared, we specially desire to draw attention to that of Bertholet on Deuteronomy, in Marti's series.§ We finally note the edition by Prætorius of "Targum zum Josua in jemenischer Ueberlieferung."||

The publication of "Apokryphen und Pseudepigraphen des Alten Testaments," by Kautzsch (Parts 19-28),¶ especially the last numbers, is particularly interesting ; these numbers include, amongst others, the Song of Solomon, the Sibylline Oracles, of Jewish origin, Enoch, the Assumption of Moses, the 4th Esdras. We do not hesitate to say that Kautzsch's much-annotated translation will be of great service to the religious public and to specialists.

"Ecclesiasticus" continues to attract the attention of scholars. The Hebrew fragments have been published, criticised, commented on, and translated in a remarkable manner by Schechter and Taylor,\*\* and have been the subject of a very interesting and very original treatise by Israel Lévy.†† This last author bases his arguments on the peculiarities of the Hebrew fragments in the alphabetical acrostic of the original I.I. 13-20. Of the two different translations, which certain verses present, one certainly, according to the Syriac, concludes with the original Syriac of Ecclesiasticus, or, to be more exact : *the Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus are only a retranslation into Hebrew of a Syriac version.*

The history of the people and religion of Israel has given rise to the publication of three works worthy of being noticed.

\* Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1899.

† "Ueber die Abfassungszeit des Tritojesaia." Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

‡ "Die Composition des Hexateuchs und der historischen Bücher des A. T." Berlin, Reimer, 1899.

§ Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

|| Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1899.

¶ Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1889.

\*\* "The Wisdom of Ben Sira, etc." Cambridge University Press, 1899.

†† *Revue des Etudes juives*, July-September, 1899.



also Egyptian, void of all talent, who has composed and reviewed much fiction, probably on the occasion of a new edition of the collection of the "Thousand and One Nights." This second author is probably a Jew who has been converted to Islam, possibly the pseudo-Maimonide. We earnestly recommend the perusal of Chauvin's work to all those who are interested in popular Arabic literature.

There is another *étude* by the same author on the legitimate use of water amongst the Arabs,<sup>\*</sup> a work, like all the publications of Chauvin, very replete with notes.

In the *Bulletin de la société de géographie et d'archéologie de la province d'Oran* (Vol. XIX., Part 80),<sup>†</sup> E. Doutté has given a very good and methodical work on the Djebala of Morocco after the grand work of Mouliéras, which we referred to in our last July's report. Those who do not possess Mouliéras' book could consult with advantage the lengthy work of Doutté.<sup>‡</sup>

The same author, under the title of "Mahomet Cardinal,"<sup>§</sup> has published a good monograph on the story of Muhammad in the Middle Ages.

We shall close this brief review of Islam by pointing out, according to the *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft* (XIV. 9, Berlin, 1899), the statistics of the Mussulman people which appeared in America,<sup>||</sup> and which gives the total number of the followers of Muhammad at 196,500,000. This is very nearly the total we gave lately in a note on the statistics of the principal religions. (See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, July, 1899, p. 140.)<sup>¶</sup>

\* Liege, Vaillant-Carmanne, 1899.

† Oran, Fouque, 1899.

‡ Compte du même auteur: "Le Far-West Africain" (Questions diplomatiques et coloniales, Paris, 15 août, 1899).

§ Chalons sur-Marne, 1899.

|| Zwemer (missionary in Bahrein, Arabia): "The Mohammedan World of To-day" (New York, 1899, Board of Foreign Missions, Reformed Church in America).

¶ "Almanach protestant genevois" (Geneva, Diehmann, 1900). In this publication the number of Christians (Roman Catholics, Orthodox, Protestants) is given as 486 millions - of Jews, 8 millions; Muhammadans, 200 millions; Confucians, about 300 millions, and Buddhists and Hindus, 500 millions (100 millions of Buddhists, properly speaking). It is to be noted that Confucianism, being entirely foreign and official, does not exclude the simultaneous profession of another practical religion. Thus, it happens that many Confucians are either Buddhists or Mussulmans. There is therefore in our statistics a *useless repetition*, and if there is added to the stated amounts 300 millions of other polytheists, a total of 1,794,000,000 is reached, whereas the population of the world as generally assigned to it, probably under-estimated, is 1,500,000,000.

“SACRED BOOKS OF THE EAST” SERIES.

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

VOL. XLIV.—THE SATAPATHA-BRĀHMAṆA. TRANSLATED  
BY JULIUS EGGELING.

PART V., BOOKS XI., XII., XIII., AND XIV.

THE portion of the work contained in this volume forms practically a continuation of the first five *kāṇḍas*, the intervening five books being devoted to the consideration of the Agniṣayana, or construction of the sacred brick-altar, which had come to be recognised as an important preliminary to the Soma sacrifice. The circumstances which seem to have led to this somewhat peculiar distribution of the different sections of the work was explained in the introduction to the first volume of the translation. As was there shown, the inclusion of the Agniṣayana in the sacrificial system of the Vāgasaneyins, or theologians of the White Yajus, appears to have resulted in a definite settlement of the sacrificial texts of the ordinary ritual, as contained in the first eighteen adhyāyas of the Vāgasaneyisaṃhitā, as well as of the dogmatic explanation of that ritual given in the first nine *kāṇḍas* of the Satapathabrāhmaṇa. Considerable portions of the remaining sections of both works may have been, and very likely were, already in existence at the time of that settlement, but, being excluded from the regular ceremonial, they were naturally more liable to subsequent modifications and additions than those earlier sections which remained in constant use. Whilst the tenth *kāṇḍa*, included in the preceding volume of the translation, consisted of speculations on the sacred fire-altar, as representing Puruṣa-Pragāpati, and the divine body of the Sacrificer—whence that book is called the Agnirahasya, or mystery of the fire-altar—the present volume contains the supplementary sections connected with the sacrificial ceremonial proper.

The eleventh and twelfth *kāṇḍas* are mainly taken up with additional remarks and directions on most of the sacrifices treated of in the first four *kāṇḍas*, especially with expiatory ceremonies and oblations in cases of mishaps or mistakes occurring during the performance, or with esoteric speculations regarding the significance and mystic effect of certain rites. In this way the eleventh book deals with the New and Full-moon sacrifices; the Seasonal Offerings (XI., 5, 2), the Agnihotra (XI., 5, 3; 6, 2), the Soma-sacrifice (XI., 5, 5; 9), and the Animal-sacrifice (XI., 7, 2-8, 4); whilst the twelfth *kāṇḍa* treats of the “Gavām ayanam”—or most common sacrificial session lasting for a year, thus offering a convenient subject for dilating upon the nature of Pragāpati, as the Year, or Father Time—of additional expiatory rites for Soma-sacrifices (XII., 6), and of the Sautrāmaṇṭ, consisting of oblations of milk



and spirituous liquor, supposed to obviate or remove the unpleasant effects of excesses in the consumption of Soma-juice (XII., 7-9). Though supplementary notes and speculations on such ceremonial topics cannot but be of a somewhat desultory and heterogeneous character, they nevertheless offer welcome opportunities for the introduction of much valuable and interesting matter. It is here that we find the famous myth of Purūravas and Urvāsi (XI., 5, 1); and that of Bhrīgu, the son of Varuṇa, vividly illustrating the notions prevalent at the time regarding retribution after death (XI., 6, 1); as also the important cosmogonic legend of the golden egg from which Praṇapati is born at the beginning of the evolution of the universe (XI., 1, 6). Of considerable interest also are the chapters treating of the way in which the dead body of the pious performer of the Agnihotra, or daily milk-offering, is to be dealt with (XII., 5, 1-2); of the initiation and the duties of the Brāhmanical student (XI., 3, 3; 5, 4); and last, not least, of the study of the Vedas (XI., 5, 6-7) and their subsidiary texts, amongst which we meet, for the first time, with the Atharvāṅgiras as a special collection of texts recommended for systematic study. With the commencement of the thirteenth kāṇḍa, we enter once more upon a regular exposition of a series of great sacrifices like those discussed in the early books, the first and most important of them being the Asvamedha, or Horse-sacrifice. Like the Rāgasūya, or inauguration of a king, the Asvamedha is not a mere sacrifice or series of offerings, but it is rather a great State function in which the religious and sacrificial element is closely and deftly interwoven with a varied programme of secular ceremonies. But whilst the Rāgasūya was a State ceremonial to which any petty ruler might fairly think himself entitled, the Asvamedha, on the contrary, involved an assertion of power and a display of political authority such as only a monarch of undisputed supremacy could have ventured upon without courting humiliation; and its celebration must therefore have been an event of comparatively rare occurrence. Perhaps, indeed, it is owing to this exceptional character of the Asvamedha rather than to the later origin of its ritual and dogmatic treatment that this ceremony was separated from the Rāgasūya, which one would naturally have expected it to succeed. It is worthy of remark, in this respect, that, in Kātyāyana's Anukramaṇi to the Vāgasaneyi-saṃhitā, the term "khila," or supplement, is not applied to the Asvamedha section (Adhy. XXII.-XXV.), while the subsequent sections are distinctly characterized as such. As a matter of fact, however, the Asvamedha has received a very unequal treatment in the different rituals. Of the two recensions of the Brāhmaṇa of the Rīg-veda priests, the Aitareya-brāhmaṇa takes no account whatever of the Horse-sacrifice, whilst its last two books (VII., VIII.)—generally regarded as a later supplement, though probably already attached to the work in Pāṇini's time—are mainly taken up with the discussion of the Rāgasūya. The Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa, on the other hand, passes over both ceremonies, their explanation being only supplied by the Sāṅkāyana-sūtra, along with that of some other sacrifices, in two of its chapters (15 and 16), composed in Brāhmaṇa style, and said to be extracted from the Mahā-Kaushītaki-brāhmaṇa. In the principal Brāh-

mana of the Sâman priests, the *Pañkavimsa-brâhmana*, the *Asvamedha* as a *trirâtra*, or triduum, is dealt with in its proper place (XXI., 4), among the *Ahînas*, or several days' performances. As regards the Black Yagus, both the *Kâthaka*, and the *Maitrâyanî-samhitâ* give merely the mantras of the *Asvamedha*, to which they assign pretty much the same place in the ritual as is done in the White Yagus. In the *Taittiriya-samhitâ*, on the other hand, the mantras are scattered piecemeal over the last four *kândas*; whilst, with the exception of a short introductory *vidhi* passage, likewise given in the *Samhitâ* (V., 3, 12), the whole of the exegetic matter connected with this ceremony is contained in a continuous form, in the *Taittiriya-brâhmana* (VIII. and IX). This vol. also contains index to Parts III., IV. and V. (Vols. XLI., XLIII. and XLIV.).

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\* Published at the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

## THE ISLAND OF SUMATRA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

THE first mention in orthodox Chinese history of any place that we are justified in identifying with Sumatra is found in the Records of the Liang dynasty, which cover the period 502-556: the materials for this history were not put together until 629. The northern half of China had been for more than a century in the exclusive hands of Tartar rulers, whilst the purely Chinese dynasties of Sung, Ts'i, and Liang had governed the southern portions, with their capital at the modern Nanking: the founder of the last-named was a very ardent Buddhist.

The Liang Records mention that in the first year of this founder's reign there appeared an envoy from an island country in the south seas, by name Kant'oli. This envoy came with a story to the effect that his master Gâutama Subhadra, the King of Kant'oli, had been informed by a priest in a vision "that a very sacred monarch was now beginning his reign in China; that the prospects of Buddhistic propaganda were now fairly roseate; and that in the interests of trade and prosperity the said King ought to send an envoy with tribute." The King was a skilful artist, and had sent by his envoy a picture of the Emperor such as he had conceived him to be from what he saw in the vision: this portrait was found by the courtiers to be marvellously correct, but this coincidence did not prevent the Emperor from having a genuine one made for return to Subhadra, who died, and was succeeded by his son Vyâ (or Vijaya) Brahmâ in the year 518. Two years later a second envoy succeeded the one who brought news of Gâutama Subhadra's death, and there the matter ends once for all. Kant'oli disappears into space.

In relating the above facts, the Liang Records incidentally mention that, somewhere between 454 and 464, the King Srt Bâla Nalandâ of Kant'oli had sent a present of gold

and silver utensils to the Sung dynasty; but I do not find this recorded in the Sung Annals. I may possibly discover a stray allusion some other time. In describing the country, the Liang Records say absolutely nothing beyond that the manners and customs are somewhat like those of the (then) two leading states of the Indo-Chinese peninsula corresponding with mediæval Cambodia and Ciampa, and that the chief productions are calicoes of check patterns, *karpasa* (*i.e.*, cotton, at that time only known in China by its Sanskrit name), and the very best quality of betel-nuts.

It is evident that Kandâri (for that seems to be the sound intended) was then, as Cambodia and Ciampa are well known to have been, a state ruled by emigrants from India, and the King's fulsome letter, given in full by the Liang Records, reeks of Hindoo Buddhism and hyperbole. But the only ground we have for identifying it with any part of Sumatra is the positive but laconic statement of the Ming History, dealing with Palembang of 1370, then known by its Arab name of Sarbaza. "Its ancient name was Kant'oli." On the other hand, Kollewijn tells us that the Hindoo colonies in Java only extended themselves to Sumatra in the fourteenth century. There seems to be no official mention whatever of Kandâri between the years 520 and 1370, except that a celebrated anti-Buddhist statesman, Han Yü, exiled to serve at the modern Swatow as penance for his iconoclastic zeal, mentions in a private letter, dated about 820, the fact that "Ciampa, Cambodia, and Kandâri are amongst the countless states beyond the seas." The distinguished Russian botanical authority, Dr. Bretschneider, has also found an allusion during the seventh century to a Chinese medical work treating of certain Kandâri cures or drugs.

Fa Hien, the first Chinese pilgrim who (about A.D. 414) reported first-hand upon India, sailed from Ceylon to Java through the Straits of Sunda without touching in Sumatra; and although later pilgrims visited on their way home places which the industrious French sinologist, M. Chavannes,

identifies with the modern Singapore and Sarbaza, yet none of these men make the faintest allusion to Kandâri. The Çri-Bhôja and the Bhôja of these priests I take to be (as M. Chavannes suggests) the Arab Zabedj, which, again, I suppose is simply another form of Sarbaza.

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The second stage of Sumatra's history may be described as the Arab epoch, when the Hindoo dynasties of the Malay Peninsula gradually fell under Moslem influence. The Records of the second Sung dynasty cover the period 960-1260, and were put together about 1300. They record that, in the year 904 (when a period of Turkish anarchy, which lasted till 960, ushered out the T'ang dynasty), an envoy from San-foh-ts'i brought tribute, and was rewarded with a Chinese military title: from the context it seems that this man posed as a sort of superintendent of trade for all foreign merchants coming by sea.

As soon as the capable Sung dynasty had firm possession of all China, the King of Sarbaza (which the Dutch sinologist, Mr. Groeneveldt, has clearly shown to be meant by San-foh-ts'i) hastened to send tribute, and embassies to the Chinese Court followed each other every year or two up to 990, when the envoy's movements were stopped by an aggressive war waged by Java. Between 1003 and 1028 there were four missions. The Arab influence is perceived by the occasional use of such words as *Hadji* or *Mohammed* in connection with the names of envoys or even of Kings; but the nominal rulers were evidently still Hindoos or Malays, for almost each one has either the syllable *Srî* or the word *Dêva* attached to his appellation; and it is also mentioned that a Buddhist temple had been obsequiously erected in Sarbaza in order to pray for the Emperor's long life. The King used his finger-ring as a seal—a point of significance by the light of later statements.

There is a gap between 1028 and 1077, after which things go on steadily till 1097, when Srî Mahârâjâ sends presents. After 1178, when the mission was detained a

"Zaitun," and not allowed to visit the capital, nothing more is heard. I may state here with reference to Marco Polo's Zaitun, a place variously identified with Chang-chou Fu and Ts'üan-chou Fu, that in 957 the Sarbaza envoy who visited the Chinese capital in 960 is stated by the annals of Chang-chou, as cited by Mr. George Phillips, to have built a temple there; on the other hand, in 1178, the Sarbaza envoy was lodged at Ts'üan-chou. The late Mr. Phillips seems to have made it the hobby of his life to prove that Chang-chou alone was Zaitun: I regard the question as still *sub judice*.

There is no doubt whatever about Sarbaza being Palembang—at least, in so far that the chief mart of Sarbaza was actually or approximately the modern Palembang; but it is interesting to notice a few statements which tend to confirm the bold and unsupported assertion that Sarbaza was the old Kandâri. We are told that Sarbaza "is a neighbour of Ciampa (*i.e.*, the modern Tourane, Hué, etc.), and is situated between Cambodia and Java: it is twenty days' sail with the monsoon from the Canton coast." Its products are stated to be betel-nuts, cocoa-nuts, rattan and garu woods, red kino, rice and pulse, but no wheat; various intoxicating sherbets, meads, and fruit wines, but none fermented with yeast. Amongst the things taken to China, were "fire-oil" (which doubtless means the modern Sumatra kerosene of commerce), ivory, dates, frankincense; glass-ware and crystal rings; coral-trees, embroidered stuffs, pearls, black slaves, etc. It is plain that most of these things are African or Arabian produce brought by the Arab traders. More especially it is proved that the Arabs of Java and the Indian Ocean generally trafficked largely in African slaves. But it is also certain that the Hindoo element in the population was still strong, for writing is said to have been "in Brahman character," and the people "smear the body with fragrant oils": moreover, "Brahman *sûtras*" and images of Buddha were brought as presents, whilst "priests' purple clothes" were given in return.

The Chinese have always jumbled up Brahmanism and Buddhism—as, indeed, to a great extent they later confused Buddhism with Nestorianism and Manicheism, and even at times with Mohammedanism. It is probable that the Arab settlement was a mere colony outside the Hindoo capital, exercising political pressure, in the interests of trade, upon the Hindoo administration, much as the Frank powers now do at such places as Tangier. There was an extensive city wall, built of tiles or brick, and the common people dwelt outside it, in huts or houses thatched with cocoa-nut leaves. The Chinese remark that nearly everyone's name seems to begin with the syllable *Pu* or *Bu*. As this syllable does not appear once in Sanskrit connections, and on the other hand does invariably appear in connection with traders from Ciampa or other Indo-Chinese states, it seems likely to be some Arab word, and that foreign relations and sea-trade were entirely in Arab hands. I shall recur to this point when I come to deal with Ciampa. Gold and silver coins, without holes in them, were used in trade, which is another Arab sign. Amongst the tribute articles mentioned which are of manifest local origin are camphor, baroos-camphor, and rhinoceros horns.

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Mr. Groeneveldt, who is qualified officially and otherwise to be one of the best authorities upon Sumatra, seems to lie under the impression that the Mongol dynasty, which succeeded the second Sung dynasty just mentioned, had little if anything to do with the northern and eastern parts of Sumatra. But in the very first year of Kublai's uncontested possession of the whole of China (1280) a proposal was made to him by Sotu (the identical "baron" who, according to Marco Polo, had been sent to subdue Ciampa) that "Sarbaz and other eight states should be summoned to do homage as well as Ciampa." Kublai declined, and this appears to be the only mention of Sumatra under that name during Mongol times.

But the Mongol Records of 1282 state that in that year



the Minister of Sumuta state, when visiting Quilon on business, met the Chinese envoy there; heard of Kublai's commands, and, on behalf of his master, Takur, sent envoys to submit an address, and to offer presents of a ring, some check-pattern silk or piece-goods, and some embroidered quilts. The Chinese envoy on his way home called at Sumutula, and persuaded the lord of the state, Tuan Pati, to send to China two envoys named Hassan and Suleiman. In 1284 the Fuh Kien Government (*i.e.*, "Zaitun") sent an officer "to summon Nan-wu-li and three other states to do homage." It is quite certain that Lambri is here meant, as will shortly be shown. In 1285 Sumutula sends an envoy to the Chinese Court; and in 1286 both Sumutula and Nan-wu-lih send envoys. In another part of the Mongol records it is said that Sumênna and Nan-wu-lih sent envoys in 1286. Owing to the ill-judged attempt of the Manchu Emperor Kienlung to "reform" Mongol spelling during the last century, the later editions of the Mongol Records are full of inconsistencies such as these. In 1294 the envoys of Sumutala and Nan-wu-li, who had been detained in China awaiting the result of Kublai's war with Java, were sent back with presents and an official safe-conduct tally. It will be noticed that in both names there are slight variations of syllabic spelling, which seem to me to point in the one instance to a short and weak initial syllable followed by an accented second syllable and a final slur—in short, the sound Smûdra, or something like it.

There is only one more entry in the Mongol Records which seems to me likely to refer to Sumatra. It is in 1309, when, immediately after the arrival of a mission from Chanpah (Ciampa) with elephants, three special envoys (with Mongol or Hindoo names) were dispatched to Ciampa, Puh-lin-pa (Palembang) and Pah-sih (Pasei). Puh-lin-pang is the form used in a work cited by M. Groeneveldt and dating from 1416.

It will be remembered that Marco Polo speaks of leaving Pēntam (Bantam) for the kingdoms of Little Java (Sumatra),

namely, Ferlech, Basman, Samara, Dagroian, and Lambri. Now in 1323 the Mongol Records mention missions to the Emperor Shotepala from Pintan and Chao-wa (Bantam and Java), and Colonel Yule identifies Basman with the Paçem of the Portuguese and Pasei of the Malays. He also quotes the Malay Chronicle to show that Pasei was founded by the first Mussulman Sovereign of Samudra, whose two sons, were reigning in Samudra and Pasei in 1346 when the Arab Ibn Batuta was there. I notice that, in the translation I have consulted, Ibn Batuta writes the word Shumutra, and speaks of its camphor. Here, then, we have ample *prima-facie* evidence to show that the Mongols had an official knowledge of at least two states in the island before Marco Polo was in Samara (Samudra); that the Mongol Records are the first to use this last word, which they first pronounce as Ibn Batuta pronounces it; and that they summon Pasei to do duty as soon as ever they hear of its existence.

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As soon as ever the Mongols were well out of China, the founder of the new Chinese dynasty of Ming, in 1370, sent an officer to San-foh-ts'i or Sarbaza, to demand the usual submission; no mention whatever is made of any other Sumatran state just yet. The King, Mahârâjâ Palapu, at once responded, and his envoys landed at Ts'üan-chou. It seems that three Kings were reigning at the time, and moreover, a great part of the country had already been conquered by Java, which bestowed a new name (Kewkiang or "Old Haven") upon the chief port, which name, according to Mr. Groeneveldt, is still in current use. The parts which Java was unable to occupy effectively fell a prey to Chinese adventurers, who, as petty Kings themselves, sent tribute to Peking. The anarchy resulting from these political changes led to the blocking of the ocean highways. China invited Siam to use her influence with Java to induce the latter to keep her vassal quiet; and when Malacca put in a claim to part of Sarbaza, alleging the authority of China for it, the Emperor wrote to Java to

disclaim any such idea, so that it is plain China recognised the superior claims of Java. The Cantonese piratical rulers seem also to have recognised the suzerainty of Java, whilst at the same time sending tribute missions of their own to Peking; the last that is heard of the place is that a Chinese pirate named Chang Lien was in charge, of the trading port at least, in 1566, most of his subjects being Fuh Kien men from the two rival Zaitun cities; the pirate collected duties on merchandise, and seemed quite able to preserve some sort of order.

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The neglect of the ocean states to send their duty missions led to the despatch in 1405 of the celebrated eunuch Chêng Ho, who took with him a strong escort, amounting almost to an army, and an adequate staff of interpreters. He made seven voyages to the Indian Ocean between 1405 and 1431, but on his first venture he seems to have only visited in person the one single Sumatran state of Samudra, contenting himself with sending lieutenants to the other minor states of the same island. However, on his return journey from Samudra (now for the first time called *Su-mên-ta-la*, and corresponding with Friar Odoric's *Sumoltra*) he had a narrow escape of capture at the hands of the Chinese pirate chief of Sarbaza, who was in the end betrayed to the eunuch by another Cantonese adventurer, carried to Peking, and executed there.

Some of the eunuch's account of Sarbaza is admittedly a mere repetition of what was stated in the Sung history; thus, we are told its empire extended over fifteen islands, which probably means that it included Jambi, Kampar, and the islands between Carimon and Banca. The ruler is stated to be styled *chan-pi*, to which statement the later account adds, "afterwards the residence of the great chief was called *chan-pi* state, and the old capital was changed to Kewkiang," clearly a confusion in terms, and referring to the removal of the old princely house from the port to the interior. Among the new statements are the one that a large

part of the population lived on boats or rafts, only the ruling classes living on terra firma. According to Kollewijn's account of the Dutch possessions, Bra Vijaya was ruling in Java at the time of the Palembang conquest, and the son of the Javan Governor of Palembang rebelled against him and defeated him in 1478, driving him to Bali. This Bra Vijaya is evidently the "Pala-wu" or "Bra the military" of the Ming Records, the King of Java who sent tribute in 1452, as I shall explain when I approach the subject of Java.

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Sumoltra is stated to be nine whole days' sail with a favourable wind westwards from Malacca, as Sarbaza is eight westwards from Java, two precise statements which go far towards establishing their exact positions. Subsequent to the Javan conquest of Sarbaza in 1377, and the partition of that state between Chinese adventurers as already related, but before the first Chinese envoy visited Sumëntala in 1403 to notify that and other states of the usurping Emperor's accession, an envoy named Ambar had been sent to the Chinese Court by King Shutan Maleh uh Ta-fên (or Ta-pan—pronounced both ways) of Su-wên-ta-na. This was in 1383. Again, in 1436 the envoys from Ciampa complain that Siam has been molesting her mission to Su-wên-ta-na. The syllables *Su* and *na* are the same as those of Sumënna in 1286; the syllable *wên* in the Fuh Kien and Kwang Tung dialects becomes *mên*, and (as in the word Lambri) the initials *l* and *n* are confused all over China. Of course Sumoltra or Samudra is meant; in fact the Ming Records say: "Some think that Suwëntana is simply Sumëntala, as changed during the reign of Hung-wu (1368-1398); but the King's names differ. It is impossible to find this point out."

Fortunately, however, the Chinese have said enough to make it quite certain what place is meant, and at the same time to confirm the accuracy of Colonel Yule's admirable researches. It is clear from the well-known Malay syllables

*Tuan* and *pati* that in 1282 the Mussulmans were not yet in power. When Ibn Batuta visited the city of Sāmāthrah (or Shumutra as Lee's translation writes it) in 1347 (Heg. year 748), he found "El Malik El Zāhir Samāl Oddū" reigning, and all his neighbours paying him tribute; the said King gave Ibn Batuta a junk for China (Zaitun). Ibn Batuta found China in a state of rebellion, and the Emperor Firūn (*i.e.*, Toghon Timur, the last Mongol) far away at Karakorum. It is a remarkable coincidence that the Ming Records specially mention the arrival in Fuh Kien of Nekulun the Frank (fifty years too soon for Nicolo Conti), and also of a mission from Java, just at the time when the Mongols were collapsing, and they mention no others at that time; both were received and sent safely back through the China seas. Colonel Yule spells the Sumatra King's name Malik-al-Dhāhir. The Chinese syllables are clearly intended for Sultan Malek ud' Dhāfir; in fact, *uh-ting*. is often used in such words—for instance, in Nasr u'din.

It is interesting to mark that Marco Polo notices the absence of wheat in Samara, as the Chinese do in Samudra and Sarbaza; also that he observes in Samara the same absence of fermented wine in favour of palm and date wines which the Chinese remark in Sarbaza.

When the eunuch Chêng Ho arrived to summon the King in 1405, Tsai-nu-li-a-pi-ting was reigning. He had already in anticipation sent submissive envoys to China. Mr. Groeneveldt takes the syllable *i*, "already," to be part of the name, and suggests the native title *petinggi*. Probably some such name as Senur Abu 'din is meant, but of course that is mere conjecture: his father had been killed in war with the "tattooed faces," or Nagur, and, according to the Chinese story, the widow swore to marry the first man who would avenge her. An old fisherman, succeeding in this exploit, had married the Queen, and became "the old King"; but the legitimate son, on attaining years of discretion, had killed him, driving "the old King's" brother Sukanla to the mountains, whence he waged a harassing

war. On the occasion of Chêng Ho's second visit in 1415, Sukanla claimed a share in the presents, and attacked the Chinese, who, supported by the legitimist troops, defeated him, and drove him to Nan-puh-li state (Lambri).

In 1434-35 the King sent his brother (? brothers) Ha-li-chi-han (? and) Ha-ni-chê-han to Court—it is not clear whether there were one or two men; but Ali Jehan is manifestly one name intended, and this one died "greatly regretted" at Peking. The King, being now very old, abdicated in favour of another son, A - puh - sai - yih - ti (evidently Abu Said), and China in due course confirmed the arrangement. Between that date and the arrival of the Portuguese there was only one mission, and that apparently a "bogus" one, in 1486: the rest of the Chinese information seems to be mere hearsay. They tell a long story about a wily slave having persuaded his master the commander-in-chief to assassinate the King, after which the slave in turn assassinated his master, and changed the name of the state to A-ch'i (Atjeh, or Acheen).

As to the Chinese yarn about the fisherman, it is curious to compare it with the Malay legend about Mara Silu, a fisherman, being converted to Islam, adopting the name Malik-al-Sâlih, and assigning Samudra to one son Dhâhir, with Pasei to the other son Mansûr. Unfortunately, the dates will not suit at all. The slave dynasty of Acheen may or may not be the power now ruling, which is strong enough, any way, to defy all the efforts of the Dutch. Kollewijn says that, when the first Portuguese landed in Sumatra (1506), Acheen was the leading state.

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As to the other states in Sumatra, we have seen that in 1309 envoys were sent to Pa-sih; but, apart from the fact that there is nothing to show where it was, this Pa-sih, even if in Sumatra, could not then have been of much importance: it might just as well be Pasig in Luzon, or Passir in Borneo, for the first Mussulman state of Pasei in Sumatra was scarcely yet formed.

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The Ming Records say that the Frank adventurers Pedro, "Sushili," etc., after plundering Malacca and other states, consoled themselves for the repulse of the mission to Peking by sailing with five ships to attack Pa-si; and finally it winds up the account of the Franks (Portuguese) by saying that "they swept the seas in such a way that neither Malacca, Pasi, nor Luzon could attempt to cope with them." But the ancient Chinese map of Sumatra, discovered by Mr. Phillips, does not mark Pasi at all, which is further evidence that its existence as a state was short.

Nevertheless, Marco Polo says Basman owned the supremacy of the Great Khan, and as he uses the Northern Chinese word Manzi, or *man-tsz*, to signify the southern half of China, we are pretty safe in assuming that Basman simply means Pasei-man, or the "barbarians of Pasei," and that it ceased to have an independent existence about 1530. The word *man* is frequently thus tacked on to the name of a foreign country. Colonel Yulè says that Malacca, Pasei, and Majapahit (Java) were (about a century before that date) the three chief cities of the Archipelago, a statement almost textually confirmed, as above, by the Ming Records, but for a later date. The "Encyclopædia Britannica" must be wrong in saying that Sumatra was Pedir's dependency in 1506, and that Pedir and Pasei were the only two states of Sultan rank: as we have seen, the Chinese give Sultan rank to Sumatra from 1383, and the Portuguese found Acheen the most powerful state in 1506. Nothing is recorded of Sumatra by the Chinese subsequent to the period of its climax under Jokañdar Muda (1607-36), nor of Pasei, Pedir, Johore, Pahang, Quedah, Perak, Aru, Padang, and other states which the "Encyclopædia" says were vassal to Sumatra at this time. The Chinese mention the Siamese as trying to use political influence in Sumatra affairs in 1406-8; but at this time Pahang was, in the eyes of China, independent, and Johore did not yet exist.

I can only find one certain mention of Marco Polo's

Fansur in all Chinese history. In 1418 the King of Java sent back to China some soldiers belonging to the suite of a Chinese envoy who had been wrecked at, or had drifted to, Pan-tsu-rh, whence they had been ransomed by a friendly Java man, who brought them back to Java.

A state called Kuli-Pantsu (the word *Kuli* elsewhere meaning "Calicut") is stated to have sent tribute between 1403 and 1424, but there is nothing further said by which this state can be identified.

Mr. Phillips' Chinese map, which he believes to be as old as the year 1399 at least, marks Pan-tsu on the north-west coast of Sumatra, and uses the two first characters of Pan-tsu-rh, and the two last of Kuli-Pansuh to write it.

I notice on a modern English map a large island called Panchor off the east coast, opposite Malacca and Singapore; but whether the Chinese Calicut-Fansur and plain Fansur of the records are, both or either of them, the same place with Panchor, or with the Fansur marked on the Chinese map, I cannot say. Colonel Yule seems a trifle overzealous in twisting *bárús* (camphor) round to be the same word as *pansur* (camphor). The word now pronounced *p'oluh* (having retrospectively and provably the etymological power *barut*) is as old as the first Chinese knowledge of the Archipelago, and is used in reference to the best "dragon-brain" camphor brought by traders from Java, Sumatra, and other Archipelagan states. It is true two Chinese authorities say the said camphor comes from *p'oluh* state (almost the same word). That is a question I shall postpone for discussion under the head "Borneo." But Pantsu is a stray word, 1,000 years younger than Barut, with which it cannot possibly have any etymological connection.

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Nan-wu-li (south dialect, Lam-bu-li) is marked on the old Chinese map as being at the extreme north-western point of the island: it is first mentioned, as already explained, in 1284, 1286, and 1294, the name being on each occasion spelt differently, so far as the eye is concerned, but always so as to produce the same sound. Nothing further is said.



In 1405 the eunuch representing the new Chinese dynasty seems to have sent a lieutenant thither, and to have gone himself in 1408. In 1411 the King sent an envoy, who came along with the envoys of Cail (India) and Kelantan (Malay): there was tribute again in 1416, and there is an end to it—no details given.

But, strange to say, another state called Nan-p'uh-li sends tribute in 1412, and again in 1415, 1416, 1418, 1419, 1421, and 1423. Nothing whatever is said about any Chinese envoy ever going there; but in 1429, when the eunuch went on his last voyage, Nan-p'uh-li got a share of the imperial presents.

The explanation of all this is that, when the Lambri mission reached Peking, the Pekingese would have to spell the word in a way to suit their own dialect; but it is curious that, when Chêng Ho was ordered to take the Nan-wu-li envoy back in 1416, nothing was said by his scribes about the Nan-p'uh-li envoy of the same year being the same man or a different man. However, it is absolutely provable, from the extracts translated, that Nan-p'uh-li is Lambri; and as we have already seen that Nan-wu-li is also marked in Lambri's position, it follows that both states are one.

The Ming Records are clear as to Nan-p'uh-li's position: it is three whole days' sail west of [the port of] Sumêntala, which was nine days west of Malacca. If in 1415 the eunuch pursued the rebel Sukanla into Lambri, it must have been adjoining Samudra; but here again it is strange the eunuch, who had himself been in Nan-wu-li in 1408, left no record of its being the Nan-p'uh-li which he approached as a general by land in 1415. It was evidently a very petty state, for we are told "the King and inhabitants are all Mussulmans, only some 1,000 families; little grain produced; fish and shrimps the chief food. King Mohammed Shah sent an envoy with the Samudra envoy in 1412; to the end of the Emperor's reign (1424) they continued to send tribute: the King's son, Shah Jehan, also sent an envoy."

Here follows a curious addition: "In the sea to the north-west of them there is a lofty mountain (or island) called Hat Mountain, west of which again is the great sea called Na-muh-li Ocean: ocean ships coming from the west use this as a mark: close by, the water is shallow and produces coral-trees, the highest over 3 feet." The Chinese map certainly points to Hat Island being close to Sumatra, and this is the view taken by Mr. Phillips and Mr. Groeneveldt. Still, it is interesting to notice the significance of a "Sombrero" [*i.e.*, Hat] Channel in English maps amongst the South Nicobars, which in the Chinese map are as near Hat Island as the latter is to Sumatra. Colonel Yule also quotes Rashiduddin, who speaks of "the very large island of Lámúri, lying beyond Ceylon and adjoining the country of Sumutra." On the other hand, Friar Odoric crosses from India to the Lamori country, and thence to Sumoltra in the same island.

Hence, though there is no question about Lambri, it appears both from Chinese and Western accounts that, unless all parties are mistaken, west of Lambri there was a something else, either sea or land, having a name uncommonly like Lambri.

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The Chinese histories do not mention Lide, nor does the map give any place which could possibly be mistaken for it; but east of and adjoining Lambri the Ming Records say there was a state subordinate to Sumoltra called Li-fah, lying to the west of Nagur and Sumoltra. This is the exact position of Lide according to De Barros' enumeration of the petty states he visited, and I accept the view of Messrs. Groeneveldt and Phillips (disapproved by Dr. Bretschneider) that some editions (mine for one) print a stroke too much, thus turning *tai* into *fah*. As a rule I look very much askance at alleged "misprints" when made use of to explain inconsistencies; but this is one of the cases where the character by its own ambiguity positively invites misprint. Moreover, in a private work called the *Ying-yai*, the form

*tai* (*te*) does actually occur. Another parallel case is that of the Mongol Chao-wa (Java), which, by the addition of an almost invisible point, became the Chinese Kwa-wa throughout the Ming Records. A still more glaring case is the Turkish word *t'e-k'in* or *teghin*, which by the elision of a couple of faint strokes was supposed by Palladius to represent *t'e-le* or *dere*. Nothing whatever is said by Chinese history of Li-fah or Lide, except that they sent envoys in the train of Sumoltra, that their chief is elective, and that they number 3,000 families. Marco Polo says nothing of Lide. There is a mere possibility that Li-fah may be the Riah of modern maps south of Pasci, but no one seems to have mentioned Riah at any date, nor do I know whether there ever was, or now is, such a place.

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The Ming Records state that between Lide and Sumoltra lay the petty state of Nagur, or "face tattooers," 1,000 families, having simple republican customs; both sexes went naked except for a loin clout, and the males pricked figures of flowers and animals into their faces, which were of "monkey type." It must have been a fairly powerful community to sustain a war in 1406-1410 with Sumoltra. Mr. Phillips identifies it with Marco Polo's cannibal Dagroian; but the Venetian does not describe its position, though the mere sound certainly suggests some slight analogy. Colonel Yule thinks it must be Pedir, "or near it," but, as we have seen, the Chinese at no date mention any place with that sound; certainly on the Chinese map there is a place Peh-t'u ("white earth") between Lambri and the "Greater and Lesser Face Tattooers." This might be Pedir, but in that case "or near it" would be the utmost we could allow; but even then the Tattooers of the map are round the corner to the west from Lambri, whereas Pedir is round the corner to the east. Mr. Marsden supposes what he calls "Dragoyan" to be Indragiri, opposite Malacca, which is untenable; Mr. Hugh Murray suggests Indrapur near Padang, which is equally impossible. Mr. Groeneveldt

thinks that native Battas in an advanced stage were meant by Nagur. Kollewijn says the Battas when penetrated by Hinduism formed a state in North Sumatra, the remnant of which is still found in the little kingdom of Bakara on the Sea of Toba, and that cannibalism has not quite ceased yet. This would furnish a solution in harmony with the views of Marco Polo and Mr. Groeneveldt, if we only knew where "Bakara and the Sea of Toba" were; besides, Nagur suggests the Hindoo word *nagara*, "a city." There is yet one other suggestion. Mr. Kollewijn speaks of the *negari* of the Padang highlands, and vividly describes their very republican or communal customs. If the Padang highlands (like the Hinterlands of modern statesmen in Africa) could be stretched a little so as to cross—not a continent, but—a good-sized island, and to include Pedir, we might bring even the Chinese authorities into the "concert of agreement," which in this particular instance I cannot, in the absence of sounder data, undertake to lead to a solution. I have only been to one place in Sumatra myself, and that is Deli, near "Ferlech." I was told by mariners that all the ports of that coast were much the same, *i.e.*, long sluggish reaches meandering amongst flat mangrove swamps.

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The Chinese have nothing whatever of a descriptive kind to say at any time about Ferlech or Parlac, but their ancient map gives "Pa-luk Head" between Aru and Sumoltra.

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The Chinese mention several Sumatran states not enumerated by Marco Polo. For instance, in 1282 Kublai Khan sent an envoy named Adam to subdue Falilang, Alu, and Kampeh states. These cannot be but the Farlac and Aru of Colonel Yule's map (the Pa-luk and Alu of the Chinese map), between which two the Chinese map places "Kan-pei Haven." In 1294 the *tuan* P'ungyü, brother of the chief of Tanjong; Milapatu, brother of the chief of Fa-rh-la; and the *tuan* Hussein, brother of the chief of Aru, all came to submit addresses at Kublai's Court.

Tanjong may be anything, as in Malay it simply means (I believe) "promontory" or "wharf," *e.g.*, Tanjong Pagar at Singapore. Aru is almost certainly on the mainland of Sumatra, and not the Aru Islands between it and Selangore. Kanpei or Kampei must not be confused with the "Kampa Haven" towards Palembang, and also on the Chinese map. The word *luan* (which is like the Hindoo "sahib" and which I was always myself styled by natives in those parts) marks two of the places named as Malay; but as Marco Polo describes Ferlech city as "converted by the Saracens," probably "Milapatu" is a corrupted Arab name.

The Ming Records say that Aru is three whole days' sail from Malacca; customs and climate like Sumatra. In 1411 the King, Sultan Hussein, sent an envoy along with those of Calicut and other states. Chêng Ho returned the compliment in 1412. In 1419 the *luan* Allah Shah, son of the King, sent an envoy, and tribute came in 1421 and 1423; in 1429 the eunuch took them some presents, and there the matter ends. Mr. Groeneveldt quotes two Chinese books composed by the eunuch's Chinese interpreter in Arabic, from which it appears that Alu is opposite the Sembilangs (Perak), and connected with the Insipid Sea (*i.e.*, flat, or not boisterous). This remark is particularly interesting, for the journey of Ibn Batuta from Shumutra to China lay, after leaving "Mul Java" (which was connected by land with Shumutra) through the "Still Sea."

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No China history says anything of Kampar, but "Kampa Haven" is marked on the 1399 map, which also gives Lampong. The Ming Records say that the King of Lampong, Sri Mahârâjâ Dirâjâ sent a tribute envoy in 1376. Between 1403 and 1435 another mission, or perhaps two missions, came. The people are said to be Buddhists, and both hemp and wheat are stated to grow; but the land is described as sandy and stony, so that there is not much sea-trade with China.

## THE GARDEN OF CLIMES.\*

(HADIQA-AL-AQALIM.)

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

THIS work was written about 120 years ago, by Mūrtazā Husain, of Bilgrām, in Oudh, and who was also called Ilāh Yār 'Uṣmānī. It is a geographical treatise, written in imitation of the "Haft Iqlīm" of Amīn Rāzī, and, like it, contains a quantity of historical and biographical matter. It is essentially a compilation from a few Muhammadan books, the "Subah Sādiq" being perhaps the one most frequently quoted, and much of it is dull and tedious to the Western reader. But the prolix accounts of sovereigns and saints and countries are interspersed with notes of the author's own experiences and adventures, and it is to those that the work owes its vitality. They are generally introduced by the words "*raqīm-i-hurūf gūyad*," "the writer says," and crop up in the most unexpected places, so that one has to travel over deserts of historical and geographical disquisition in search of them. Thus, at p. 360, we find in the midst of an account of the Seljūqs of Kirmān a description of an eclipse of the sun which the author witnessed in India in 1175 A.H., when the sun was in Gemini. He does not tell us in what place he then was, but no doubt it was in Northern India, and he says the eclipse occurred three or four hours before sunset, that the body of the moon was superimposed over that of the sun, but that the latter protruded to the extent of a barley-corn, thereby showing, he remarks, that the sun was the larger of the two. Gemini, 1175, corresponds to June, 1762, and I have not been able to trace this eclipse in any European book. It appears from *L'Art de vérifier les Dates* that there was a solar eclipse on June 3, 1761. This is equal to 7 Shawwāl, 1174, and it is probable that Ilāh Yār, when

\* Lithographed at the Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow, in 1879.

writing some twenty years afterwards, made a mistake of a year. He mentions the eclipse apropos of one which occurred in 557 A.H., when the sun was in Taurus, *i.e.*, April, 1762, and which is said to have so alarmed Mihyī-ed-dīn Tughril Shāh, the Seljūq King of Kirmān, as to cause his death. The only eclipse nearly corresponding to this appears to be that which occurred on January 17, 1762.

Another instance of buried information is at p. 390, where we are told, apropos of Nizām-ūl-Mulk and his relations to Hasān Sabbāh, the head of the Assassins, that the practice of numbering pages of accounts was not known then, and is said to have been the invention of Todar Mal. At p. 160, the author apologizes for his discursiveness, and seems inclined to attribute it to old age and the melancholy circumstances under which he wrote ; but the excuse recalls Wordsworth's sarcastic comment on Ellwood's apology for introducing a notice of Milton into his autobiography. Our regret is not that Ilāh Yār has occasionally digressed, but that he has not done so often enough. It is curious that so many Muhammadan writers should have thought it incumbent on them to write a history of the world instead of confining their attention to their own times. However small their abilities or their experience of affairs, they can hardly enter upon the most local and parochial details without a preliminary prance among the patriarchs. Ilāh Yār must needs give us details about Adam and Eve, and repeats the ridiculous stories which have been told by hundreds of previous writers. At p. 185 we have an account of Damascus, where we are informed that it was the birthplace of the prophet Job, and that the fountain which rose from his footsteps is still flowing, and is efficacious for the removal of disease. He also gravely assures us that, though there is a tradition that Cain killed Abel at Damascus, it is of feeble authority, for the more correct account is that the death of Abel occurred in the island of Ceylon ! Even Abul Fazl, though he is so

heterodox as to begin his history without involving Muhammad and his successors, cannot avoid giving a résumé of the world's history from the days of Adam. No doubt it is religious feeling which has prompted so many Muhammadans to waste their time and that of their readers over such apocryphal narratives, just as Bossuet, in his otherwise admirable discourse on universal history, has given too much space (the remark is Comte's) to the history of the Jews; and though the mischief thus caused by superstition may not be as tragic as the slaughter of Iphigenia, it is probably more real. It is certainly a thousand pities that Ilāh Yār followed the bad example of his predecessors, and that he did not give us more of his own experiences, for he lived at an interesting time and had exceptional opportunities. He saw Delhi (p. 41) when he was a boy of twelve, in the days of its splendour and luxury, in the early part of Muhammad Shāh's reign, and witnessed the reception of Nadir Shāh's Ambassadors. He saw it again eight years later, when Muhammad Shāh was still king, but had become a devotee and companion of dervishes, and was spending his time in solving such riddles as whether the hen or the egg was born first. The glory had now departed from the city, for in the interval there had occurred the sack and massacre by Nadir Shāh. He saw it for the third time in the reign of 'Alamgir II., after it had been plundered by Ahmad Shāh Abdālī, who had caused the foundations of many houses to be dug up in quest of buried treasure. At that time it was in a most deplorable condition. The author was also present at the capture of Gwalior by Major Popham, in 1780, and had the honour of being nominated by Captain Scott to compose a chronogram on the event (p. 164). Elsewhere (p. 109) the author records that he saw upon this occasion the tombs of two gallant princes—Mūrād Bakhsh and Sulimān Shikoh. The English soldiers, I am sorry to say, dug them up, but they were restored as far as possible at the instance of Captain Scott. The author also conducted the negotiations with



Cheynt Singh's mother when she was shut up in Bijaigarh; for the delivery of her treasure, etc. (p. 677). Unfortunately they were not rectified by Warren Hastings.

In his preface he tells us that he had been in public employ from the time he was ten till he was fifty-five, and he gives a list of the statesmen he served under. It begins with Mubārīz-ul-Mulk, Sar Baland Khan, of Tūn, and ends with Ahmad Khan Bangash of Farūkhābād. One of his masters was 'Alī Qulī Khan, the six-fingered, and known as Daghistāni,\* who wrote a biography of poets; but the most interesting name in the list is that of the unfortunate Mīr Qāsim, the Subahdar of Bihar and Bengal. At p. 612 he tells us that he was Bakhshī and Dārōgha-i-Dāgh (branding-officer for the cavalry, *i.e.*, keeper of the muster-roll), under Mirzā Asad Ullāh, who was Mir Qāsim's Général, and was sent against the English along with him. They went to support Samru (Sombre) Zu-al-Nūr and Markār the Christian, and apparently the author was present at the battles of Suti and Udwanāla. He recurs to the subject at p. 652, in his account of Rajmahal, and says that he suggested various plans of resistance to the officers, but was not listened to. He also says he had a vision two days before the night attack of Udwanāla, and that by acting in conformity therewith he escaped disaster. The particulars of the vision have been recorded by him, he says, in another work, called the "Lauh-i-Mahfūz," or Guarded Tablet, but I have not found this work mentioned in any catalogue of Persian MSS. At p. 154, he tells us that it contains his conversations with a celebrated mystic called Sifat-Ullah, of Khānābād in Oudh. There is also a reference to the book at p. 679. Ilāh Yār seems to have accompanied Mīr Qāsim in his flight after the battle of Bākar, and was with him in Rohilkand, in Anwala (Aonla of I. G.), and Bareilly, but separated from him at Gohad, p. 176. Unfortunately he gives no details, and has no personal recollections of

\* Also known as the father of Gunnā Begam (see Beale's "Orig. Biog. Dict.," 146 and 414).

<sup>4</sup> Mir Qāsim beyond an insignificant anecdote, viz., that Mir Qāsim told him that Shūjā-ud-Daulah, the Vizier of Oudh, had plundered him of thirty-six *sirs* weight of jewellery (the text, p. 612, has *zinān*, belts, but the MSS. seem to have *asān*, i.e., *sirs*.)

The author tells us in his preface how he came to write his history. After being a public man for many years he lost his employment, and was living in distress (apparently in his paternal village of Bilgram), when he was introduced in the end of Jumāda the first 1190, July 1776, to Captain Jonathan Scott, by a friend named Rajah 'Alī, of Bāra.\* The author was then 57 years old. Jonathan Scott was a good scholar and a generous patron, as he showed on this occasion, and also long afterwards in England, when he befriended Dr. Lee, the Orientalist and translator of the abridged version of Ibn Batuta. In Elliot he is called Persian Secretary of Warren Hastings, but perhaps he did not hold this appointment when Ilāh Yār was introduced to him. At all events, we find him engaged in active service at Gwalior in 1780, and we also find Major Davey spoken of about that time as Persian Secretary.† Scott wrote some good books, but perhaps the best service he rendered to literature was his encouraging Ilāh Yār to write his book. The latter expresses his gratitude to Scott and his admiration for his learning in lively terms, and tells that his patron's Indian name was Jalāl-ud-daulah Mufākhīr-i-Jang, that the translation of the name Jonathan is Allāh Bakhsh, or God-

\* Bāra is given in the I. G. as the name of a village in Oudh, and this is probably the place meant here, for Bilgrām is also in Oudh. But Bārah was also the name of twelve villages in the Dirāl, famous for being the homes of a large family of Sayyads (see Blochmann's translation of the *Ain* 390, the *Tabaqāt Akbari* of Nizam-ed-din, Lucknow ed., 384, and Elliot's "Supplemental Glossary," i., 11.

† On the title-page of his translation of Irādat Khan's "Memoirs," Scott calls himself private Persian translator to Warren Hastings, and in the dedication he thanks Hastings for having given him an appointment in his family. It appears from this dedication that Scott was in London in May, 1786, 1200 A.H., so Ilāh must have been out of his employ when revising his book in 1202.

given, and that the surname Scott stands for the head of a clan. The only thing, indeed, that we know against Scott is that he was the brother (younger) of the notorious Major Scott, alias Scott-Waring. Ilāh Yār wrote his book for the entertainment of Captain Scott during the rule of Asaf-ud-Daulah, the Vizier of Oudh. There is a notice of the work in Elliot's "*Historians of India*," viii., 180, and part of the preface is given there. But the translation does not seem to agree with the original as given in the Lucknow edition. Ilāh Yār does not say there that he has changed the expressions of his authorities, but that he has preserved them in order that his readers may see the changes in the Persian language. Nor is it quite fair to say that the author confesses to having an eye to his own interest in writing his book. He does indeed express a hope\* that the English will have pity on his old age, and be kind to him, his descendants, and his dependants, but he immediately afterwards recollects himself and addresses his supplications to God. I am afraid, however, that, out of regard to his patrons, he has too often observed a cautious reticence and not told us his full mind. He claims, and apparently with justice, that it is the first book written in Persian which deals with the rise of the English power in India. He concludes by saying that he is the sole author of the book, and that some imperfect copies had been given away, *e.g.*, to Captain Scott, Colonel Polier,† "who is now in Europe," and to Maulwi Darvesh 'Ali of Jaunpur. Now he has revised and corrected his book, and has put his signature to it. Perhaps the fact of the two redactions is the reason why the lithographed edition differs from the manuscripts in the British Museum and the India Office

\* It is pleasant to learn from the notices in Elliot that the hope was fulfilled, and that Ilāh Yār's son rose to high office under the British Government.

† This must have been added at the revision in 1202, for Polier did not arrive in Europe till July, 1788 (see *Asiatic Journal* for 1819, p. 469). Darvesh 'Ali, of Jaunpur is referred to at p. 678 as a young man adorned with learning and other good qualities.

in arrangement, and apparently also in substance. The former has a *Fāida*, Supplement, which begins at p. 549, and extends to the end of the volume, at p. 697, and which contains some of the most interesting things in the book; for instance, the negotiations with Cheyt Singh's mother, and the legend about Akbar's having been a Hindu in a previous life. In the MS. copy in the British Museum the Supplement\* is much shorter, and I could not find the story about Akbar in the MS., nor in that in the India Office. There is also a copy of the "Hadīqa" in the Bodleian Library, and there is a full description of it in Dr. Ethi's Catalogue, but I have not seen the MS. The passage from the "Hadīqa," translated in Elliot, viii., 182, corresponds to one at pp. 612-613 of the Lucknow edition, but there are several discrepancies. It is important that the Lucknow edition gives no information about the MS. which was used by the editor. Scott contributed to the "Hadīqa" the account of the New World, etc., and Ilāh Yār fully acknowledges his obligations to him. When he says that the work is entirely his own he means that part of it which is concerned with the Seven Climes. The New World he regards as beyond those limits. At p. 503 he tells us that when he showed his book to Captain Scott that gentleman highly approved of it, and observed that it was very full about the Old World, but that it was a blank as regards the New World. Ilāh Yār replied that he had spoken briefly about the latter with reference to the expeditions ordered by Alexander Rūmī, but that his authorities did not contain much on the subject, and begged Captain Scott to supply his deficiencies. This Captain Scott did, and in an interesting passage at p. 504

\* Hutton. The author tells us at p. 549, when he was 70 years of age, he began reading for it in Rabi-al-awal, 1202 (December, 1787). He says that as the book had been completed, and copies sent to many places, he could not put the additions after each direct, and so put them into a Supplement. But perhaps the lithographed edition is wrongly arranged, for though the Supplement in it professes to have been written in 1202, it contains many passages where 1194 and 1195 are spoken of as being the present time.

Scott records that he had done this, and had supplied from European books information about the earth's motion, etc., in order to gratify his excellent friend Shaikh Ilāh Yār Bilgrāmī, and expresses the hope that his contribution may remain as a memorial of the friendship between a Firinghi and a Musulmān. He then proceeds to give the theories of the solar system from the days of Thales to Copernicus, etc. At pp. 613-614 there is an account of a conversation with Captain Scott, at Chuncy, about England and the Poor-Laws.

I now propose to notice the contents of Ilāh Yār's book, and to pick out the most interesting passages. But I shall in the first place give a short biography of the author, taken from his own account of himself. At p. 156 *et seq.*, under the heading of Bilgrām, he gives us details about himself and his family. He was born, he says, at Peshawar, on 20 Mūharram, 1133 A.H. (= 10 November, 1720), the chronogram being Ghulām Nabī. His family belonged to Bilgrām, in Oudh, and had been settled there from the time of Mahmūd of Ghazni. By the mother's side he was descended from the famous Samarkand saint Khwājāh 'Abdullah Ahrār. The founder of his family apparently was 'Abdullah Rahmān 'Usmānī, who came from Madīna to Persia, and settled in the town of Kāzarūn\* (60 miles west of Shiraz). A descendant came to India in 409 A.H., with Mahmūd of Ghazni, and became a Qāzī of Bilgram, which originally was called Srinagar. The author says that in the year 1200 A.H., he saw a deed of sale which bore the name of one of his ancestors—Muhammad Yusaf—with the date 421 (1030 A.D.). The author's father was also called Ilāh Yār, and was Bakhshī, a title which, according to the author, is equal to that of Qūrchī Bāshī, under the King of Delhi. He was killed in battle near Ahmadabad, in Gujerāt, on 5th October,† 1730, when he was fighting against

\* There is an account of this town, and a view of it, in Burnley's "Travels," i.

† See p. 641, and Mr. Beale's "Dictionary," p. 48, and Todd's "Register," under head "Annals of Marwar," where honourable testimony is borne to Ilāh Yār the 1st's valour.

the Rajput Abhai Singh, and was apparently in rebellion against the Emperor of Delhi. At that time the author was under ten years of age, but Mūbārīz-ul-Mulk sent for him from Bilgrām and procured his investiture with his father's dignities. There are notices of himself scattered through the work, as, for instance, at p. 662, where we are told that he married an Afghan lady of the family of Ludhi, at Saparam, and had a son born to him at Bilgrām. There is also, at p. 671, an interesting account of a narrow escape which the author had, when still a boy, on the occasion of the bursting of a cannon, when he and his elder brother were besieging a fort in Nargara Shorām. This seems to be the Sorām of the Imperial Gazetteer, which is situated a few miles to the north of Allahabad. The author tells us how he revisited the place more than forty years afterwards in attendance on an English officer of the name of Cameron, who is also mentioned at p. 164 as having taken part in the capture of Gwalior, and of his melancholy reflections on the change of his fortunes. Here he was, he says, sitting on the ground under a tree, with one sorry horse and a poor servant, who had formerly been in the same place as lord of a district, with an elephant to ride upon, and in command of many soldiers. But he soon recovered his equanimity, and after quoting a line of poetry, took pleasure in questioning a young Brahmin whom he met if he had heard anything from his father about the history of the fort.

I have not been able to ascertain the time or place of Ilāh Yār's death, but my friend Mr. Irvine has supplied me with a passage in the "*Tārīkh-i-Farūkhābādī*," which says that Ilāh Yār died between 1200 and 1210, and that he wrote poetry as well as the "*Hādīqa*" and the "*Lauh-i-Mahfūz*." He is referred to in Elliot's "*Supplemental Glossary*," i. 30, as the accurate Mūrtaza Khan, and a passage is quoted from him which is said to have been written about 1790, *i.e.*, 1204 A.H. He is also quoted\* at p. 45 of the same work.

\* The passage in the "*Hādīqa*" there referred to is p. 167 of the Lucknow edition.

as an authority for the etymology of the word Būndelā, and is described as an intelligent author.

The author begins the "Ḥadīqa" by explaining the scope of his work, viz., the description of the seven climes, and he gives us the views of the ancient philosophers about the spheres, etc. The description of the first two climes presents nothing remarkable. The third climate includes India, and we have a long account of that country and of its rulers. He follows Abul Fazl in stating, pp. 35, 36, that the Hindus are not idolaters, or at least that they defend themselves against the charge, and say that they use images on the same principle as Muhammadans have Imāms and teachers to whom they look when they pray. At p. 36 we have a description of Indian weights, and a statement that, according to the Hindus, one of their Vedas makes mention of Muhammad. At p. 38 we have a reference to the ever-interesting subject of the comparison of eras. This is recurred to at p. 52, where we are told that 1195 A.H. corresponds to 1838 Vikramaditya and 1698 Salivahan. The account of Delhi has been already noticed, and the long narrative of Indian dynasties need not detain us. Here and there we get interesting notices, *e.g.*, at p. 98, where we are told of an immense cooking-pot presented to the shrine at Ajmīr by Akbar, which could cook 140 maunds of food, and which Ilāh Yār tells us was still in existence in 1195 A.H.\* At p. 100 we have an account of a wonderful present sent by Shāh Jahān in 1058 A.H. to Mecca, which contained among other things a piece of ambergris weighing 700 tolahs, and a diamond 100 sarkhs in weight. In the account of Aurangzib's reign, whom, of course, the author greatly admires, we are told (p. 109) of a spirited reply by the Armenian poet and ascetic named Sarmad Darvesh to Aurangzib. Dārā Shikoh is said to have been a believer in Sarmad, and to have been told by him that he would obtain a throne. When, then, he had been defeated and put to death, Aurangzib taunted Sarmad with

\* I am informed that the great *deg* is still in use.

his prophecy, saying, "You told Dārā that he would gain a throne, and now, behold, he is dead." "I promised him sovereignty," replied Sarmad, "and now, lo, he is seated on a throne that fadeth not away!" I should have noticed that at p. 91 there is an account of Akbar. It does not give much that is new, but there is an interesting anecdote of Akbar's clemency towards one Shaikh Muhammad Taqī who declined to desert Dāūd Khan, saying that a woman whose husband was alive could not take another mate. There is also a quotation (probably taken from "Nizām-ud-din") from the famous declaration drawn up by Mubārak, the father of Abul Fazl, and the verse is given which Akbar tried to utter from the pulpit of the mosque in Fatehpur Sikri. Ilāh Yār adds that the people said that Akbar was claiming the gift of prophecy, and were displeased; and he quotes two sarcastic lines of Saidī of Lahore to the effect that this year Akbar was claiming to be a prophet, and that next year, *if God willed*, he would be God.\* At the end of the account of Aurangzib numerous extracts are given from his correspondence. At p. 129 we have a reference to a work called "Inshā-i-Qalandar," "Letters of a Calendar," written by Yār Muhammad, a servant of Nawab Amīn-ed-daula, and an account by the latter, taken apparently from this "Insha," of the death of 'Azīm-us-shān. Amīn-ed-daula was present at the battle, and gives a graphic description of how the Prince's elephant was wounded in his proboscis and became unmanageable, and rushed into the river Rāvi. Amīn-ed-daula† followed on horseback; but when he arrived all was over, and he saw naught but the river rolling rapidly and the churning up of mud from the

\* In "Nizām-ud-din Tabaqāt Akbari," p. 340 of Lucknow lithographs there is a remarkable passage about Akbar's suddenly becoming "attracted" or brought under Divine influence, and of his countermanding a hunting party in consequence. The stroke came upon him while he was sitting under a tree, and occurred in the twenty-fourth year of his reign. The passage is omitted in Elliot, vol. viii.

† Scott refers to Amīn-ed-daula's accounts in a note at p. 70 of his translation of Irādāt Khan's "Memoirs."



bottom. Yār Muhammad's letters are referred to by Elliot, "Supplemental Glossary," p. 150, where it is stated that they have been printed at Calcutta under the title of "Dastur-al-Insha." Mr. Beames, however, has been unable to find the book in the India Office Library, and it does not appear in the catalogue of the Persian books in the Asiatic Society's Library. The passage quoted by Elliot from it corresponds to one at p. 143 of the "Ḥadīqa," where a long extract is given from the letters descriptive of the author's embassy to Kumaon.

At foot of p. 138 we have a reference to the author's visit to Rohilkand when he was in attendance on Mir Qāsim, and a description of the depravity which prevailed among the Rohillas. He says that their ways recalled those of Sodom and Gomorrah, and that Shujā'-ed-daula's treatment of them was a fitting chastisement for their sins. At p. 155 we have a description of Lucknow, and of works executed there by an ancestor of his. The author was long in that city in the service of Rajah Nawal Rai. In the supplement, p. 634, we have a description of this Rajah's defeat and death. P. 161 gives an account of Agra, and of a visit paid by the author to Sikandra.

The account of India ends at p. 176, and is succeeded by a description of Syria and its famous men. Here we find, at p. 182, one or two legends about Jesus Christ, and in the following page there is a reference to the book by Jerôme Xavier, and the legend given by him about the Virgin Mary's marriage is reproduced. I have not found anything specially interesting in the long accounts of the third\* and fourth climes, except that, under the head of Tūn, there is a biography of Mubāriz-ul-Mulk, Sar Baland Khan, and, under Nishāpūr, an account of Burhān-ul-Mulk Sayyad Sa'ādat Khan. It may be remarked, too, that the Lucknow edition contains a table of contents, though it is

\* Near the end of the book, in the part of the supplement dealing with the third climate, there is a curious tradition about Nazareth to the effect that, as the people of that village mocked at the pregnancy of the Virgin Mary, girls born there are not virgins. •

not a very full one. I shall therefore not attempt to analyze the book further, but will conclude with the account of the Fort of Allahabad, and the remarkable legend about Akbar's having been originally a Hindu. The author knew Allahabad well, having visited it several times, and having served there for seven or eight years. The account begins in the middle of p. 663.

After telling us that Akbar founded the city and called it Allahābās, and that his grandson, Shāh Jahān, changed the name to Allahabād, he proceeds to mention that when he was in the service of Rajah Nawal Rai, the Naib of Oudh and Allahabad, he saw the original accounts of the costs of making the fort. He forgets the exact figures, but remembers that the amount was two crores and some lakhs, and that the last item was three annas. He also remembers that the rupee was stated to be equal to fifty-two *katcha* copper tankas. Then he describes the mysterious Sarasati river, and says there was a subterranean chamber (*sardāba*) in the fort known by the name of Patālpūrī, and that there was a Brahman woman who would get a light and show it to the curious. She would take him as far as a decayed *ban*-tree, without leaves or branches. Near it was an opening, or window (*daricha*), such as a man could with difficulty pass through; but she would dissuade the visitor from making the attempt by telling how a *jōgī* had once gone in with a torch and lots of oil, but had never come out again.

Then he tells how an accidental fire in the fort led to the discovery of many buildings which had been hidden under jungle and rubbish. In one of them there was found a thing, shaped like a common bat, made of raw leather. He mentioned this afterwards to Captain Jonathan Scott, and was told by him that in old times guns were made of leather. In an old hammām, or bath, in the fort, the writer saw, in 1163 A.H. (the Alchaibar, Elliot's "Supplementary Glossary," i. 265), a tree which, according to the Hindūs, was indestructible, and as old as the world. Jahāngir had

cut it down, and placed a hot iron plate over its root, and built the bath over it; but the tree had sprouted again, and had destroyed the masonry. However, when the author revisited the spot in 1190 A.H., he saw the ruined bath, but not the tree.

And now we come to the legend about Akbar. The Hindūs, he says, used to cut themselves in two on the bank of the Jamna, in order that they might obtain deliverance, or that they might in another birth become kings and princes. Shāh Jahān was said to have removed the saw, etc., by means of which they killed themselves; but many people tell that it was Akbar who removed the implements. An old Hindū who was well versed in their scriptures told the author that Akbar was originally a Hindū ascetic, and was named Mukund. He used to sit on the bank of the Jamna over against Jhūsī, and had three confidential disciples, or *chelas*. From a desire of obtaining sovereignty, he made *hōma* of himself—i.e., he cut himself in two on the saw, and was burnt. His three disciples did the same from a desire to be with him in the other life. In process of time Mukund was born in the house of Humāyūn, and was known as Muhammad Akbar. Likewise his three disciples were born again, and becoming Birbal, Todar Mal, and Tānsēn,\* or, according to another account, the Khān-Khānān, entered into Akbar's service. One day Akbar was playing *chaupar*† with the three, and proposed that each of the four should recite a line of Sanscrit poetry. They threw the dice, and repeated their lines, Birbal being the last. Ilāh Yār forgets the first three lines, but the fourth was :

“Sakal darathārī Brahmachārī Mukund.”

Akbar perceived that they were cognizant of the old affair, and questioned them about the *hōma*, and the burying of

\* Tānsēn was a famous musician from Gwalior. The Khān-Khānān was 'Abdur-Rahim, the son of Bairam Khān. His mother was an Indian lady, her father being Jamāl Khan of Mewat.

† See Blochmann's translation of the Ain, p. 303, for an explanation of this game.

the copper tablet under ground. Birbal gave all the particulars, and thereupon he sent to the Tribeni, and had the saw,\* etc., dug up and destroyed, lest anyone else should form the same design and become King. The author made inquiries about the tablet, and questioned Hindū Pandits about it. They produced their Shāstras, and read the whole story to him. He now copies it, but makes the proviso that the responsibility of the truth or falsehood of the story rests upon them. The story is to the effect that Akbar was, as already stated, originally a distinguished Hindū *darvesh* named Mukund, and that he had a disciple, or *chela*, called Bīran, who, on being born again, received the name of Bīrbal. Mukund engraved on a copper plate the *slok*, with the day, month, and year of his *hōma*, and also with the motive for his regeneration, and buried it in his house, and cremated himself on the top thereof. Thereafter Bīran killed himself by suppressing† his breath. Mukund was reborn in the house of Humāyūn as a king, while Bīran was reborn in the house of a Brahman, and was called Bīrbal. When Muhammad Akbar arrived at years of discretion, he frequently recited the *slok*. One day when Bīrbal was present, Akbar recited the line .

\* "Sakal darathārī Brahmachārī Mukund."

Immediately Bīrbal recited the three preceding lines, and also this fourth one as follows :

V I R S E

"Bas, randhra, bān, chandra, tirtha rājab Priyāgi  
Magar bahul pakhchī dāūdashi pūrab yāmī  
Nakha sikhā tan hōmī sarb bhūmyānda pati  
Sakal darathārī Brahmachārī Mukund."

NOTE.

Ilāh Yār's explanation is given below, but I am unable to identify all the words. Rājab in the first line appears to be the Sanskrit *Vājya*, royal. Bahul or Bahula in the second line is given in the dictionary as meaning the dark half of a month, but it is also said to be the name of the twelfth

\* At foot of p. 665 we have a description of the implement. It was not properly a saw, but was shaped like a sickle or scythe, and was a kind of guillotine.

† The effect of confining the breath being that it burst the skull.

Katā of the moon. Perhaps the word is a mistake for *bāla*, cf. *bāla chandra*, the waxing moon. Bhūmyānda in the third line appears from Ilah Yār's explanation to be a misprint for bhūmikhanda, a division of the earth. Darathāri in the fourth line I am unable to explain. Perhaps it is misprinted, and should be brittdhāri, or birthāri, which might mean, abandoning subsistence. Or the last part may be āhāri from *āhar*, food and *darat* may be connected with the Sanscrit *dara*, clearing or breaking and also little. It is possible, too, that the first word may be *zurat*, *millat*, or maize. I am indebted to Professor Rhys Davids for the reference to Dr. Buhler's book and for other help, but I am responsible for the spelling of the words, etc.

The King perceived that Bīrbal knew about the former matters, and that he was the very Bīraṇ who had been his disciple. Accordingly he sent him to Arail to bring the copper-plate with the *slok* engraved on it. The translation of the *slok* is as follows :

- (1) *Bas* signifies 8.
- (2) *Randar* signifies 9 and stands for 90.
- (3) *Bān* signifies 5, and stands for 500.
- (4) *Chandar* signifies 1, and stands for 1,000.
- (5) *Tīrtha* means a river worshipped by the Hindūs, such as the Ganges, Jamuna, etc.
- (6) *Rājāb* means Rājah.
- (7) *Prayāī* means Allahabad.

Thus the first line signifies :

In 1598 of the Vikramaditya era in the most excellent place of pilgrimage of Allahabad.

The second line signifies :

- (1) *Maḡar*, the month of Magh.
- (2) *Bahul*, days of the moon's increase.
- (3) *Pakhchi* means pākha, i.e., half of a month.
- (4) *Duadashi* means the twelfth day, according to the Hindū calendar, and the tenth according to the Muhammadan calendar, the first day of the month according to the Muhammadan reckoning being the third according to the Hindūs.
- (5) *Pūrah* signifies first.
- (6) *Yāmī* signifies one watch.

The meaning of the second line then is :

In the month of Magh, viz, the time of the sun's entering the constellation of Capricorn, which the Hindūs call Makar (or Magar), on the twelfth day at the first watch.

The third line signifies :

- |                                 |                                      |
|---------------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| (1) <i>Nakha</i> , i.e., nails. | (4) <i>Homī</i> , i.e., fire.        |
| (2) <i>Sikhā</i> , i.e., head.  | (5) <i>Sarb</i> , i.e., all (sarba). |
| (3) <i>Tan</i> , i.e., body.    |                                      |

Though written *sarḥ* it is, says the author, pronounced by the Hindūs as *saha*, and taken to mean one.

(6) Bhuminda (?), territory.

(7) Pātī, Lord.

The meaning, then, of the third line is that the body (of Mukund) from the nails of his feet to the hair of his head, was cut in pieces and burnt, with the design that the owner thereof might in another life become King of a division of the earth, viz., India.

The fourth line signifies :

(1) *Sakal*, all.

(2) *Darathāri* (?) abandoning all sustenance except fruits and the like.

(3) *Brahmachārī*, ascetic.

The fourth line, then, means that Mukund was an ascetic who gave up all food except fruits and the like.

The meaning of the *sloka* is that in 1598 of the Vikramaditya era in Allahabad, and on the twelfth day of the waxing moon, in the first watch, Mukund the ascetic cut his body to pieces and had it burnt in order that he might attain the sovereignty of India.

Ilāh Yār goes on to explain that 1598 Vikramaditya corresponds to 955 A.H., whereas according to historians Akbar was born on Sunday, 5 Rajab 949 A.H., and that the discrepancy of a few years may be due to the difference between lunar and solar calendars. But the fact is that the discrepancy does not exist. 949 Rajab corresponds to Kartik 1599 Vikramaditya and the difference of a few months between January-February (Magh) of 1598 and the actual birth was presumably designedly made in order to allow for the period of Akbar's gestation in the womb of Mariam-Maham Hamida Bānū. If it was the Pandits who explained the discrepancy to Ilāh Yār, it only shows that they did not understand their own era. It seems to me probable, then, that the *sloka* was not an invention of theirs, but a tradition coming down from the time of Akbar.\* Indeed, it is hardly likely that any Hindu would take the trouble to make the *sloka* after Akbar's death. The interest of the *sloka*

\* It seems likely that Birbal, whose estate lay in Karra, near Allahabad, may have had a hand in the composition.

of course lies in the proof which it gives of Akbar's congeniality with the Hindūs, and of their desire to identify him with themselves. It is not improbable that he himself may have favoured the idea set out in the *slok*. We learn from Bādāoni (Blochmann's translation of the 'Ain,' 184) that Akbar had been accustomed from his youth up to celebrate the Hom sacrifice, and also (p. 180, *ib.*) that the doctrine of transmigration had taken a deep root in his heart, and that he approved of the saying, "There is no religion in which the schism of transmigration has not taken firm root."\*

The *slok* is in Hindū rather than Sanscrit, and the words of the first line also give the date 1598, according to a system explained in Bühler's "Indian Palæography," p. 80.

Bas is the Sanscrit *vasir*, equal 8.

Randar is *kandhra*, meaning a fissure or opening, and as there are considered to be nine openings in the human body the word has come to stand for nine, Hindū 90.

Bān is *vāna*, or arrow, and stands for five, in allusion to the five arrows of Cupid.

Chandra is the moon, and may fitly stand for one, or for one thousand as here.

The other words of the *slok* (except *darathārī*) do not seem to present much difficulty. It would be interesting to know if the *slok* is still known in Allahabad, and if the book from which the Pandits are said to have read it is procurable.

Ilāh Yār describes the large assemblage of Hindūs which takes place in the month of Magh, when the sun enters Capricorn, and observes that the tax on the pilgrims is a considerable source of revenue. He also tells a story about Akbar's requesting Bīrbal to bring home a fool, and the latter's replying that one fool was a small matter, for he could, if required, bring a whole city of fools. The allusion was to old Allahabad, which was so badly situated as to be subject every year to inundation.

\* See also Bādāoni II., 300, for a passage translated by Rahatsek in his little book on Akbar's repudiation of Islam, p. 47, where Akbar is described as telling his foster-brother, the Khan-i-'Azam, that he had found absolute proof of the truth of metempsychosis.

## THE CHÂTEAU DE RAMEZAY AT MONTREAL.\*

By MAJOR A. C. YATE, I.S.C.

CANADA is a country which presents to the traveller a very wide range of interests. If mere sight-seeing be the aim, there is every variety of scenery—wood, water, mountain and prairie, rugged peaks and wooded slopes, broad fertile valleys and wild glens and cañyons, snows and glaciers, leaping torrents, foaming rapids, rushing streams with waters brown as those of a Scotch burn, and wide navigable rivers and lakes on which ocean and inland steamers ply. He who would study the industries of the country will find the mines, forests, and salmon fisheries of British Columbia, the horse and cattle ranches of the North-west Territory, the wheat lands of Manitoba, the farms, pastures, and lumber of Ontario and Quebec, the bountiful fisheries and coal mines of the Maritime Provinces, the fur trade of the Far North, the export of wheat and cattle, and a score of other subjects all bound up with the commercial and industrial development of the Dominion. For the man of science there is no lack of interest. In 1897 the British Association made Toronto the scene of its annual meeting. For the student of history and antiquities there would appear to be a less wide field. The existence of an extinct and prehistoric people has been traced throughout the Continent of North America, from Lake Superior to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Alleghanies to the Rocky Mountains. This people, of whom nothing is known, except what their remains reveal, has received the name of the "Mound-Builders." They are supposed to have been of the same race as the ancient people of Mexico, Central America, and Peru. The various theories held as to their origin represent them as having reached America from the east, probably from Asia, either *via* Behring Straits or the islands of the Pacific, or from the west *via* the Canaries and Antilles. When Europeans first discovered and explored North America, the only living inhabitants that they found were those to whom has been given the name of "Red Indians." Of their origin nothing is known. Their history dates from the voyages of Sebastian Cabot in 1498, Gaspard Corteréal (1501), and Jacques Cartier in 1534 and 1535. The relations of these European explorers with the natives were at first friendly, so much so that an Indian chief of the country near Cape Gaspé allowed Jacques Cartier to take two of his sons back with him to France. Gaspard Corteréal, however, is said to have kidnapped fifty-seven natives, and carried them off to be sold as slaves; and on the termination of his second voyage Jacques Cartier, of whom better and wiser conduct might have been expected, lured Donnacona (the Algonquin chief, whose guest he had been all the winter at

\* The authorities I have used are: "The Catalogue of the Museum of the Château de Ramezay," published by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal; F. Parkman's "Montcalm and Wolfe;" Withrow's "History of Canada"; "The Golden Dog" (Le Chien d'or), by W. Kirby. I am indebted to Sir Henri Joly de Lotbinière for information and suggestions most kindly given.



Stadacona, close to where Quebec now is) and nine of his head men on board his ships, *La Grande* and *La Petite Hermine*, and carried them off to France. There they all died. Since those days the history of the Red Indians has been one of perpetual warfare with the "white man." The barbarities which they perpetrated on the early Jesuits and settlers, and their ruthless massacres and tortures of French and English troops and colonists in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have been atoned for by their subsequent gradual decimation and complete subjection in the nineteenth. In these days they are located on "Reserves," the pensioners of the Canadian Government. They want the energy, industry, and ambition to enable them to support themselves. Efforts are made to inculcate in them habits of thrift and agricultural, pastoral, or manufacturing industry. In vain. To hunt and fight is their conception of the whole duty of man. Modern conditions of life permit of their doing the one but little, and the other not at all. The buffalo, by which they once lived, is extinct, except a small herd preserved in the National Park, near Banff, N.W. Territory, for the care of which provision has been made by the Dominion Government. There is seemingly no future before the Red Indians but that of extinction or absorption.\* It is partly, no doubt, the realization of this that has prompted the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal to lay the foundation of a collection of Indian antiquities in the Château de Ramezay. There are there three cases containing specimens of these antiquities, as also some of the "Mound-Builders" period. There are also other interesting relics, such as (1) the dagger of Tecumseh, the chief who rendered such able service on the Canadian side in the war of 1812-14; (2) the barrel-organ presented by George III. to Thayendanegea (Joseph Brant), the celebrated chief of the Six Nations, whose sister, "Molly Brant," married Colonel Sir William Johnson, who more than any other man in the North American States in the middle of the eighteenth century held the Red Indians of the border true to British interests. Sir William had a son, Sir John, who was evidently one of the United Empire Loyalists, for after the Revolutionary War he settled in Montreal. He became Superintendent of Indian affairs under the Government of Canada, and a member of the Legislative Council. He died in 1830. Both his portrait and that of Thayendanegea, his great-uncle, are to be seen in this museum. That of his more famous father, Sir William, a gentleman of Irish family, and a settler in the State of New York, is not seemingly to be found in the gallery. That a portrait of him exists may be inferred from the engraving in Withrow's History. The British power in North America owes to his influence with the Iroquois, or Indians of the Six Nations, what the Indian Government owes to that of Colonel Sir Robert Warburton with the Afridis. Sir William Johnson was adopted by the Mohawks as a member of their tribe, and chosen as one of their great sachems.

- The history of Canada that is destined to live is that of its earliest

\* In the late war with Spain the U.S. Government organized a corps of "Rough-riders," two or three troops of which are said to have been composed of Red Indians. The same might be done in Canada.

explorers and colonists, amongst whom the French rank first, and the English second. One of the most interesting monuments of that history is the Château de Ramezay in Montreal, of which I propose to record here what little I have been able to learn during a short visit to Canada. It was built about 1705 by Claude de Ramezay, "a distinguished soldier of noble birth," who was Governor of Montreal from 1703 to 1724. In some books I find the name spelt Ramsay or Ramiesay, but Ramezay is the spelling adopted by the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal. It is practically certain that the Governor of Montreal who bore the name was of Scotch extraction. It appears that there are De Ramsays now resident in or near Montreal, and I am informed that some members of the family from France recently visited that city, attracted by the interest attaching to the house which their "forbear" had built and for twenty years inhabited, and by the desire to see something of the country in the history of which he and others of the same name had borne a prominent part. The name is said to be now spelt Ramsay, after the good old Scotch fashion. In the seventeenth century the cadets of many families of the French nobility emigrated to Canada ("La Nouvelle France," as it was then called), while the nominal Viceroyalty was held by several of the highest nobles of the land, viz., the Prince de Condé, Duc de Montmorenci, and Duc de Ventadour. The emigrant nobles were granted seigneuries in various parts of New France, and in some cases these seigneuries have remained in their families to the present day. The Château de Ramezay is the town mansion of one of these seigneurial families. Very little, however, seems to be known of Claude de Ramezay. An autograph letter of his, presented by Judge Baby, is in the museum. In 1703 the Marquis de Vaudreuil, Commandant of Montreal, succeeded the Chevalier de Callière (who had also in his day been Governor or Commandant of Montreal) as Governor of Canada. Claude de Ramezay apparently succeeded De Vaudreuil as Military Governor of Montreal. He appears to have been a man of capacity, and to have interested himself keenly in the pioneering and exploring work to which so many men at that time devoted themselves. In 1702, during his Governorship, a French post was established at Detroit, and in 1717 another at the mouth of the Kaministiquia River, on Lake Superior, where Fort William now is. Nor was M. de Ramezay backward in organizing military expeditions against the English settlements in the New England States. During the whole of De Ramezay's Governorship the English and French colonies in America were at war, as indeed they almost always were, whether the mother-countries were at peace or not. In the winter of 1703-4, and again in 1708, a certain M. Hertel de Rouville led expeditions from Montreal, composed of French and Indians combined, against the New England settlements. The villages of Durfield and Haverhill were the victims. The attacks were made in the night-time, or just before daybreak. Those who were not killed in the onslaught were carried off as prisoners. Terrible stories are told of the barbarities committed in these two raids, but the truth of them is contested. It is, however, certain that the Indians would show no mercy, except in so far as the French could restrain them. We can all understand what that means in

an attack on a dark Canadian winter's night. The fact, however, remains that many of the inhabitants of Durfield, if not of Haverhill also, were carried prisoners to Montreal and settled near there. Their posterity are there still. The British Governors of the New England settlements remonstrated in terms of indignation against these butcheries, but the revenge that the British troops and settlers took was scarcely less savage. The Indians fought on either side—the Abenakis, Hurons, Algonquins, Nipissings, and Illinois on that of the French; the Iroquois on that of the English. The atrocities that the Indians committed, and which the French and English commanders, much as they may have loathed them, could not prevent, fill us as we read them in these days with perfect horror. It seems incredible that men could be such fiends, and that human nature could bear such torture and yet live, as the victims did for hours and even days.\* The Iroquois combined much diplomatic astuteness with their prowess as warriors and cunning as woodsmen. They felt that they held the balance between the English and the French, and although as a rule friendly to the English, did not throw in their lot absolutely with them. Whenever they thought fit, they would make temporary truces or treaties with the French without consulting the English, whose allies they nominally were. Peace made on these terms was broken on the first opportunity. *Ça va sans dire.*

The Governorship of Claude de Ramezay is said to have ended in 1724, whether owing to his death or retirement we are not told. In 1745 the château passed into the hands of "La Compagnie des Indes," and remained with them till September, 1760, when Montreal surrendered to the united forces of Amherst, Haviland, and Murray. We are not told what use was made of the château from 1724 to 1745. Tradition associates with the château the name of De Vaudreuil, one celebrated in the annals of "La Nouvelle France," but it is not explicit as to date, or indeed any detail. The first Marquis de Vaudreuil, after having been for some years Commandant of Montreal, became Governor of Canada in 1703, and retained that post until he died, respected and regretted, in 1725. The second Marquis de Vaudreuil assumed the Governorship of Canada in 1754 or 1755. He was a man of seemingly honest purpose, but fell, according to Parkman's narrative, under the influence of the unscrupulous Intendant Bigot, who did his best to foster rivalry and jealousy between him and Montcalm. The result was fatal to France, but for that Bigot cared nothing. De Vaudreuil's jealousy often thwarted Montcalm's best efforts for the welfare of La Nouvelle France. This Marquis de Vaudreuil, together with Bigot and others, was, on his return to France, thrown into the Bastille. When brought to trial, he was honourably acquitted. He had served France for fifty-six years as Governor successively of Three Rivers, Louisiana, and Canada, and is said to have

\* The Chevalier de Lévis, next to Montcalm, the foremost French soldier in Canada in the middle of the 18th century, said, in justification of the employment of the Indians in the fierce fighting between the French and English colonists in North America, that the Indian was as necessary to the forest warfare of the West as light cavalry (*cavalerie légère*) to campaigning in Europe. ●

returned to France impoverished by his efforts to promote the welfare of the colonies under his rule. The error of judgment that made him the dupe or accomplice of Bigot and the rival of Montcalm probably caused France the loss of Canada.

It is said that when Claude de Ramezay died (no date given) his heirs found themselves unable to bear the expense of keeping up so large a residence, and sold it to "La Compagnie des Indes."\* From 1745 to 1760 it was thus the headquarters of a great French trading company, the resort of Indian *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois*, coming in from the north and west with their loads of furs, and selling or bartering them to the agents of the company, by whom they were shipped to France. This company also held by charter a monopoly in the purchase and sale of all imports and exports in the colony. When Canada passed into the possession of Great Britain, in 1760, the Château de Ramezay became General Amherst's headquarters, and subsequently for a short time those of General Gage. We find from Withrow's History that it was a De Ramsay (as Withrow spells it) who surrendered Quebec to General Townshend after Wolfe's victory on the Heights of Abraham. There was no absolute necessity for surrendering Quebec. De Bougainville was at Cap Rouge, and De Vaudreuil at Beauport, each with a force of from 1,500 to 2,000 men. De Lévis, who was a General of energy and ability, had been at once summoned from Montreal by the Governor of Canada (De Vaudreuil) to take up the command of the French forces *vice* Montcalm, who had died of the wounds received on the Plains of Abraham during the night that followed Wolfe's victory. De Lévis wrote to De Ramsay to hold out to the last, promising him prompt support and relief. Meanwhile, De Bougainville and De Vaudreuil, the one in rear and the other in front of General Townshend's besieging force on the Heights of Abraham, appear to have done absolutely nothing, although they had it in their power, if not to attack, at any rate to harry the British camp and position. On the 18th of September, five days after Wolfe's victory, De Ramsay surrendered. He cannot have been a man of much strength of character, for in Montcalm's last moments he must needs appeal to him for counsel regarding the defence of Quebec. Montcalm begged him to leave him alone and in peace. "I have given my whole life to my country, and would give my last moments to God," he said. "To your keeping I leave the honour of France." De Lévis, had he been there, might have saved both that honour and Quebec; but in the hands of the triumvirate, De Vaudreuil, De Bougainville, and De Ramsay, there was small hope for either.

When Canada was ceded to the British, the Château de Ramezay was not at first annexed as the residence of the Governor of Montreal. It was purchased from the "Compagnie des Indes" by William Grant, Baron de

\* Familiarly known as "La Grande Compagnie," and popularly termed "La Friponne." Its headquarters were at Quebec, in the hands of Messieurs Bigot, Varin, Cadet, De Péarn, and others. To those who are indisposed to study books of a purely historical character, it may be interesting to know that in the well-written romances, entitled "The Golden Dog," by W. Kirby, and "The Seats of the Mighty," by Gilbert Parker, they will find accurate pictures of men, manners, and life in Canada from 1745 to 1760. The characters introduced are historical, and the events are based on fact.

Longueil.\* It is doubtful if the Grants ever occupied the château, for it continued to be known for some ten years after the cession by the name of the "Indian House." The Government of Canada then, finding it necessary to provide the Lieutenant-Governor with a suitable residence, leased it. The first Lieutenant-Governor who tenanted it was Mr. Cramahé. He had scarcely settled there when the approach of General Montgomery, in November, 1775, with a force of New England Revolutionists compelled him to vacate it and retire to Quebec. There, pending the arrival of General Sir Guy Carleton, he made energetic preparations for the defence of Quebec, and declined to give any answer to Benedict Arnold's summons to surrender, which was made on the 14th of October. On the 19th Sir Guy Carleton arrived, and assumed command of the defence. It was on the 12th of November, 1775, that General Montgomery entered Montreal, and on the 4th of December his forces, and those of Arnold, about 1,200 men in all, appeared before Quebec. Montgomery was slain in a vain attempt to capture the town on the night of the 31st December, 1775. Quebec was not then fortified as it is now. (The existing fortifications were constructed at a very heavy cost under the orders of the Great Duke about sixty-five years ago.) The defences that separated the Upper from the Lower Town were but weak. They were approached by a street now known as Mountain Hill, and by a steep flight of steps, which has since disappeared. The foot of Mountain Hill was approached from the east and west by narrow streets through the Lower Town under the cliff. These streets were barricaded and held by a small number of British troops. In the barricade facing west, against which Montgomery with 500 or 600 men advanced, were two guns charged with grape. When the defenders saw the attacking column advancing over the snow, they discharged the two guns and swept away the head of the column, including General Montgomery and some of his staff. His force, left without a leader, then retreated. Meanwhile, Arnold with his column was pressing hard on the defenders of the barricaded street on the other side, and slowly forcing them back to the foot of Mountain Hill. Montgomery's death saved Quebec. Had his column succeeded, Arnold and Montgomery combined would in all probability have forced the defences of the Upper Town, and the only city then left in the hand of the British in Canada would have fallen. Had this happened, possibly the Dominion of Canada would never have come into existence. Both England and the Dominion owe much to this determined defence of Quebec.

On the cliff above the spot where Montgomery fell, bravely leading his men on through a snowstorm, a tablet has been placed; and inserted in the walls of the city, near the Gate of St. Louis, is an inscription put up to his memory by "a few American children." French, English, and Americans have all alike contributed to make the history of Quebec, and that fact is to-day recognised in the monuments that honour and commemorate side by side the names of brave men of all three nations, Montcalm and Wolfe, De Lévis and Murray, Champlain and Montgomery.

\* The Grants, Barons de Longueuil, hold the only Colonial peerage in the British Empire. Their barony, though created by the Bourbons, is held in right of their domain in Canada, and as such is now recognised by the Herald's office.

\* On the 31st of December, 1875, under the auspices of Colonel T. B. Strange, R.A., then commanding the Canadian artillery, a ball was given in the citadel of Quebec to commemorate the centenary of the repulse of Arnold and Montgomery's attack. Colonel Strange and all the officers appeared in the uniform of 1775. At the stroke of midnight a cupboard-door in the ball-room flew open and a boy-bugler jumped out and blew the call to arms. At the same time the heavy tramp of soldiers was heard coming down the long corridor. In marched a sergeant's guard in the uniform of 1775. Colonel Strange and his officers advanced to meet them, while all the guests crowded in from every side. Verses suitable to, and commemorative of, the occasion were then recited by the officer of the guard, and replied to (also in verse) by Colonel Strange, the author of the verses. The guard then withdrew. It was a romantic and impressive *coup de théâtre*. Discharges of blank from the guns on the ramparts added to the effect. The memory of Colonel (now Major-General) T. B. Strange is still respected and cherished in Quebec for the humanity and courage with which, at the risk of his life, he quieted several serious riots which took place in the town during the period of his command.

Arnold, after his repulse and Montgomery's death, remained inactive in camp before Quebec. A M. de Beaujeu (a descendant of the De Beaujeu who defeated Braddock's force at Monongahela in 1755\*), with 350 loyal French Canadians, made a sortie and attacked Arnold's camp. The attack was repulsed with loss. Finally, early in May, 1776, the Americans were driven from before Quebec, leaving guns, stores, provisions, and even their sick behind. Meanwhile, three American Commissioners, Benjamin Franklin, Samuel Chase, and Charles Carroll, came to Montreal to urge the Canadians to join the revolted colonies against Great Britain. The Marquis de La Fayette was the foremost of the foreign European officers who gave his services in aid of the North American Revolutionists. He did his best to draw the French Canadians from their allegiance to Great Britain. They, however, showed no inclination to fight side by side in revolt with the men whose sworn enemies they and their ancestors had been for a full century. Moreover, the Quebec Act of 1774 had won for the British Government their gratitude and goodwill. They declined to accede to the overtures of de La Fayette. His exasperation found vent in the parting words, "Vous êtes un troupeau de moutons." Benjamin Franklin certainly, if not the other two Commissioners, resided when in Montreal in the Château de Ramezay, and here† a certain M. Mesplet,

\* It is a curious coincidence that at Monongahela De Beaujeu was killed and Braddock died of his wounds; while at Quebec in 1759 Wolfe was killed and Montcalm died of his wounds. Of the two last one monument, erected on the site of the old Château de St. Louis, at Quebec, now commemorates the death and the fame.

† I possess (among other photographs of this château) one that shows the vault in which this printing press was worked. The vehicle in the picture is locally known as a *calèche*, and is said to be 150 years old. It is in excellent condition, the leather straps on which the body is hung looking as sound as the day they were made. The spokes of the wheels trend or curve outwards from the hub to the tire, so that the wheel is in shape slightly concave. A similar vehicle still bearing the name of *calèche* (vulgo "calash") is in use to this day in Quebec.

under the orders of Benjamin Franklin, set up the first printing press in Montreal. The first printing press in Canada was set up in Quebec in 1764, and on the 21st of June of that year the first number of the "Quebec Gazette," a journal which till recently was still published, made its appearance. Benedict Arnold, after his failure at Quebec, went to Montreal and took command of the revolutionary troops there. He resided in the Château de Ramezay. By June, 1776, General Burgoyne had arrived at Quebec with 10,000 men, and Brigadier-General Frazer had routed the Americans at Three Rivers. Arnold then found it necessary to withdraw with his troops from Montreal to Crown Point, on Lake Champlain. Thus ended the invasion of Canada by the revolutionary forces. Among those who joined and reinforced Sir Guy Carleton in the spring of 1776 was Colonel Barry St. Leger, in command of the 34th Foot. He took part in Sir Guy's operations in 1776, and in the spring of 1777 started to co-operate with General Burgoyne in his invasion of New York State. As is known, the enterprise ended in the surrender of General Burgoyne and 6,000 men at Saratoga. On 21st October, 1782, Colonel Barry St. Leger was appointed to a brigade in the Army in Canada, "his command consisting of the troops on the Island of Montreal, Isle of Jesus, Miller Island as far as Côteau du Lac upon the north, and from thence to La Prairie exclusive on the south side of the River St. Lawrence."\* He was Commandant of the King's Forces in Canada in 1784, his headquarters being at Montreal, in the Château de Ramezay. It is of an old Irish private of St. Leger's regiment (the 34th), named Darby Monaghan, that the story is told on which is founded Charles Lever's humorous scene in "Jack Hinton" of the knighthood of Sir Corney Delaney.

After the withdrawal of the Americans the Château de Ramezay remained untenanted until the Government bought it from the Grants, and made it the official residence of the Governors of Lower Canada temporarily resident in Montreal. Their permanent residence was at Quebec, and for years the Governors, when they visited Montreal, had to bring their own furniture with them. At last, however, a grant of money was voted to them for the purchase of permanent furniture for their Montreal residence. For half a century it was occupied by successive Governors, who made many alterations and additions. Lord Metcalfe (1843-44) was the last resident Governor, the seat of government between the years 1841 to 1858 being fixed successively at Quebec, Kingston, Montreal, then at Toronto and Quebec alternately, and finally, by Her Majesty's decision, at Ottawa, where it has since remained.

The union of the Provinces of Upper and Lower Canada was formally proclaimed on the 10th of February, 1841. After the establishment of the Governor-General in a new Government House, and again, when the headquarters of the provincial government of the Lower Province was transferred to Quebec, the Château de Ramezay was used for various governmental purposes. Among others, the Law Courts sat there, and afterwards certain rooms were used for classes of the Normal School and of the Medical

\* Vide "Historical Reminiscences of the Château de Ramezay," *Quebec Daily Telegraph* of November 27, 1897.

Faculty of Laval. The extensive vaults and cellars below the house had in the 18th century been used by the French as store-houses for the large quantities of supplies which, owing to the hostility of the Indians, it was necessary to maintain there. So incessant were at times the raids of the Iroquois, whether instigated by the New England Government or not, that cultivation was almost an impossibility, and all food supplies had to be imported from France and stored in Montreal. Some of the vaults also were used as dungeons, and at times refractory Indian chiefs were probably incarcerated there to give them time to see reason; while in some cases they were detained as hostages for the good faith of their tribe. There was also a deep well in one vault, now boarded over. Under the English Governors, these vaults were used as wine-cellar, servants' offices, and quarters for the Governor's guard, for the preservation of the old French and English official and other records, and for the storage of fuel and supplies. In one vault we still find the kitchen. The huge fireplace was fitted up above with an arrangement for smoking ham and bacon, while on one side opened a large oven, about 5 feet in diameter, for baking bread. In a recess close by was hung a drum, in which worked, like a squirrel in a cage, the turnspit-dog that roasted the joints. In the corner of another vault still lies a portion of the first system of water-pipes used in Montreal. It is the trunk of a tree, 10 or 12 feet long, by 9 or 10 inches in diameter, hollowed out. The walls of the vaults are in some places of great thickness, ranging from 5 to 8 feet. In the early part of the 18th century, when a good house was built, it was solidly built. It is stated that some fifty years ago, soon after the château ceased to be the residence of the Governors, the City Council authorized the demolition of a portion of it, in order to open up a thoroughfare. The building was thus cut in two. The portion which is now used as the museum was retained by the civic authorities. The remainder was turned into a hotel, in which Jenny Lind and Charles Dickens, amongst others, are said to have stayed. Between 1880 and 1890 the City Magistrates of Montreal meted out justice for petty misdemeanours in this building. Rooms which had been tenanted by a Governor-General, and which for 140 years had been the centre of the French and British rule in Montreal thus gradually sank to the level of a police magistrate's court. About this time, however, public attention was drawn to this building (largely owing to the exertions of the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society of Montreal) and to its antiquarian and historical interest. When, in 1893, the Provincial Government offered it for sale by public auction, it was bought by the Corporation of the City of Montreal with the view of preserving the building and establishing in it a free public archæological, scientific, and historical museum. In 1895 the custody of the château, on behalf of the people of the city, was vested in the Numismatic and Antiquarian Society. The château is, as before stated, very solidly built, and, preserved as it will be for the future, and protected as it has been from the risks of fire by the introduction of fire-proof flooring, ought to have before it a long life as a memorial of the past history of Montreal and Lower Canada, and as a museum of their records and antiquities. Here also at the present day the descendants



of the United Empire Loyalists, *i.e.*, those American colonists who not only refused to bear any part in the Revolutionary War of 1775 to 1783 against the mother country, but also, many of them, took up arms in her support, hold their monthly meetings. These meetings perpetuate the memory of the loyalty and the sufferings of those who forfeited their homes and their fortunes, in short their all, rather than fight against the country from which they or their forefathers had emigrated to the New England and Southern States. These men, with their families, moved from the States to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, and Upper and Lower Canada, where free grants of land were assigned to them. Moreover, the British Parliament voted £3,300,000 for their indemnification and support. Their number is estimated at 25,000. During the War of Independence the condition of those who remained in the States had been far from enviable. Regarded as traitors by the revolutionists, they were exposed to insult, to loss of property, and to danger to the lives of themselves and their families. They are men whose fidelity should be remembered to this day and to all time with pride and gratitude by every Briton, and their descendants do well to perpetuate the memory of their courage and loyalty by joining the United Empire Association. It was in the Château de Ramezay that met from 1838 to 1840 the Special Council (half English and half French) which was appointed by the Home Government to act in place of the legislature of Lower Canada during the Rebellion and so-called "Patriotic War" of 1837-38. The Constitution was for the time suspended. The Special Council paved the way for the Act of Union of 1840, which was a step towards the present Constitution of the Dominion. The Confederation of 1866 was the final step.

Two of the principal rooms in the Château are now known as the "Salle du Conseil" and the Library. With the former tradition associates many names (already mentioned) well known to history, and on whom the varying fortunes of Canada have depended. Its walls are now hung with engravings and documents that commemorate those names and those fortunes. The old fireplace in the Library has only recently been discovered, having been walled up for many years. The treasures that have already been collected in this, the first Canadian Museum of Antiquities, are most interesting and valuable, and some are unique. There are 113 portraits, 82 historical pictures, and 74 old prints, which illustrate the most celebrated names and the most famous scenes and events of Canadian history, from Jacques Cartier to Sir John Macdonald. Early explorers, Jesuit missionaries, governors and generals, both French and English; old maps and prints of Canada, Quebec, and Montreal, battle scenes, etc., are the subjects. In addition there is a collection of scarce books, papers, documents and magazines connected with Canada, weapons of the 17th and 18th centuries, and many quaint and curious relics both of war and peace. The supplement of these may be sought in the treasures of the Laval University, the Basilica, the Seminary, and the Ursuline Convent of Quebec. Very recently in support of a charity some residents of Quebec, aided by a few contributors from Montreal, lent their most valuable paintings and other

artistic and historical possessions to form an Art Exhibition. It formed a corollary to the collection of the Château de Ramezay. Specimens of the finest English, French, Spanish, Italian, and Dutch masters are to be found in Quebec and Montreal, especially in Quebec. Many of these were brought over by the refugees during the Reign of Terror. The Literary and Historical Society of Quebec has been in existence for over three-quarters of a century, and on the list of its members are found the names of the Governors General, Commanders of the Forces, and of nearly all the men who have distinguished themselves in Canada during that long period. Its records will be found a source of valuable information open to all those who seek for knowledge concerning the history and the varied resources of Canada.

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

### ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

THE Council of the East India Association submit their Report for the year 1898-99. The past season has been one of some activity, and the Association has been able to place before its members and the general public papers and discussions of exceptional interest. The last lecture of the season which was to have been delivered during the present month by Mr. Virchand R. Gandhi on the Jain Religion, which was expected with much interest, has unfortunately been indefinitely postponed owing to the absence from England of the distinguished lecturer.

The Association has sustained an irreparable loss in the death of Dr. G. W. Leitner, LL.D., who had been a most active member for the last 25 years. His great attainments and his distinguished services in almost every branch of Oriental learning have been recognised by the scientific and literary world and English and foreign Governments. In the East India Association he took the warmest and most constant interest, and the Council feel that there is no one who can adequately fill his place or sustain and animate its discussions with the same wealth of knowledge on all difficult problems of Oriental and especially Muhammadan sociology, ethnology, law, language and sentiment. His enthusiasm and untiring energy were always at the service of our Association. For some years the proceedings of the Association, with addresses and discussions delivered before it, have been published in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, which he owned and edited, with good results both to the Association and the *Review*, which, under his control, has risen to the highest rank as an authoritative and liberal exponent of the best opinions on all questions relating to the Eastern world. The Council has already conveyed to Mrs. Leitner and the family an expression of their profound regret at her husband's death and their high appreciation of his character and services, and they are glad to understand that there is a firm resolve to continue and indeed largely increase the influence and area of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, which will continue to be the official record of the proceedings of the Association.

During the past year several questions of importance have been considered and discussed, and several papers of great interest read before large and appreciative audiences. One burning question still under discussion is the treatment of Indian emigrants in the British South African colonies and in the Transvaal. With regard to the first part of the subject, our last annual report showed that the Association, after full inquiry, and after the delivery of a lecture before it by Mr. Robert Cust on the grievances of British Indian Immigrants in Natal, had taken every step to bring the disabilities under which Indians suffered, and the grievances of which they most justly complained, under the notice of the Secretary of State and the

Governor-General in Council. The representations then made have not been successful, and before renewing them with the Governor-General recently appointed, it was thought desirable to allow him some time to become familiar with Indian questions and politics. It is now proposed to address him and urge the desirability of reconsidering the rules which facilitate the immigration of Indian British subjects to South Africa, restricting or prohibiting such immigration till such time as just and equal treatment is accorded to Indian merchants and traders. With regard to the Transvaal, the Association have not felt it incumbent upon them to take immediate action. It seems certain that the treatment of British Indian subjects in the Transvaal is harsh and unjust in the extreme; but these grievances are more or less shared by the whole Uitlander population, and their redress is in the hands of H.M. Government. Nor does it seem appropriate to agitate for the removal of disabilities on Indians in foreign territory while those in British territory remain unredressed. When British colonies have removed the grievances of their Indian fellow-subjects we shall have a much stronger reason to urge their redress elsewhere.

In accordance with the request of the Associated Chambers of Commerce a deputation, consisting of Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Mr. Lesley Probyn, Mr. T. H. Thornton, C.S.I., and Sir M. M. Bhownaggee, was appointed to join that of the Chambers of Commerce in an interview with the Marquis of Salisbury on the Railway Connection of India and China.

The Chairman of the Council was also invited to attend and speak at a Conference in a Committee-room of the House of Commons on the question of Ocean Telegraphs, a discussion on which was raised by Mr. Henniker Heaton, M.P.

The most interesting event connected with the meetings of the Association was the first public appearance of the Earl of Elgin, late Viceroy of India, who took the chair on the occasion of a paper read by Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I., on the India Famine Report of 1899, and made two most interesting speeches, in which he explained and justified his famine policy, and expressed the warm acknowledgments of the people of India for the help and sympathy extended to them by the people of England.

Another address to the Association deserving special mention was delivered by the Honble. John Barrett, United States Consul-General at Bangkok, on Siam and Her Neighbours. This lecture was a little outside the ordinary routine of the Association's work; but it was explained by the Chairman, and the policy has been endorsed by the Council, that the connection of India with other countries in the East, such as Persia, Afghanistan, China and Siam, has now become so intimate that it was desirable to occasionally extend the area of the Association proceedings and invite lectures on such countries when it was evident that Indian policy or interests were directly involved.

Other lecturers of reputation and exceptional knowledge who addressed meetings of the Association during the past season were Colonel R. C. Temple, C.I.E., on "The Development of Currency in the Far East," with Lord Reay in the chair; Sir Charles Roe, on "Tribes and the Land in the

Punjab," with Sir Lepel Griffin in the chair ; Mr. C. W. Whish, on "Reform in the Police Administration of India," with Lord Reay in the chair ; Sir Roland Wilson, Bart., on "The Codification of the Personal Laws of the Natives of India," with Sir Raymond West, K.C.I.E., in the chair.

The question of the formation of agricultural banks was discussed by the Council in connection with a scheme propounded by Mr. Alexander Rogers, C.S., and it was ultimately resolved that, although they would gladly see agricultural banks experimentally started in suitable districts on the general lines laid down by Mr. Rogers, they did not see their way to take any practical action to give effect to the scheme.

The question of the disqualification of retired civilians for appointments to such posts under the Indian Administration as were open to English barristers and others unconnected with the Civil Service was discussed, but the matter was considered to be of too special a character to be submitted to public discussion in an open meeting of the Association.

The subject of reforms in the police administration in connection with Mr. Whish's paper was also discussed by the Council.

Sir William Rattigan, Q.C., and Sir Charles Roe have been elected members of Council of the Association.

#### ANNUAL MEETING.

THE annual meeting of the East India Association was held on July 17, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., presiding, and there were present, among others, Sir M. M. Bhownagree, K.C.I.E., M.P. ; Sir Roper Lethbridge, K.C.I.E. ; Sir William Rattigan, Q.C. ; Mr. Lesley Probyn ; Mr. P. M. Pait, F.R.G.S. ; Mr. A. H. Wilson ; Mr. Brij Behari Lal Bisya ; Mr. M. Abdullah Shah ; Mr. H. R. Cook ; Mr. Martin Wood ; and the Hon. Secretary, Mr. C. W. Arathoon.

The Right Hon. Lord Reay was unanimously re-elected vice-president. The retiring members of the Council were re-elected, and the appointments of Sir Charles Roe and Sir William Rattigan as members of the Council were confirmed.

The Hon. Frederick Verney, of the Siamese Legation, proposed by the chairman, was elected a member of the Association ; and, on the proposal of Sir Roper Lethbridge, Mr. Dossabhai Nusserwanji Chenoz, of Hyderabad Deccan, was also elected a member of the Association.

The CHAIRMAN, Sir Lepel Griffin, in opening the proceedings, said that, as the meeting was of a formal character to adopt the report and accounts, and elect the officers of the Association for the coming year, he would only make a few observations to supplement the report which expressed the views of the Council generally on the events of the past year. In the first place, he would express the acknowledgments of the Association to their distinguished president, Lord Reay, who had, at personal inconvenience to himself, taken great and constant interest in their affairs, and was always ready to preside at their public meetings, where his interesting, scholarly, and eloquent speeches had added value and attraction to their gatherings. The expectations which the Association had formed of Lord Reay when

he consented to accept the office of president had been most fully realized. He would further congratulate the Association on having added to the Council two distinguished men, Sir Charles Roe and Sir William Rattigan, who were prepared to give their time to the service of the Association. Sir Charles Roe had already delivered a very interesting lecture before them, and Sir William Rattigan was now investigating the somewhat obscure question of their Indian trusts, and had made suggestions which he hoped when carried out would result in a satisfactory conclusion of a matter which had caused them much anxiety and trouble.

The Chairman desired, in addition to the collective opinion of the Council which had been expressed in the report, to add his personal expression of grief at the loss the Association had sustained in the death of Dr. Leitner, who had been his close and intimate friend for many years. When Dr. Leitner first came to the Punjab, the Chairman was associated with him in all his schemes for educational and social progress, and took a large part in founding the Punjab University, the idea of which was Dr. Leitner's, and its success chiefly due to his earnest and untiring efforts and great organizing power. No one who was not in intimate relations with Dr. Leitner could have any idea of his immense energy, his enthusiasm for all good and worthy objects, and his love and devotion for the people of India, which was returned by them with a confidence and esteem which were rarely shown by Indians to any European. It might truly be said that his intellectual labours for the good of India, and in the interests of Oriental science, caused his premature death, which was so much lamented by the Association, a loss which was felt to be irreparable.

On the next subject mentioned in the report, the grievances of Indian British subjects in the Transvaal, and in the South African colonies of England, the Chairman observed that the attitude of the Council had been that it was illogical to attempt to remove the mote from our neighbour's eye until we had taken the beam out of our own. He did not mean to imply that the injury and degradation which Indian merchants suffered in the Transvaal were not more severe than in Natal and other British districts; but the British Administration had higher aims and a higher standard of civilization than that of the Transvaal, and our first efforts must be to obtain for Indians in British colonies the rights which belonged to all honest, loyal, and well-conducted subjects of Her Majesty. The Association considered the matter one of the highest importance, and were preparing a reference to the Indian Government embodying the arguments and suggestions which had already received the general adhesion of the Association.

Although the year under review had not been an exciting one, the Chairman thought that a perusal of the report would show that it had been neither undignified nor unfruitful, that a good deal of work had been done, and that the Association had been able to place distinguished lecturers and subjects of interest and value before the members and the public. Much still remained to be done, and he trusted the Council and the general body of members would continue to exert themselves in furthering the objects of the Association, and in obtaining new members. He considered

it a special honour for the Association that the late Viceroy, the Earl of Elgin, should have chosen one of their meetings at which to make his first public utterances of great interest on his return to England, and he trusted that ere long he might be included in the number of their vice-presidents. An invitation to join that distinguished body had been made to H.H. the Maharaja of Durbhanga, as it was felt that it was most desirable to obtain the name and co-operation of one of the princes of Bengal.

SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, in moving the adoption of the report and accounts, said he wished to draw the attention of the members of the Association, and of the British public at large, to the especial value and importance of the functions of the Association just at the present time.

We are all aware that the Government, on the report of the Currency Commission, are about to take measures which, whatever other effects they may have on the interests and well-being of India—and personally he thought they will be altogether beneficial—will, at any rate, have this momentous result : that they will do away, once and for ever, with that one great terror of Indian financiers and English investors—the Exchange demon.

Now, it is obvious that this must mean the beginning of a new era in the development of the resources of India, and of the financial relations between England and India. The one great bar to the free use in India of unlimited amounts of English capital will be swept away at one blow ; and those who are acquainted with the vast resources of India still undeveloped, and almost untouched by reason of this bar, will best be able to foresee the immense commercial and industrial changes on the threshold of which we now stand in India. Our Association is instituted “for the independent and disinterested advocacy and promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests and welfare of the inhabitants of India generally.” We are the only Association in England that attempts to deal with the political and commercial or industrial aspects of Indian questions, and to bring those aspects before the British public with the aid of local knowledge and experience. He ventured to submit, therefore, that such a crisis, such a commercial revolution, as that with which we are this year brought face to face in India, will impose on this Association responsibilities such as it has never borne before. More responsibilities will deserve and demand the closest attention from the office-bearers and members of the Society, and will, he hoped, largely increase its influence and authority as the exponent of instructed and expert Indian opinion.

MR. LESLEY PROBYN moved a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Lepel Griffin for the zeal and ability he had shown in the interests of the Association.

At a meeting of the East India Association held at the Westminster Town Hall on Friday, November 24, a paper was read by Sir William Rattigan, Q.C., on “The Mogul, Mahratta, and Sikh Empires in their Zenith and Fall.” Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., presided. The following, among others, were present : Lady Rattigan ; Surgeon-General Penny, M.D. ; Colonel A. T. Fraser ; Colonel Seddon ; Captain and Mrs. Brander ; Captain Seddon ; Lieutenant H. C. Macdonald ; Mr. William Hanbury

Aggs; Shaikh Mohad Akbar; Mrs. C. W. Arathoon and the Misses Arathoon; Mr. Reginald Brown, Q.C.; Mr. C. Bulnois; Miss Bulnois; Mr. J. Bowden; Surendra Nath Chandra; Bhupendra Nath Chowdhry; Mr. H. R. Cook; Mr. T. J. Desai; Mr. R. W. Frazer; Miss Gawthrop; Mr. J. Harding; Mr. E. Horritz; Miss Hughes; Mr. B. Kureshi; Mr. Louis; Mrs. C. C. Macdonald; Mr. M. G. Harriot; Mr. C. G. Master; Mr. Syed Alay Mohamed; Mr. Guru Das Nanda; Mr. K. Narain; Mr. P. Justin O'Byrne; Mr. John Parkinson; Mr. Ebrahim M. Patail; Mr. Sundar Dass Pasrisha; Mrs. Peile; Mr. J. B. Pennington (retired M.C.S.); Mr. Gulla Ram; Mr. Bhai G. Singh; Mr. K. Harnam Singh; Mr. Alfred Inman; Mr. Beverley G. Ussher.

In introducing the lecturer, the Chairman took occasion to invite the native gentlemen present, and others, who were studying at the Universities or Inns of Court, to become members of the East India Association, which was a progressive, and not an old-world Conservative association, but one which tried to be in the forefront of the times.

Sir William Rattigan, Q.C., then read his paper. (See page 1.)

The CHAIRMAN: I am expected, as Chairman, to say a few words on the eloquent lecture which we have just heard; but it is somewhat difficult, without having had the opportunity of carefully reading so elaborate a paper beforehand, to make any remarks on it which are worthy of your acceptance, and I would accordingly only make one or two observations which seem obviously natural deductions to draw. I would express my acquiescence in almost everything which our lecturer has so well said. In his really eloquent eulogy of the Emperor Akbar, I think almost everyone who is at all familiar with Indian history must agree. But I would go further, and say that we, living in this remote end of the nineteenth century, can hardly compare the practice and procedure of monarchs who lived three hundred years ago with our elaborate and complicated machinery of to-day. We must judge Akbar by the time in which he lived, and I venture to say before this mixed company of Indian and English ladies and gentlemen that there was no contemporary prince in Europe who could compare in ability and genius with the Emperor Akbar. Nor do I really think it would be an exaggeration to say that history contains no name more illustrious than that of that great emperor. From every point of view he was a man of the very highest distinction. I see here a gentleman who is a distinguished writer on Muhammadan subjects, and I will say no more on this particular point. I shall ask Moulvie Ruffi-uddin, whose articles I have read in the *Nineteenth Century* with the greatest pleasure, to say a few words on the subject.

I should like to mention one or two matters relating to other heads of our lecturer's paper. With regard to Mahrattas I will not say much. I have had much to do with Mahrattas, and the two great reigning sovereigns of that race—Holkar and Scindia—I have had the great honour, under the orders of the British Government, of myself placing on their respective thrones, and I have been many years in diplomatic connection with the great Mahratta States; but looking at the fugitive names of Mahratta princes, I can see nothing in them which compares in interest and import-



ance with a name so world-known and illustrious as that of Akbar. With regard to Maharajah Ranjit Singh, I must say our lecturer has not given a very attractive picture. On Sikh history the native gentlemen present will perhaps allow that I have some right to speak with authority, as I, perhaps, have written more on the subject of Sikh history than any other Englishman, at any rate, living to-day. Maharajah Ranjit Singh was not altogether an attractive personality, but I trust that in the work on this great Maharajah which I wrote for the University of Oxford I have done justice to his great qualities. No one wishes to place Ranjit Singh on an ethical pedestal, but he was above all things a strong man. He knew what he wanted, and he got it. If his successors had only been his equals in courage and capacity, I do not think there would ever have been the Punjab War, and possibly the Punjab would now be in friendly alliance with England instead of being absorbed in the British Empire. Maharajah Ranjit Singh was a man of the greatest genius, and being myself a Punjabi, and having myself received a Sikh baptism in the Durbar of Umritsur, I must assert his claim to have been one of the most distinguished and brilliant characters that have flashed over the page of Indian history.

The conclusion I would draw from the lecture is that the secret of success in India—the success of Ranjit Singh, the success of Akbar, and the success up till now, and I trust hereafter, of the British Government—is toleration. The Emperor Akbar was tolerant of all religions. The Maharajah Ranjit Singh had none of any sort or kind, as far as I ever have been able to make out, but was tolerant of all, and his chosen servants were Muhammadans, Brahmans, and Christians. The British Government has maintained a strict and honourable toleration of all the creeds of the subject races, and there is no Muhammadan gentleman, or Hindu gentleman, or Sikh, to-day in this room who can stand up and say that the British Government has oppressed the religion of any of the races which are subject to Her Majesty the Queen. This is, gentlemen, the source of strength in the East, and we shall remain strong so long as we maintain these healthy traditions. If a foolish desire for interference with the creeds of others, and a desire for missionary proselytism, ever seizes on the Government of England and India, then India will be lost, and justly lost, to the English Crown.

Before sitting down, I would say a word of warm appreciation of the Sikh religion, which is closely connected with the lecture, because the Sikh Empire was founded on a theocracy. It was not a religion in the true sense of the word, but an ethical system of the very highest and most ennobling kind, monotheistic in the purest sense, preferring the devotion and the service of the heart to any mere ceremonial observance; and it was chiefly the intolerance of the Emperor Aurungzebe which drove the last and the most famous of the Gurus—Govind Singh—into founding what was a military religion. The religion of Nanak was one of goodwill and of peace.

I will now only thank in the warmest way our lecturer for his most interesting lecture. (See paper elsewhere.)

MOULVI RUFFI-UD-DIN AHMED had very little to say after the learned

and wise remarks of the Chairman. Those who had any faculty for doing so could draw the right conclusions. The lecturer had grouped together three Empires. It was, as the Chairman had said, fallacious to compare the time of Akbar with the present time. The comparison would more justly be made with the time when Queen Mary was on the throne. The object of the lecturer was to draw political conclusions, but it was futile to compare the past Government of India with that of the present day. There was no Indian present who did not glory in the establishment of perfect peace in British India, and who did not feel a kind of pride in being a British citizen ; but that was not inconsistent with taking a kind of glory in the Mogul Empire. It was to the credit of the British Empire that facilities were given for making research into ancient history, and he thought critics and lecturers should not be so hard in drawing comparisons between the two periods. Sentiment sometimes played a great part. No doubt there would have been a natural desire on the part of persons who lived at the time of Akbar or of Maharajah Ranjit Singh that they should have had a place under the Government, but very high places were now denied to Her Majesty's Indian subjects. He wanted to know from the lecturer why he thought that the Empire of Akbar could not be called a Moslem Empire. He thought the lecturer was rather hard in one or two points upon Ranjit Singh. Ranjit Singh was a strong man, and he believed the Moslems of India would like to have another Ranjit Singh. It was not altogether a bad rule, especially when compared with other Governments of the Middle Ages. It would perhaps have been better if the lecturer had confined himself to one empire at a time, more particularly to the legislative part. There were many good enactments which compared favourably even to-day with those of many of the European States.

MR. B. P. SINGH would have felt inclined to enter a strong protest against some of the observations of the lecturer, but having heard what had been said by the Chairman, for whom he entertained the very greatest respect, he would confine himself to a very few words. He was surprised to hear Sir William Rattigan, with all his knowledge of the Punjab and the history of the Sikhs, come to such conclusions as he had come to with regard to faults in the religion or administration of the Sikhs. The lecturer had compared those days with the present, but that was not a fair thing to do. Only a few centuries back in the history of the English nation the same kind of tyranny and oppression existed. There must be some bloodshed, and some war, and a slow progression, the nation building itself up. The circumstances of the times must be had regard to. Much had been said about Ranjit Singh's personal qualities. He might have been immoral. That which would be immoral in one nation might not be immoral in another. It was a question of the circumstances of the country, the religion of the people, and their social customs.

MR. B. KURESHI had no knowledge of the history of the Mogul period, of the Sikh period, or of the Mahratta period, but he did not agree with the last two speakers, one of whom had pleaded for Akbar, and the other for Ranjit Singh. They had both done unconstitutional things, and neither knew how to govern the country.

The CHAIRMAN: I will now ask Sir William Rattigan to reply to the observations which have been made, but before doing so, I would say that, as far as I understand them, the criticisms from both the Sikh and the Muhammadan side have been a little misplaced. I listened to the lecture with extreme attention, and although I may myself have been a little more enthusiastic with regard to those two illustrious monarchs than the lecturer was, yet he seemed to me to have spoken regarding them with the warmest appreciation, and I should be sorry to let it be thought that I in any way agreed with the criticisms which have been offered.

SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN: It is first my pleasant duty to thank you for the kindly way in which you have referred to the paper that I was privileged to read before you. If I have any regret, it is the regret that some of my native friends here should, as I think, have completely misunderstood the tenor and the object of that lecture. This is probably owing to the fact that the paper necessarily had to be somewhat lengthy, and they have not been able to follow the rapid transition of facts and ideas that necessarily also had to be dealt with in the paper itself. They have consequently formed an incorrect estimate of both my object and the purport of my remarks. At all events, it is extremely pleasant to me to know that no apprehension has been raised in the mind of our learned Chairman in regard to either one or the other point. With regard to Akbar, I really thought I was as great an admirer of that great monarch as it was possible for any English reader to be. I thought I had expressed myself so warmly in his praise, had so pointed out all his qualities of a statesman and a monarch, and as a general and as an administrator, with the greatest eulogy upon his general administration, that I am surprised to find that anyone in the audience should have been able to construe, from anything that I said, that I was disparaging the reputation of that monarch. I can only say that if such an impression has been conveyed by anything that I said, it was certainly not my meaning; and I think it will be seen, if this paper is published, that that is really not the meaning conveyed by the words actually used. No one can admire Akbar more than I do. I believe I have studied his reign as fully as it is possible for an Englishman to do. The native authorities that have been referred to are, I will not say more familiar to me than to the learned Moulvie who made the criticism—I bow to him in any matter connected with Muhammadan history—but I will say this, that those particular histories that I have referred to have been studied minutely by me, and I think, if the learned critic will himself refer to those authorities, he will see that I have been more of an admirer even than certainly Akbar's contemporary Badauni was. Objection has been taken to my saying that Akbar was not a Moslem Emperor. I said that in a general sense, to show that the man was not the monarch of any particular class or sect; that he was one of those independent free-thinkers who allied himself to no particular sect or religion; that he was a monarch who claimed to rule India *as a whole*, a monarch who, therefore, stood forward as not representing any particular sect or religion or class, and it was in that sense that I said he could scarcely be called a Moslem Emperor. Badauni himself has, in more than one page of his history, criticised the

Emperor because he was *not* a Moslem. It was, therefore, simply in the general sense which I have explained that I made that remark.

I do desire to say this also, in regard to the criticism of what I have said with respect to Ranjit Singh, that this also has apparently been made under a misconception. I thought I had very distinctly brought out in my paper all the qualities which marked out Ranjit Singh as the able strong administrator, to which the Chairman himself has alluded in such felicitous terms. I thought I had emphasized as clearly and forcibly as I could that he was a man, above all things, a man ; that his whole vigour, his independence, his toleration, were such as marked him out as a ruler of men. If I did not touch on Hindu religion, I did so purposely. It was not the object of my lecture to enter into that field of inquiry or discussion. It was a field that I purposely avoided entering upon. I had already dealt with that field in a paper which has been published elsewhere, and I think if the learned critic had read that paper, he would probably have seen that there was no stronger admirer of the ethical system which Baba Nanak had founded than I myself am, but in the present lecture it was no part of my object to refer to that subject. My object was simply to pick out from the history of India three different and distinct nationalities, and from amongst them to select the individual monarch of each who had distinguished himself above all his fellows and contemporaries, and it was with that object, and that alone, that I had coupled and grouped those three nationalities together. I am extremely sorry that any remarks I have made could have received the interpretation that I was unsympathetic to any one of them. Very far from it.

With these remarks, gentlemen, I shall only once more thank you for the kind indulgence that you have shown me.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## ALIENATION OF LAND IN THE PUNJAB.

SIR,

It may interest your readers to know how this question stands at the present time.

The question is, of course, a very old one. Its modern history may be said to date from 1872, when Mr. (now Sir Raymond) West in a pamphlet entitled "The Land and the Law in India," pointed out that if the British Government had divested itself of the exclusive ownership of land, it had, nevertheless, retained a right of protective ownership which would enable it to impose restrictions on alienation. The agrarian riots in the Bombay Deccan led to the appointment of a committee of inquiry in 1875, and to the passing of the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act in 1879. The Famine Commission of 1878 urged that agricultural debtors should be protected by the imposition of restrictions on land transfers. In 1886 Mr. Thorburn published his "Mussulmans and Money-Lenders in the Punjab," which gave rise to an official discussion. In 1891 a commission was appointed to report on the wording of the Act of 1879; and in 1875 Local Governments were consulted in a circular accompanied by memoranda in which the whole subject of agricultural indebtedness, and the various remedies from time to time proposed, were exhaustively discussed. Mr. Thorburn followed up his book of 1886 by a special inquiry into peasant indebtedness in the Rawalpindi dominion. The Government of India determined to deal with the matter in the Punjab, and in the summer of 1878 a committee of Punjab revenue officers, over which the Lieutenant-Governor (Sir W. Mackworth Young) himself presided, framed proposals which have formed the basis of the legislation now announced.

The Bill now before the Council of the Governor-General was introduced on September 27, 1899, by the Hon. C. M. Rivaz, C.S.I., the member in charge of the Home Department, and the above remarks are a brief summary of the historical

portion of his speech. On the same occasion Lord Curzon remarked: "We cannot afford to see the yeoman farmers of the Punjab—the flower of the population, and the backbone of our native army—dwindle and become impoverished before our eyes. Neither can we acquiesce in the consummation of a social revolution which is in contradiction both of the traditions of Indian society and the cardinal precepts of British rule."

The Bill has been circulated for the opinions of experts. The statement of objects and reasons which accompanies it declares that the expropriation of the hereditary agriculturist in many parts of the Punjab has been regarded for years as a serious political danger. This danger, it is said, is accompanied by bad economic results, is increasing, and, if not arrested, will grow to formidable dimensions. It is also recognised "that the idea of a free transferable interest in land, which is at the root of the trouble, is of comparatively modern origin, and is contrary both to the existing practice in most native States, and to the traditions and sentiment—if no longer to the practice—of the people of the Punjab."

The Bill makes the sanction of a revenue officer necessary to every permanent alienation of agricultural land. This sanction is to be given as a matter of right when the alienor is not a member of an agricultural tribe, or where a member of an agricultural tribe alienates to an agriculturist in the same village, or to another member of his own tribe residing in the district. The term "tribe" is used in its widest significance, and the local Government may define "district" so as to include tracts outside the district in the ordinary acceptance of the term. Temporary alienations of agricultural land are reduced to two forms of mortgage: (1) A usufructuary mortgage for not more than fifteen years, after which the mortgage is to be extinguished, and the land is to revert to the owner; and (2) a mortgage, without possession, convertible into a usufructuary mortgage for a period not exceeding fifteen years. Mortgages by

way of conditional sale are declared void, but can be converted into usufructuary mortgages.

The Local Government, with the previous sanction of the Governor-General in council, can exempt any district, or any part of a district, or any person, or any class of persons, from the operation of the Act or any of its provisions.

The Bill will be proceeded with next summer at Simla.

C. L. TUPPER.

Lahore, *November 22, 1899.*

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#### THE USE OF GOVERNMENT CHURCHES IN INDIA.

SIR,

The lucid statement and reasonable arguments of Sir John Jardine in your last issue, on the vexed question of the use of the Government churches in India, form a refreshing contrast to the tone of much of the controversial literature on the same subject in the Anglo-Indian press. The writers on the Church of Scotland's side are, I must say, much calmer and more courteous than their opponents; one of whom, a rather excitable "priest," named Sandberg, illustrates his Christian spirit and his historical lore by charging the Scottish Churchmen, who seek to assert their constitutional position and rights in India, with "burglary" and "ruffianism," and by proclaiming, as a true fact germane to the matter, that "there existed an Episcopal Church of Scotland long before Presbyterianism was *imported from Holland.*" He, and others of the same type of mind, claim an exclusive right to the Government churches, because Episcopalians have contributed largely, in some cases to the expense of their erection, in others to that of their adornment. If Government took money for either purpose from Episcopalians, on the understanding that these alone were to use the churches, they had no right to do so. If A. builds a place of business for the common use of B. and C., and promises each an equal title to it, A. is acting dishonestly if he by-and-by transfers the sole occupancy to B. because B. has chosen, at his own cost, to put in electric light and lay down expensive

carpets, and, has got his particular friend old father Abraham to perform a peculiar service inside the house, which, in the eyes of many superstitious people, renders it unsafe for anyone except B. to sleep under the roof. Anglican decoration and consecration of the churches cannot be honestly held to justify their diversion from the purpose for which they were built. As for the effect of consecration, which is understood to be exercising the minds of the law officers of the Crown, even were canon law to be allowed, in our free Empire, to override civil contracts and common justice, it could have no force in controlling this question, if the opinion of Dr. Lushington, who held in his time the responsible post of legal adviser of the Archbishop of Canterbury, is to be regarded as of authority. "The ecclesiastical law of England," he says—"save particular portions thereof by Act of Parliament—has not been introduced into India. Presbyterian services," he adds, "may be legally held in the Government Protestant churches." Naturally so, because these churches were built for them as much as for the Anglican services. They are all Government churches, and the charge of them is under the Public Works Department.\* In the regulations of that Department, Rule III. runs as follows: "At all permanent military stations churches will be provided by Government for the Protestant and Roman Catholic European British-born soldiers"; and the term "Protestant" is defined to include members of the Church of England, and of the Church of Scotland, and such other denominations of Christians as may from time to time be included by the Government of India. It is further stated that these buildings, being Government property, are to be in charge of the Executive engineer. But the Executive engineer is blandly pushed aside by the "lord bishop" of the Anglican diocese, who assumes the sole charge, and locks the door in everybody's face, except in that of the Anglican Tommy Atkins and his friends. If

\* This, of course, does not apply to churches built by Anglicans themselves, aided by a Government grant.



Hamish McDonald has a soul to be saved, he must not seek, and will not find, salvation here.

This proceeding is as illegal as it is un-Christian. The right of the Church of Scotland to these Government buildings is the same as that of the Church of England. When, in 1813, the first Anglican bishop was appointed for India, and three archdeacons were sent with him to act as *oculi episcopi* in the three Presidencies, Dr. Bryce, the first Scots chaplain, went out in the same ship, and undertook the charge of the Scots congregation at Calcutta. Scottish churches were also founded in Madras and Bombay, the senior chaplain at Calcutta acting as representative of the Scots Establishment, in all relations between it and the Government. The latest attempt to interfere with these relations, and to treat the Church of Scotland as a mere sect, without valid claim to Government recognition, has been made by Lord Curzon with the approval of Bishop Welldon. Without the courtesy of even consulting the senior Scots chaplain, the Viceroy in Council suddenly announced that all questions concerning the Scottish use of the Cantonment churches were henceforth to be referred, not, as under the regulations of his predecessor, to the highest civil authority, but to the Bishop of Calcutta. This announcement was as illegal as it was unfair. In the Act of Parliament creating the bishopric of Calcutta this section occurs: "Provided always, and be it farther enacted, that such bishop shall not have or use any jurisdiction, or exercise any episcopal functions whatever, either in the East Indies or elsewhere, but only such jurisdiction and functions as shall or may, from time to time, be limited to him by His Majesty by letters patent under the Great Seal of the United Kingdom." Where are the letters patent empowering the Bishop of Calcutta to exercise jurisdiction over the clergy of the Scottish Church in India? What may be episcopal functions I do not pretend to define. They do not appear to mean, in England at least, the exercise of a discipline, which must be obeyed by

the clergy of the bishop's own Church ; but they certainly may be held to include everywhere the regulating of the places and times of the public worship of God. And the ultimate regulation of these—not for the guidance of his own clergy, but of others with whom he has no legal or moral right to meddle—is assumed by the Bishop of Calcutta. We are disposed to believe he may have assumed it in ignorance. He was new to his office and diocese. He had been the headmaster of a great public school in England, where the headmaster is an absolute autocrat. He may have imagined that all clergy were to bow before him, whether within “the Church,” or without it. The birch of Harrow was still more familiar to his hand than the palm of India. But by this time he must have learned how grossly he erred in his assumption of illicit functions, as the public has by this time seen how unfit he is to be the umpire in contentious cases where he is (*ex officio*, one may say) the prejudiced representative of one of the parties in every reference.

He ought to have lost no time in resigning the incongruous duties unwisely thrust upon him. If he fails to do so, the Church of Scotland, whose representatives are constitutionally entitled to approach the throne, should in the exercise of this privilege and out of respect to her own position and duties, lay before the Queen a protest against the Viceroy's invasion of the royal prerogative, in investing the Bishop of Calcutta with powers exceeding those sanctioned by the Crown, and a petition for Dr. Welldon's discharge from an illegal and invidious office.

Indian officialism draws a thick veil across any public indications of candid criticism of acts such as this of Lord Curzon's ; but it cannot conceal the fact that the new regulations have roused feelings of vehement opposition in many quarters in India ; that the Commander-in-Chief, himself a Scotsman, has expressed disapproval ; that the clergy of all sorts except bigoted sacerdotalists view them with disfavour ; and that they have pleased no party at home

or abroad, except these priestly gentlemen, and the young lions of the Anglo-Catholic persuasion, who contrive to exercise, in the House of Commons and elsewhere, a perniciously sectarian and anti-Protestant influence on the present Government.

Whatever answer the legal pundits consulted by the Government return to the conundrum which they are invited to solve as to the validity in India of Anglican consecration; whatever shifts may be resorted to in order to evade the duty of providing decent means for the celebration of public worship by the Scottish troops—of one thing the Viceroy and his Council may rest assured, that Protestant Scots, be they Gordons, or Seaforths, or Borderers, or Black Watch, will not much longer endure the outrage of being locked out of the Cantonment churches as unfit to worship there, and submit to having their chaplains put under the orders of an English prelate. They have borne their share of the white man's burden, and been in the forefront of most of the battles that have built up the Indian Empire. Those who insult them and their religion had better understand, once for all, *that it will not do*.

R. HERBERT STORY.

The University, Glasgow,  
December, 1899.

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#### THE INDIAN GOVERNMENT AND THE COINING OF GOLD.\*

SIR,

In common with many others I have till now assumed that the Indian Government did not intend for the present to let the natives get gold coin from the treasury, as in all probability it would be hoarded. It was therefore with astonishment that I learned some days ago of the decision to pay out sovereigns in India to anyone who presents uncoined gold at the mints of that country. Even if such coin were to go into circulation in India nothing would be gained and the scarcity of gold would be intensified; if on the other hand it goes into hoards so much is simply lost to the world.

Apparently there is some objection to accepting at the Indian mints the large supplies of gold available from the Indian mines. This gold is impure, but it could be refined in India as easily as in Europe with a.

\* See article "India and the Monetary Crisis," p. 280, October, 1899.

saving of the cost of transport and the result would be some millions per annum added to the Indian treasury stocks.

These amount now to nearly £5,000,000, of which about £800,000 is in charge of the Bank of England.

J. H. TWIGG.

December, 1899.

## THE ANCIENT ARMENIANS.

Those of our readers interested in archaic history will remember the paper in our issue of last April entitled "Firdúsi an Accurate Historian," by Mr. Jamshedjee Pállonjee Kápadiá, of Bombay.\* The following excerpts (handed to us by Mr. W. Martin Wood) from correspondence between Dr. Karl Blind and the author may serve to carry on the questions mentioned, pending the publication by Mr. Jamshedjee of two works covering several hitherto obscure points relating to that remote period :

1. Dr. Karl Blind to Mr. Martin Wood : "I have read carefully the excellent learned treatise on Firdúsi by Jamshedjee Pállonjee Kápadiá, and I now wish to thank you once more. On the subject of the race of the 'original Armenians,' I think I might mention that Herodotos (vii. 73) calls them 'colonists of the Phrygians' (ἐόντες φρυγῶν ἀποικοί). He enumerates them among the Lydians, Mysians, and other tribes of the great Thrakian stock, which was kindred to the Teutonic and Scandinavian race."

2. Mr. Pállonjee to Mr. Martin Wood : "Your friend Dr. Karl Blind's remarks from Herodotos I have perused with attention. But you must know that Herodotos and other Greek writers, according to the scholarship then prevailing, classified all the Asiatic tribes, not according to the modern system of ethnology and philology, but simply from their modes and manner of life. For instance, many *nomadic* tribes, as shown by Max Duncker, who are described as Turanians by the Greeks, are now found out from their names, etc., to be originally of pure Aryan origin. Canon Rawlinson is therefore right when he says that there were Aryans in Armenia long before, I think, the dawn of history. If you look to some of the Assyrian cities, and names of their gods, you will plainly find in them Aryan roots. For instance, the city of Erach is 'Killó-Erach' of the Shaha-namah, Erach being the son of Feridun, the antediluvian Péshtadian King, and the god Assur is the Zoroastrian Ahurí (Hormazd). Many such names I could enumerate here, but it would occupy a long space. Suffice it to say that I have dwelt at full length on this subject in my next two works, now in MS."

3. To this Dr. Blind thus rejoined : "Herodotos was not only a great traveller and careful investigator, but also a native of Asia Minor, where the Armenians dwelt. I need scarcely say that he neither speaks of 'Aryans' nor of 'Turanians,' but simply says : 'The Armenians were armed like the Phrygians, being colonists of the Phrygians.' He mentions the Armenians and the Phrygians in connection with other tribes of the great Thrakian stock. I know Rawlinson's 'Herodotos,' and all the controversies connected with the subject in question, on which I have published many essays in German and English. The Thrakians were evidently Eastern kinsmen of

\* See pp. 390-399.

the Teutons and Scandinavians, therefore Aryans. So were consequently the earliest mentioned Armenians. Herodotos is often under-estimated; without him we would know little of many ancient races. As to early Greek writers classifying nations as Aryans or Turanians, I do not know to whom your Parsee friend refers. I should be glad to know what he has to say in his forthcoming work."

#### AFRICA.

The progress of the construction of a railway from the sea at Mombasa and Kilindini to Lake Victoria has been communicated to Parliament.\* The distance is upwards of 500 miles. The Lake, although it has not yet been regularly surveyed, is estimated to be 200 miles broad and the same in length, covering at least a coast-line from 800 to 1,000 miles, with numerous bays and inlets. At the end of October, 1898, the rail head had reached the 225th mile, and assuming that the engineers can lay a mile a day, the railway should be at the present time nearly completed. "Mombasa as a harbour is easier of access for sailing vessels entering with the prevailing wind, but the port is to some extent unprotected from heavy seas, and would be exposed to bombardment from outside in case of war. At Kilindini, on the other hand, there is an excellent harbour, completely land-locked, with a capacious and well-protected anchorage." The object of the railway is to put a stop to the slave trade, and to open up the country to commerce and civilization. In the despatch from the Foreign Office to the Treasury on December 20, 1890, it is stated that the only mode of action with this object in view was the construction of such a railway, and it would be more effectual and cheaper than maintaining a squadron on the coast, which amounted to £108,000 to £110,000 per annum, which represents the interest on a capital sum of rather more than £3,000,000 at 3 per cent. Hence the subsidy for the railway, as stated by the Commissioner, Sir Guilford Molesworth, "is almost justified by the saving of the annual expenditure on the suppression of slavery, even apart from the development of the trade and civilization of the country." Sir Guilford, after minute examination of the whole route, its many difficulties and other details as to construction and expense, concludes his elaborate and most interesting report by saying: "Taking the system as a whole, it is characterized by the utmost method and careful consideration of detail. Great credit is due to the chief engineer for the manner he has initiated and developed this organization under circumstances of unparalleled difficulty."

#### NIGERIA.

To-day (January 1) Nigeria passes from the late Company to the British Government. It takes over a considerable portion of the Company's staff, some of the leading members of the executive and judicial departments, the whole of the Company's troops and officers, the greater portion of the medical staff, as well as the staff connected with the engineering shops and repairing yard at Akasa.

\* See Africa, No. 5 (1899), Report by Sir Guilford Molesworth.

## BRITISH GUIANA.

By the award of the International Tribunal under the Treaty of Washington to delimit the boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela, the Schomburgk line is followed. England retains all the goldfields worked by the British. The only portions within the above line awarded to Venezuela are the Barima point, the district drained by the Cuyuni, and the Uruan post (formerly English) on the Cuyuni. The boundary having been fixed, the insecurity of title to claims on the goldfields disappears.

## CEYLON.

Mr. John Ferguson read a paper on "Ceylon in 1899" before the members of the Colonial Institute, in which he stated that special progress has been made in almost every department. Social, sanitary, and material improvement has been made among the native population, a rapid extension of cultivation of the cocoanut and other palms, besides tea, and also mining, all which have greatly advanced the revenue of the country. The great improvement in harbour works, and the erection of a first-class graving-dock, has constituted Colombo one of the best equipped central ports in the East for Asia, Australasia, China, and East and South Africa. Railway extension is also in rapid progress. The surplus revenue has been devoted to the erection of hospitals, schools, and other public works, including irrigation tanks all over the island.

## SAMOA.

The Convention and Declaration in reference to Samoa between Germany and Great Britain is dated November 14, 1899. It is provided by

Article I. that Great Britain renounces in favour of Germany all her rights over the islands of Upolu and of Savaii, including the right of establishing a coaling station there, and her right of extra-territoriality in these islands. Great Britain similarly renounces in favour of the United States of America all her rights over the island of Tutuila, and the other islands of the Samoan group east of 171° longitude east of Greenwich. Great Britain recognises as falling to Germany the territories to the eastern part of the neutral zone established by the arrangement of 1888 in West Africa. The limits of the portion of the neutral zone falling to Germany are defined in Article V. of the present Convention.

Article II. Germany renounces in favour of Great Britain all her rights over Tonga Islands, including Vavau, and over the Savage Island, including the right of establishing a naval station and coaling station, and the right of extra-territoriality in the said islands. Germany similarly renounces in favour of the United States of America all her rights over the island of Tutuila, and over the other islands of the Samoan Group east of longitude 171° east of Greenwich. She recognises as falling to Great Britain those of the Solomon Islands at present belonging to Germany which are situated to the east and south-east of the island of Bougainville, which latter shall continue to belong to Germany, together with the island of Buka, which forms part of it. The western portion of the neutral zone in West Africa, as defined in Article V. of the present Convention, shall also fall to the share of Great Britain.

Article III. The Consuls of the two Powers at Apia and in the Tonga Islands shall be provisionally recalled. The two Governments will come to an agreement with regard to the arrangements to be made during the interval in the interest of their navigation and of their commerce in Samoa and Tonga.

Article IV. The arrangement at present existing between Germany and Great Britain, and concerning the right of Germany to freely engage labourers in the Solomon Islands belonging to Great Britain, shall be equally extended to those of the Solomon Islands mentioned in Article II., which fall to the share of Great Britain.

Article V. In the neutral zone, the frontier between the German and English territories shall be formed by the river Daka as far as the point of its intersection with the 9th degree of north latitude; thence the frontier shall continue to the north, leaving Morozugu to Great Britain, and shall be fixed on the spot by a mixed Commission of the two Powers in such manner that Gambaga and all the territories of Mamprusi shall fall to Great Britain, and that Yendi and all the territories of Chakosi shall fall to Germany.

Article VI. Germany is prepared to take into consideration, as much as possible, the wishes which the Government of Great Britain may express with regard to the development of the reciprocal tariffs in the territories of Togo and of the Gold Coast.

Article VII. Germany renounces her rights of extra-territoriality in Zanzibar, but it is at the same time understood that this renunciation shall not effectively come into force till such time as the rights of extra-territoriality enjoyed there by other nations shall be abolished.

In an explanatory declaration it is stated that it is clearly understood that by Article II. Germany consents that the whole group of the Howe Islands which forms part of the Solomon Islands shall fall to Great Britain. It is also understood that the stipulations of the declaration between the two Governments signed at Berlin on April 10, 1886, respecting freedom of commerce in the Western Pacific apply to the islands mentioned in the said Convention; also it is understood that the arrangement at present in force as to the engagement of labourers by Germans in the Solomon Islands permits Germans to engage those labourers on the same conditions as those which are, or which shall be, imposed on British subjects non-resident in those islands.

#### THE OUSLEY SCHOLARSHIPS.

The successful competitors for these scholarships at the School of Modern Oriental Studies of the Imperial Institute for last year were Mr. G. A. Khan, in Arabic; Mr. R. M. Davis, in Persian; and Mr. S. K. Ghose, in Sanskrit. The examination for the current year will be held, probably early in July, in University College, London. The subject is "Hindustani." The examiner is Mr. J. T. Platts. Full information can be obtained by applying to the Secretary, S. M. O. S., Imperial Institute, London, S.W.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

GEORGE ALLEN, 156, CHARING CROSS ROAD, LONDON, 1899.

1. *The Redemption of Egypt*, by W. BASIL WORSFOLD, M.A., Barrister-at-Law, author of "The Principles of Criticism," "The Valley of Light," "South Africa," etc. The author, having determined to visit Egypt during the winter of 1898-99, not so much for pleasure as to examine and inquire into the progress of the country during specially the English occupation, has produced a standard work in which are exhibited, by pen and pencil, in an exquisite manner, the physical and social characteristics of this ancient region of the world. The letter-press and illustrations are excellent. In executing his task, he has consulted the best authorities, ancient and modern, and has taken full advantage of the information placed at his disposal by the various official authorities in the respective administrative departments established by the English Government. His survey ranges from Alexandria, the Delta (and its staple industry, cotton), Memphis, Cairo, the mosques, the Pyramids, Luxor, Assuân, the Government (political and municipal), law and order, education, railways, finance, and the development of the Sudân.

The author correctly points out that the "European residents in the country—small in numbers, but important both politically and commercially—are subjects neither in their persons nor in their property to the native Government. This circumstance, and the fact that a portion of the national wealth, together with the annual revenue which accrues from it, is actually held in mortgage by Europe, have together created an additional and unusual obstacle to the progress of administrative reform; they also increase the merit of efforts which are destined eventually to triumph, in spite of these unprecedented difficulties." With respect to the continued presence of England in Egypt, he says: "Those Englishmen who think it right to assume an apologetic air when they refer to our continued occupation are either ignorant of the facts, or misinterpret the principles of international morality upon which such measures are based. *Vigilantibus non dormientibus lex subvenit*—'The law helps those who keep awake, not those who lie asleep'—is a principle which applies with even greater force to the relationships of nations than to those of individuals. When Egypt was in a state of anarchy, France stepped aside; the rest of Europe never lifted a finger; the Sultan—the suzerain authority—had neither the will nor the power to restore the Khedive's Government, still less to reform the abuses under which the mass of the people of Egypt laboured. In the name of common-sense, therefore, what principle of public or private morality could be invoked which would require England to resign the reward of her efforts, or even justify her in abandoning the necessary and beneficent task of redeeming Egypt?" Hence, carrying out this principle, England has a right and a duty to re-occupy the country as long as "internal peace or external security" is threatened. And it is evident by this occupation, and by her engineering skill, her financial administration, and her sense of



justice, she is procuring for Egypt the two great essentials for the successful redemption of the country—in the words of one of her statesmen—"water" (by irrigation works) and "justice" (by instituting proper legal tribunals).

Mr. Worsfold's volume, so beautifully executed in every respect, is valuable not only to the tourist, but to the philanthropist, the archæologist, the statesman, and the general reader.

W. BLACKWOOD AND SONS; EDINBURGH AND LONDON, 1899.

2. *In India*, by G. W. STEEVENS. It is difficult to describe this book—to find fault with it is impossible; to praise it is like "painting the lily." In a series of well-written chapters, thirty-eight in number, all more or less brief, the author gives a kind of bird's-eye view of "things as they are" in India under the existing rule. From beginning to end there is not a single dull page. It reads like a romance woven out of a fertile imagination, which means that the author caught all the poetry of the scenes 'ne witnessed, and had an eye to the picturesque. And yet it is a *bonâ-fide* and matter-of-fact description of India "as she is." The reader is carried forward involuntarily from page to page, and from chapter to chapter, unable to stop till he has reached the last the author has to say. Of some things the reader would like to have been told a little more. For instance, Mr. Steevens has a good deal that is interesting to tell us about Agra, yet not a word has he to say about Futtehpoore Sikri, one of the most wonderful of all the remains of the Empire of the Moghuls, in the very neighbourhood of the city of Shah Jehan. It is not easy to understand how a man of Mr. Steevens's genius should have contrived to miss that, the most remarkable of all the remains of Akbar.

The Táj—who ever wearies of *that*? We have in this volume a most graphic and glowing description of that "Eighth Wonder of the World," as it has well been called. He gives us very little indeed of the ordinary guide-book information respecting that beautiful edifice; but though we have read many a description of the Táj, we have never met with any description at once so original, so artistic, and withal so true, as that now before us.

Mr. Steevens's book is deserving of a much more lengthy notice than we have space to give to it. It will be found an admirable book to read "on the voyage out" as an introduction to the "Land of Regrets,"—the "Land of Dreams." To point out defects in a work so well written and so generally accurate is not a pleasing task. But who could have been Mr. Steevens's informant when he wrote (p. 346) that a C.S. may retire at forty? He can, of course, "withdraw" from the service whenever he pleases, but he cannot complete his term of twenty-five years at that age. Again, the Hindu's "caste" is not "broken" (p. 54) by "shaking hands" with an English person. No genuine *Brâhman* would *like* to do so; but even if he *did* it, he would merely have contracted ceremonial defilement (an entirely different thing), which could be rectified by Ganges-water afterwards. Here and there we find other inaccuracies, as where, on p. 125, he speaks of "Chaputties"; while his own acquaintance with natural history might have

prevented him from telling his readers (p. 7) that the "pomphlet" is a favourite breakfast fish among the people of Bombay. But the errors are such as can easily be rectified in a subsequent edition.—B.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, LONDON, EDINBURGH, NEW YORK.

3. *Marathi Proverbs*, collected and translated by the REV. A. MANWARING. The object of collecting and translating these Marathi (Mahráthi) proverbs is stated by the translator to be to preserve as far as possible all proverbial expressions, which depict the thought and character of the people, before they pass out of use; for though they may be well known to the elders of the present generation, they will probably be less known, less loved, and less used by the coming race, with its Anglicized education and its modern literature. The proverbs in the book are 1,910 in number, and are classified under the heads of (1) Agriculture; (2) Animals; (3) The Body and its Members; (4) Ethical; (5) Food; (6) Health and Disease; (7) The House; (8) Money; (9) Names; (10) Nature; (11) Relationship; (12) Religions; (13) Trades and Professions; and (14) Unclassified. This classification is, of course, arbitrary; but it is probably as near an approach to a reduction of them into proper order as to enable the reader to arrive at their approximate origin.

They would probably be found useful to ethnologists to enable them to trace affinities between the Mahrátha and other races through their common methods of thought; but with the exception of such specialists as might study its pages with a view to acquire information of such a kind, we fear that the book will meet with but a cold reception from the public. The compilation must have been a work of enormous labour, and has been carefully and conscientiously made; on this account it deserves a better fate than it is at all likely to meet. To go into detail, a great many of the so-called proverbs are very ordinary everyday sayings or comparisons of common antithetical ideas which in no way deserve such an appellation, and if these had been omitted from the collection the work might probably have been reduced to a half or one-third of its present size, and thus have had a greater chance of perusal.

To exemplify by a few examples taken at random what is here meant: Prov. 1,024, "Spend according to your income"; Prov. 1,252, "If it ripen, it will sell"; Prov. 1,254, "The flower of the Pimpal-tree" (it has no flower); Prov. 1,263, "It does not take long for the Bor fruit to come on the Bor-tree"; Prov. 1,277, "When there is thunder rain falls" (when the head of the house is angry there will be tears); Prov. 1,286, "A coat for the cold"; Prov. 1,312, "The two wives of one man, let them not quarrel in the house"; Prov. 1,363, "I am glad mother-in-law has gone" (is dead); "the whole house is now in my hands." Now, if these and such-like expressions are supposed to be proverbial, they appear to require more explanation as to the circumstances under which they would be applicable, especially such as Prov. 1,277, with regard to which it would be advisable to show in what sense the very ordinary expression, "When there is thunder the rain falls," can be twisted into the meaning of "When the head of the house is angry there will be tears."

In the transliteration of the Mahráthi, the almost universal use of the short sound *a* after a consonant is not only superfluous, but in most cases altogether vitiates the proper pronunciation. Take, for instance, Prov. 1,245, "Teradyántsa raṅg(a) tin(a) divas(a)." The right pronunciation is with the three *a*'s in brackets left out, and the sentence would in conversation be utterly unintelligible if they were retained as written. Examples of this need not be multiplied, for they occur in almost every proverb.

On the whole, with the exception of a few slipshod translations, the work is one of extraordinary perseverance and labour, and will be of much use to those who are interested in the study of languages for ethnological purposes.—A. ROGERS.

4. *The "Oxford English Dictionary."* A new English Dictionary, on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society, edited by Dr. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. Vol. V., I-in (adverb).—This double section, beginning the letter I, of which it constitutes one-fourth, contains 2,503 main words, 201 combinations explained under these, and 544 subordinate entries of obsolete forms. Of the 2,503 main words, 1,700 are current and fully "English," 750 (nearly 30 per cent.) are marked as obsolete, and 53 ( $2\frac{1}{10}$  per cent.) as alien, or not fully naturalized. A double section of G, by Mr. H. Bradley, is published to-day (January 1, 1900). As examples of the exhaustive character of this invaluable Dictionary, we refer to the term *Idea*, which is explained under four main sections, the latter embracing its modern philosophical developments. The term *Idol* occupies three columns; the word *If* five columns; the word *Ill* and its compounds no fewer than forty-four columns; the word *Imperial* and its compounds eight columns; *Improve*, six columns; and *In* and its phrases down to *in position*, no fewer than twelve columns. The explanations of words and phrases continue to be erudite, highly interesting, and most exhaustive.

C. J. CLAY AND SONS, AVE MARIA LANE, LONDON, 1899.

5. *Studia Sinaitica*, No. 7, edited by MARGARET DUNLOP GIBSON, M.R.A.S. We here have another of the masterly and elaborate productions of the fruitful pen of Mrs. Gibson. It consists of an Arabic version of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles; also of the Seven Catholic Epistles, or "Epistles General"—to wit, the Epistles from James to Jude inclusive—from an eighth or ninth century manuscript in the Convent of St. Catherine on Mount Sinai; also, from the same codex, a treatise on the "Triune Nature of the One God." The work includes also an interesting anecdote entitled "The Monk's Prayer," and several suggestive "Sayings" of the Arabs. Thus far all is in the Arabic language, and Mrs. Gibson has supplied a very learned and elaborate Appendix to the Biblical portion of the work, exhibiting the "various readings" of the Pesheeto, or Syriac text, when compared with the Greek; also a translation into English of the treatise on the "Nature of God," and the other documents mentioned above.

In the room in which Mrs. Gibson and her sister (Mrs. Lewis) were at work in the convent there is a staircase, at the foot of which was a little closet in which the "find" now published was discovered stowed away in an old box or basket. At her request the manuscripts were fetched out by the monks, and thus the materials of the present publication were brought to light. The narrative of the process of photographing and editing the manuscripts will be found interesting reading. The treatise on the "Nature of God" was the work of a Christian apologist, who thus sought to defend his religion against the apologists of the religion of Muḥammad. It follows that the treatise must have been written after the propagation of Islām. This circumstance, however, throws no light on the question of the date of the Biblical portion of the "find." The author of the treatise is guilty of several anachronisms and other mistakes in connexion with Old Testament history. But the age in which he lived was not an age of criticism.

It is impossible to commend too highly the indomitable perseverance with which these excellent ladies, Mrs. Gibson and Mrs. Lewis, are serving their day and generation, and the cause of Biblical literature. Their interest in this matter, and in the precious contents of the Sinaitic monastery, passes all praise. They long ago discovered that seed-plot, and they have turned their discovery to account in the publication from time to time of materials which but confirm the sacred documents of the canonical Scriptures. The printing is excellently well done—the Arabic, the Hebrew, the English, and the Greek.—B.

LONGMANS, GREEN AND CO.; LONDON, 1899.

6. *Auld Lang Syne*, by MAX MÜLLER; second series of "My Indian Friends." The present work is largely of an autobiographical nature. In point of style, it is chatty rather than literary; but the "chat" of Max Müller is better than the elaborate efforts of most men. The question might arise, "But what to us are Max Müller's Indian friends?" We shall see. In the present work this distinguished veteran deals for the most part with reminiscences of personal acquaintances. Some of these he has seen, and some he has not seen; some of them are cotemporaries, and others are known to us only through the productions of their genius—the authors and compilers of the ancient literature of the Aryas. It is not so certain that the authors, say, of the Veda were "Indians" at all. But we would not be overcritical; it is, anyhow, by way of India that all the knowledge we have of them has come to us.

Among his Indian friends of the present day Max Müller includes the honoured names of Dwārka-Nāth Tagore, Debendra-Nāth Tagore, Rājā Rādhā-kaṇṭha Deva, Nila-kaṇṭha Goreh, Keshab Chandra Sen, and Behramji Malabāri among male persons, and Rāmabāi and Anandibāi Jōshee among Indian women—all well known the world over for their published thoughts and their useful lives. It is pleasing to note that, notwithstanding his very ardent admiration of the Hindūs, the Professor speaks of the custom of child-marriage as "that pernicious system" (p. 113) and "those unnatural unions" (p. 121). We have heard Brāhmaṇs defend it on principles to which he would not care to apply terms so very strong. His views of Sati

shew that, enthusiastic admirer though he is of the Veda, he evidently is not an omnivorous admirer of all that the Veda contains (p. 121). The work is, however, exceedingly interesting and instructive, as are all Max Müller's books. The history of the "friends" of such a man means the history of a good deal besides—such, for instance, as the history of the enterprises which interested him and them. On this account the present volume will prove to be a work of permanent value.

To descend from great things to small, the punctuation of Max Müller, in this and other works of his, leaves much to be desired. He evidently writes rapidly, and this leads to his overlooking the fact that incorrectness in punctuating occasions misgiving to the reader. We are open to correction; but Max Müller says (pp. 125, 126) that the corpse of one of poor Rāmabāi's parents was conveyed to the burning-ghat by Brāhmaṇs. During three decades of years passed in India, we never heard of this task having been performed by any excepting Dōms. It would be interesting to know under what circumstances the mournful duty is performed by persons of the Brāhmaṇical caste. The new system of the transcription of the letters of the Sanskrit alphabet is adopted in part in the present work. That system has this disadvantage,—that at the very point at which the English reader is in need of guidance, it throws away its opportunity. What difference, for example, would an English reader make between the pronunciation of "Asrama" and "Asrama"? Secondly, in either case he would be wrong. No English reader could ever be guided by either of these forms to the correct pronunciation. And what difference would such a reader make between the sibilants of "Asoka" and "Asvin"? or between "Givātman" and "Givātman"? No pleasure have we in mere fault-finding; but even Max Müller would appear to have "shied" at *some* of the misleading details of the system, for he fairly "throws it over" when it comes to writing the names of Chaitanya and of Keshab Bābū. Nor is the learned Professor consistent even with himself; for since the sibilant letter in "Asva" has to be in italic, why should not also that in the name of King "Asoka"? In either instance the italic letter is misleading and conveys no meaning, and equally misleading is the Roman letter also. No English reader could possibly produce the correct sound of the 'Tālavya sibilant with no better guidance than *that*. It is, again, no more pedantic to write "Jagannāth" for "Juggernath" (p. 2) than it is to write "Asvin" for "Ashwin" (p. 194). Max Müller is looked up to by multitudes, and for their sakes he should keep consistently to one principle or the other. There is a great deal we should like to have added respecting this production, but we have already exceeded our limit.—B.

7. *The History of Lord Lytton's Indian Administration, 1876 to 1880, compiled from Letters and Official Papers*, by LADY BETTY BALFOUR. This volume is not a biography, but a history of one of the important epochs of our administration in India. It is formed from a compilation of public and private correspondence of great interest and value, minutes of Council and speeches, so well arranged that it graphically describes the continuous and successive stages of Lord Lytton's services as Viceroy during four years of great labour and anxiety. What gives a charm to the book is the

classic and refined style of Lord Lytton's letters, speeches, and despatches, and the forcible, manly, and straightforward arguments by which he presents his views on the various imperial and native questions with which he had to deal. Besides Finance, the Salt duties in the various provinces, the Cotton duties, Public Works, Famine organization, the rights and liberties of the Vernacular Press, and the Indian Civil Service, he had to expound and maintain, against great opposition at home and in India, what is called "the forward policy" on the North-West Frontier, as against the "waiting policy," or the "policy of masterly inactivity." In reference to this question, his speech in the House of Lords, after his return home, and when there was a change in the Government from the Conservative to the Liberal, exhibits in no ordinary manner his grasp of the subject, his eloquence, and his profound conviction of the wisdom of his policy.

His description of the great assemblage at Delhi, when he proclaimed the new title of Her Majesty as "Empress of India," or "*Kaisar-i-Hind*," is specially interesting. We may repeat here that the originator of the rendering of this title into the vernacular, which met with the enthusiastic and unanimous approval of all the assembled Princes of India, was the late lamented Dr. Leitner. In reference to this title, "*Kaisar-i-Hind*," Lord Lytton observes: "The translation of the new title in the vernacular was a matter for careful consideration and consultation. The Government of India finally decided to adopt the term '*Kaisar-i-Hind*.' It was short, sonorous, expressive of the imperial character which it was intended to convey, and a title, moreover, of classical antiquity, the term '*Kaisar-i-Room*' being that generally applied in Oriental literature to the Roman Emperor, and still representing the title of Emperor throughout Central Asia" (p. 110).\*

The genesis of the alienation of Sher Ali to the British power is explained by his son Yakub Khan. He said: "The diaries received from Noor Mahomed Shah during his stay in India, and the report which he brought back on his return, convinced my father that he could no longer hope to obtain from British Government all the aid that he wanted, and from that time he began to turn his attention to the thought of a Russian alliance" (p. 370). And Lord Lytton, on commenting on Sher Ali's *Firman*, on his flight from Kabul, makes the following distinct affirmation: "I affirm that Sher Ali had ceased to be the friend and ally of the British Government, and that for all practical purposes he had become the friend and ally of the Russian Government at least three years before I had any dealings with His Highness, or any connection with the Government of India. And, finally, I affirm that the real and the only cause of the Afghan War was an intrigue of long duration between Sher Ali and the Russian authorities in Central Asia, an intrigue leading to an alliance between them for objects which, if successfully carried out, would have broken in pieces the Empire of British India" (p. 309). Lord Lytton was warmly supported by Lord Salisbury, then Secretary for India; and Lord Beaconsfield, as Prime Minister, addressed a letter to him at the close of the Session of 1879, in which he says: "Greatly owing to your energy and foresight, we have secured a scientific and adequate frontier for our Indian Empire" (p. 331).

We regret that our limited space does not permit us to dwell farther on this valuable volume. To realize its importance, and the grace and style of Lord Lytton's despatches, the reader must peruse the volume for himself.

LUZAC AND CO. ; LONDON, 1899.

8. *Essays on Kāçmīrī Grammar*, by G. A. GRIERSON, C.I.E., PH.D.

This volume consists of articles contributed to the journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society by the highest authority on Indian languages, and, like everything written by Dr. Grierson, is not only profound and exhaustive, but minutely accurate. Kashmiri (as it may be written for the uninitiated) is an exceedingly interesting language to the comparative philologist because of its peculiar and almost isolated standpoint. Hitherto very little has been known about it, but of late years, owing to this secluded country having been thrown open to Europeans, a considerable amount of information has been collected and published. It is now seen that this language contains an archaic phonology and structure which, on the one hand, explains much that has been obscure in the allied languages of Western India, while, on the other, it throws light on the processes by which the inflexional languages of the Aryan family arrived at their present condition. It is still under the dominion of those subtle laws of euphony which play so important a part in the agglutinative languages of the Turanian class, and of which only faint traces still survive in Aryan speech, traces which are stronger in the less advanced, and fainter in the more developed members of the group. Indeed in Kashmiri phonology there is much which can only be properly understood by one who possesses an ear as delicate, and a perception of shades of sound as keen, as the learned writer himself. Here we have epenthesis employed not merely as a tone gradation in derivatives, but as part of the machinery of inflexion ; and that this was originally a principle of Aryan speech is shown by its existence in Celtic, Slavonic, and early Teutonic languages. In a brief notice like the present, it is impossible to enter into details of the fascinating analogies and inferences which might be drawn from the facts so lucidly set forth in these articles. Students of the science of language will, however, find a rich treat in these pages. Nor is the interest of them confined to the phonetic system ; the inflexional peculiarities are also full of interest. Taken in connection with the very striking range of forms and inflexions so ably and copiously elucidated by the late Dr. Leitner in his monumental work on "The Languages of Dardistan," they afford material which it may be hoped some competent scholar will one day work out into a detailed exposition of the structure of primitive Aryan speech and its relation to the agglutinative languages. By publishing in a connected form these very valuable essays, Dr. Grierson has added to the already long list of benefits which by his learned and indefatigable labours in the domain of Indian philology he has already conferred on the students of that thorny but deeply attractive science. When he has completed the "Survey of Indian Languages," on which he is now engaged, it is a duty which he owes to the world to crown the

edifice by a really satisfactory comparative grammar of the Aryan languages of India. *Quod ego olim tentavi, id tu fausto numine perficias!*

JOHN BEAMES.

9. *The Arabic Press of Egypt*, by MARTIN HARTMANN. In a small and handy volume of less than a hundred pages, Mr. Hartmann gives an account of the periodical press in Egypt. He supplies a list of the periodicals to the number of 168, some of them daily, some weekly, some monthly. Most of these periodicals are in Arabic, some in Syriac, some in Armenian, some in Hebrew, some in Kurdish, some in Coptic, some in English. Such prolific enterprise is not limited to persons of the dominant sex; it has, as in America and England, developed also the female journalist and editor. In addition to the names of the periodicals, Mr. Hartmann gives also in few words some idea of the functions and political rôle of each periodical. Some few of the papers are almost entirely religious, and all of them are strongly committed to Muhammadan sentiment, while many of them are, of course, very pronouncedly anti-English; for, do what we will, there are agitators and malcontents in every community, and as the British claim the prerogative of grumbling about things in general, and rejoice in the exercise, the same spirit is caught up by the Egyptian as well as by the Bengali. It is a useful exercise. The newspapers in Egypt are published in the afternoon; the reason, though Mr. Hartmann does not note the fact, is probably that the Muhammadan day, or date, begins at sunset, and not, as among ourselves, at midnight. In the midst of the Babel which the incessant clack of all these enlightening periodicals creates, one can readily sympathize with the official English in that land in the difficulties which beset them in governing in our name and as our representatives.

The strongest element in the population, from the intellectual point of view, is, it appears, the Syrians, and the weakest the Coptic. The backwardness of the Coptic race would appear less a matter of reproach to Mr. Hartmann if he were better acquainted with their political history since the Conquest of Egypt by the second Khalifa. The oppressive nature of the Turkish Government, and the folly and pusillanimity of its officials everywhere, are strongly animadverted upon. "Every kind of public instruction is," says Mr. Hartmann, "systematically opposed by that Government." The English in Egypt, as in India and everywhere else, have to "take up the white man's burden." In England we are all so preoccupied with our own political burdens, problems, and complications, that we have no time to read the newspapers of the many countries with which we stand connected. A similarly interesting account might be compiled respecting the *Indian* periodical press, and the press of China, South Africa, Canada, Burma, Japan, etc. Such compilations as the present are valuable as works of reference, and as shewing the intellectual activity of all those peoples who fall under British influence. But the present work was compiled in a hurry, and though the work of the printer was admirably executed, there is many an error which the compiler might correct in a later edition.—B.

10. *Notes and Commentaries on Chinese Criminal Law and Cognate*



*Topics ; with a brief excursus on the Law of Property : chiefly founded on the writings of the late Sir Chaloner Alabaster, K.C.M.G., by Ernest Alabaster, Barrister-at-Law, etc.*—This work is decidedly of a high order and can be thoroughly trusted as a popular guide to the principles of Chinese law, recast, moreover, so as to fall more easily within the purview to which we are accustomed in the West. Chinese law, like Chinese history, lacks concentration and systematization, dealing as it does by preference with concrete cases rather than fixed principles ; and it is for the European student of law, as of history, to extract from a mass of specific pains and penalties in the one case, or a mass of isolated facts in the other, some general rules which govern and throw intelligible light upon the unscientifically-grouped details. No one who has spent his best years in China could have been better fitted by temperament for this task than the late Consul-General at Canton, who had so far back as 1876-78 contributed to the *China Review* (vols. v. and vi.) the excursus portion of the above excellent work. Chinese law makes no distinction between the civil and criminal branches of jurisprudence—in fact, there are no well-understood Chinese words capable of adequately expressing the distinction as we understand it. From their point of view a law is a command, pure and simple, and breach of that command entails punishment ; hence all law is in a way criminal. If popular customs upon matters touching inheritance, commerce, transfer, and so on have from time to time called for a command to rectify, accentuate, or generalize such customs, and have in this way indirectly created a body of quasi-civil law, this civil jurisprudence is none the less of an ancillary order, sanctioned by pains and penalties exactly as the general or criminal code of which it is, so to speak, a mere after-growth or excrescence. This peculiarity is the better realized when we observe the one main principle which pervades all Chinese law, namely, that rights, injuries, innocence, and guilt are founded rather upon status than upon individual equality ; thus, what is a crime in a child, slave, junior, wife, or pupil may, through the exaggerated operation of *patria potestas*, taken in its widest sense, become almost a virtue in a parent, master, senior agnate, husband, or tutor. This point is exceedingly clearly brought out by Sir Chaloner Alabaster, whose well-known sardonic humour manages to quicken with lively interest the dry bones of the baldest Chinese statutes. Having read carefully through the whole 600 pages, and having previously had opportunities of reading the original “commands” of several successive dynasties of Emperors, I can candidly say that I have not noticed a single instance where (so far as my own imperfect knowledge goes) any essential fact or principle appears to be incorrectly stated ; it is a little curious, however, to notice that not a single word is said upon the subject of female infanticide. It was a happy thought to give, in the original Chinese characters, along, of course, with translations, the leading legal terminologies. In a considerable number of cases these characters have been misprinted, but not in such a way as to prevent anyone conversant with Chinese from knowing what the correct character ought to be, whilst for those who do not read Chinese at all this defect will not entail any serious consequences, as the whole of the Chinese will to them be unintelligible.

E. H. PARKER.

HORACE MARSHALL AND SON; LONDON, 1899.

11. *The Story of West Africa*, by MARY H. KINGSLEY, author of "West African Studies" The Story of the Empire Series. A racy pocket-history of West Africa, in the author's well-known style, showing the rise of English influence in the West; the conditions under which English trade has been carried on, from Queen Elizabeth's time to the present; the story of early and modern explorers and merchants, the difficulties they met with, and their pluck and perseverance, resulting in a settlement of Government under the ægis and control of England. The area of Miss Kingsley's excursion comprises the Gambia, Sierra Leone, Gold Coast, Lagos, and the vast territory now to be known as Nigeria. This history is accompanied with a map, and a good index.

12. *The Transvaal Boers: a Historical Sketch*, by AFRICANUS, with presentation map of South Africa. A very accurate and clear historical sketch, embracing the origin of the Boers, the Voortrekkers, the early history of the South African Republic, annexation and war, the two Conventions, the Uitlanders, with important appendices, giving the names of British Premiers, Colonial Secretaries, and Governors of the Cape; Presidents of the South African Republic and of the Orange Free State; Premiers of Cape Colony and Natal since the grant of responsible government; Lieutenant-Governors, Administrators, and Governors of Natal since its separation from Cape Colony; calendar of principal events in South Africa since 1834, and a list of the numerous books consulted, with an important note. This work is full of interest, clearly written, and valuable at the present time.

GEORGE NEWNES, LIMITED; LONDON, 1899.

13. *The International Geography*, by seventy contributors, edited by Dr. HUGH ROBERT MILLS, librarian of the Royal Geographical Society. This book of 1,088 pages including index is a wonder and a credit to the Century at the close of which it appears, and emphatically no other Century could have given birth to a compilation so comprehensive, so accurate, and so complete. In statistics some reasonable accuracy is sought for, and not mere guesses; some data must be shown for amount of population. As regards the Chinese Empire, the estimate of the population is too uncertain to record anything as a fact; the utmost that can be said is that it is not improbable that it reaches 350,000,000. As regards British India, where attempts have been made for several decades to introduce a census, the population is entered at 287,000,000. Thus the two countries together contain more than one-third of the population of the world in its widest sense.

The Editor in his brief preface explains that the work is the work of a Septuagint, and gives the names of the seventy learned contributors, and the portion of the subject entrusted to each is recorded, and the list justifies the title of "International." An estimate was formed of the amount of space to which each contributor should be restricted; this must have been a task of great delicacy. Each author was allowed to use his own language, but the contribution was, under the supervision of the Editor,

translated into English; each author is held responsible for his facts and figures, and the final proof was submitted to him so as to insure that responsibility. While, on the one hand, mathematical, physical, commercial, and political treatment of the subject was not excluded, on the other hand, it was understood that a book on Geography must be written from a strictly geographical point of view. The general description of a continent must refer only to the largest and most determinative features, and these should be taken in the following order: coasts, surface, geology, climate, flora, fauna, anthropology, history, including territorial changes of the highest order.

Seventy-nine letters of invitation to possible contributors were issued in October, 1897. Forty-seven of the authors thus invited at once agreed to contribute; on each refusal a second author was applied to, and nineteen accepted; in ten cases a third author had to be applied to. In the course of this operation 122 letters were exchanged with correspondents in all parts of the world, from Norway to New Zealand. Each section bears the author's name, and seven European languages are represented in these communications.

The spelling of place-names presented a serious difficulty. The division of the subject is into countries, where there is a special alphabetical system, and into countries where there is none. The transliteration of the former was difficult. As regards the latter, the rules of the Royal Geographical Society were adopted whenever the pronunciation was known. The names of places in British India are given throughout according to the rules of the Government of India.

The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland occupies a larger space than any other great country, because the materials available were fuller. Other countries have been treated with equal care. No part of the world dominated by Western civilization is viewed as a foreign land.

All details of Anthropology which have no bearing on Geography, such as religion, language, education, culture, are rigorously excluded or lightly noticed. Geography, and Geography alone, is the subject and object of the book, for a treatise *de omnibus rebus* has no limit. The subject, being strictly limited, has been treated systematically, on understood plans and principles, in an orderly manner, leaving no room for partiality or prejudice, with a uniform terminology, with no allusions to past history or dipping into future possibilities. Turning to Chapter LII., pages 986 to 1014, we are informed all about South Africa by competent persons; at pages 469 to 503 British India is fully illustrated. There is a danger in knowing too much of a particular region, and there is a greater danger in knowing too little and supplementing ignorance with platitudes. Both these errors are avoided.

I do not recommend this book to continuous reading from the first to the last page, as this would prove wearisome, unless to a student, who is getting up the subject preparatory to an examination in Geography. There are no large maps in the volume, but several hundred small illustrations. There are no sheets of statistics which crush the inexperienced reader, but at the end of the descriptions of each country there is a uniform statistical

note of the population and area, and a few other details. At page 188 the population of the globe is distributed according to races. An ethnologist might take exception to this distribution and to the word "race" as applied here ; but it is sufficient for a treatise on Geography, and runs as follows :

I. White, called Caucasians	...	...	770,000,000
II. Yellow „ Mongols	...	...	540,000,000
III. Black „ Ethiopians	...	...	175,000,000
IV. Red „ Americans	...	...	22,000,000

Grand total 1,507,000,000

The treatise is up to date, and worthy of the *fin de siècle*. I place by its side on my table Arrowsmith's "Compendium of Ancient and Modern Geography" prepared for the use of Eton College in 1831, two years before I entered that school ; it was considered a prodigy of knowledge then, and it is illustrated by the accompanying Eton atlas. Let us speak reverently and gently of our predecessors seventy years ago, hoping that our descendants in the years preceding A.D. 2000 will do the same to us of this generation.

R. N. CUST.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD. ; LONDON.

14. *British Africa (British Empire Series)*. This is a comprehensive and interesting book, which perhaps naturally devotes more consideration to our newer and healthier possessions in the south and east than to the old though commercially valuable settlements on the deadly "West Coast." Still, it again makes plain the fact that white men can successfully colonize the south, while the Guinea shore will probably remain a black man's land. Various well-qualified writers set forth the history of southern Africa from its discovery by Diaz and misrule by the Dutch East India Company to the Boers' great trek, and later the opening up of Rhodesia and Uganda, as well as the physical features of the different territories. Some of the articles almost of necessity overlap ; but although space forbids the mention of each in detail the collection is well-balanced ; that is to say, the side of Boer and native is shown as well as the Imperialistic colonizer's views.

Among others, the pictures of beautiful Natal, garden of South Africa, and Rhodesia are particularly pleasing, and we note how in the latter excellent work is being done by young Englishmen from what may be termed the higher walks of life. The writer has found in other parts of the world that the best of such not only set some stamp of refinement upon very rough places, but also, strange to say, do the hardest and dirtiest things as efficiently as any to the manner born. Still, there is another kind, the "remittance men," who, levying blackmail on friends at home and degenerating into loafers, are anything but a blessing to any colony. We find it stated, however, that there are none of these in Rhodesia. The Boer is also shown both as an industrious farmer, and a sanctimonious ruffian whose knowledge of truth is represented by the symbol X, and who considers any scheme for improvement rank impiety. It may interest

some to learn that the population of the Transvaal consists of 27 per cent. Boers and 73 per cent. of other nationalities, practically all British, and that the former come of Gallic Huguenot as well as Teutonic stock.

The native question is ably treated, one article setting forth the fine qualities of the Zulus, and laying a heavy responsibility upon their—to use a mild term—British mismanagement; while two very old problems which have never been fully solved are hinted at—whether the black man is improved by Christianity as it is taught to him, and to what extent we are justified in robbing him of his land. To the latter the Colonists' rejoinder, voiced by one writer is, "No race in the world has a perpetual right to territory which it abuses. And from this race or individual which cumbers the ground the ground must pass away."

There is a clear picture of the Zanzibar Protectorate, with a history from its foundation by Muscadine Arabs, and once more it becomes evident that the Arab's work in South-east Africa has been insignificant compared to his work in the north and west, where, instead of stealing him, he set a stamp of superiority and even of civilization upon the negro. Next follows a spirited vindication of British policy in Egypt, though the French who have, so it is shown, persistently hampered our improvements there would probably object to its being classified as British Africa.

Last come the West Coast colonies, where British commerce is advancing by leaps and bounds, and white men die even faster than they did at the beginning, behind which lie decadent but still partly civilized and powerful Moslem Sultanates. Here there is a clever study of native character by Miss Kingsley, and the civilized and converted negro appears again. One writer shrewdly observes that it might be better to teach him to work with his hands rather than ape the European, and become too often an unreliable clerk. The writer, knowing the species, agrees with this, but the process of teaching manual labour has sometimes in South Africa, at least, become synonymous with slavery. After all, as Miss Kingsley relates in a characteristic anecdote, the factories of West Africa are but the porter's lodge—the real settlement is the crowded cemetery.

British Africa is a kaleidoscopic mixture of malarial jungle, scorching uplands, giant ranges, and fertile hill-slopes, all manner of climates, nations, and languages, and this book throws a partial light upon it. No whole library could do so fully.—H. B.

15. *India* ("British Empire Series," vol. i.), with two maps. This work, the first of the "British Empire Series," contains twenty-three essays; nineteen deal with India, and the rest with Ceylon and the British settlements in the Far East. The majority of the essays were delivered as lectures before the South Place Ethical Society; but, with one or two exceptions, the form of the lecture has not been allowed to mar the literary character of the work. The essayists are all experts; popular governors, distinguished officials, and natives, not only gentlemen of standing, but also native ladies, have contributed their quota. The general aim of the essayists has been to describe the past and present condition of the provinces with which they deal, to show the political and economic results of British rule and the methods of British administration, and to bring

educated Englishmen into sympathetic contact with the strange civilizations and the infinite variety of peoples that find shelter beneath the broad-spreading ægis of British supremacy. In a work of this kind there is necessarily a certain want of unity perceptible, a discordance of views, an inequality of grasp. Experts are not always the best exponents of their knowledge; it requires practice and some innate literary skill to bring out the salient features of a complex subject, and above all it requires the power of projecting one's self imaginatively into the position of the hearer. An English audience requires things to be explained, associations to be unravelled, misunderstandings to be guarded against, which to the expert are so obvious that they require neither mention nor explanation. As a whole, these papers do not err in this respect (they keep the salient points well in view); some of them are eminently readable, and only two or three are overburdened with details and a lack of proportion. One of the best is Mr. Baines' introductory essay on "Our Great Dependency." Mr. Baines opens with a favourite but somewhat disputable aphorism regarding the value of a stranger's first impressions, his vivid grasp of all that is prominent or new as contrasted with the detailed, laborious, and overcharged knowledge of the expert. But Mr. Baines' immense practice in dealing with huge and complex masses of facts has enabled him, despite his supposed disadvantages as an expert, to write a capital paper.

Obscurity and want of proportion cannot be charged against the essayists as a body, but several of them are guilty of that most common fault of lecturers—the assertion of highly controversial opinions as indubitable truths. "In my lectures I say what I think," a German professor once remarked, "but in my books I put only what I know;" and several of the lecturers appear to practise the same rule. But the chief defect of the work is not that it is written by experts who occasionally express very decided opinions, but that it did not have an expert for an editor. The originating idea was good, but it required an expert to map out the ground-plan, to harmonize the contradictions, and to give unity to the whole. The book suffers from redundancy and from defect. Thus we are told four times over, and at great length, of the official machinery in all its details—the commissioners, collectors, judges, and the rest—and yet no one could imagine from this book that there was a material difference between the administrative systems of Madras, Bombay, and Bengal; nor could any unsophisticated reader by any chance discover what a non-regulation province means. Again, we have an article on Indian industries, but its manufactures are of infinitely less importance to India than its agriculture, and yet no paper on Indian agriculture is forthcoming. The essay on ancient Indian history is scarcely relevant to the main object of the work, and it is so slight that it might advantageously have been omitted. But if it were to be treated at all, it should have been entrusted to a competent scholar like Mr. Vincent Smith; and then why omit all mention of Muhammadan history, seeing that it bears so directly upon the present condition of the provinces? Nothing is said in this volume of Indian religions, probably because they have been dealt with in previous publications of the South Place Ethical Society; but their omission detracts from

the value of Miss Hughes' interesting paper on Indian, or rather Sanskrit literature. The reader would not conjecture that there exists, or ever has existed, in India any literature except in Sanskrit. The volume therefore suffers both from deficiency and redundancy. It might have been enlarged with advantage, and the essays relating to the dependencies of the Colonial Office transferred to another volume. But the central idea is excellent, and the English reader will be able to form some idea of the physical aspects of the country, the look of the inhabitants, the political and economic questions with which the British Government has had to deal. Of the infinite variety of races and of tribes, the strange and complex civilizations, the spiritual worlds of the Orient, his notions will be vague; and of the novelty, the exhilaration, the glamour, of the East he will form no conception whatever. Curiously enough, there is no formal essay on the relations of England to India; and the evolution of Indian society and ideas under the impact of Western civilization is seldom touched on by the essayists. Sir R. West treats of it more fully than any of the others in a Prologue which is one of the best, or rather the very best and most thoughtful paper in the book. The passing reader cannot do better than lay to heart Sir Raymond's moral: "There must be a recognition of the teachings of actual experiment, but especially of that greatest lesson—that disdain is the outcome and the sure sign of stupidity."

The book is well printed, and published at a very moderate price.—J. K.

C. ARTHUR PEARSON, LIMITED; LONDON, 1899.

16. *Tunisia and the Modern Barbary Pirates*, by HERBERT VIVIAN, M.A., author of "Servia: The Poor Man's Paradise," etc. The author has produced a work, handsomely printed, profusely illustrated with photographs and a map, of scenes which he has personally visited. Should the reader desire instruction as to places, persons, habits, costumes, and other peculiarities of the various tribes, races, and nationalities of this comparatively unfrequented but interesting region, he will find the descriptions of one who has a keen eye of observation, common-sense, wit and humour. Works hitherto published in English belong to the past, and those of the French, in the author's opinion, are "prejudiced and stupid." It will serve the threefold purpose—to the traveller a pleasant and indispensable companion, a tribute to the last survivors of a grand medieval race, and a possible avenue of retrieving an opportunity lost by the Berlin Treaty towards promoting real civilization and commerce, and by which he considers British prestige and commerce were sacrificed.

The volume contains an historical résumé from ancient times—the French administration, the position of Islam, the Jews, Tunis and its suburbs, trade and agriculture, administration of justice and education, beasts and feathered fowl, and a description of Tripoli, with a copious index.

Bizerta has created an interest from the rumour that it had been ceded to Russia for a coaling station. The author observes that it might have been obtained "by England forty or fifty years ago, but our naval authorities rightly judged that it was not worth troubling about." Stress has been laid

upon the fact that all the fleets of the world might easily be concealed there, and, awaiting their opportunity, might sally forth and command the Mediterranean. The lake behind the town is equal in area to the whole city of Paris, and is probably the largest harbour in the world. "But most naval experts are agreed that, though all the navies of the world may take refuge in such a harbour, they will by no means find it so easy to come out again. A ship or two judiciously sunk at the entrance to the canal (which the French have cut) would 'bottle up' the fleets for weeks or months." However, for full information about that and similar topics, and descriptions of the humorous incidents and stories from the author's facile pen, we commend our readers to peruse the whole of this delightful and instructive volume.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO. ; LONDON.

17. *Introduction to the Study of Japanese Writing*, by BASIL HALL CHAMBERLAIN. Mr. Chamberlain, who has already done so much for the student and the traveller in Japan, has followed up the third edition of his "Colloquial Handbook" by giving to the public a splendid work upon the above subject. The number of people in Europe and America who really understand the Japanese written character from a historical point of view is so limited that a detailed account of its growth here would either be superfluous, or would occupy a space disproportionate to the number of readers interested. The Japanese originally had no writing of any kind, and when first they were brought into contact with the Chinese ideographs (which as a matter of fact can be read out, so far as their meaning goes, in any language under the sun), either read them out in their own tongue, or used them phonetically; or, where they expressed new ideas, adopted and adapted their sounds as well as their meanings. At the time when diplomatic relations *viâ* Corea and commercial relations *viâ* Ningpo were first active and regular—*i.e.*, about 1,400 years ago—the Chinese had developed a very artistic system of abbreviated or ultra-demotic calligraphy; and the arrival of very numerous batches of Hindu missionaries at the same period introduced almost simultaneously into China, Corea, and Japan quite new notions upon etymology, syllables, alphabets, and so on. The result of all this was that fragments of Chinese characters, or the whole of certain Chinese characters written in abbreviated forms, began to come into use with merely phonetic value. The effect of this upon Sanskrit or Pali, and upon Corean, need not be further enlarged upon here; but the gradual result in Japan was to create a most complicated system of writing, calculated or rather destined to reconcile the polysyllabic Japanese with the monosyllabic Chinese, whose nasals, tones, and aspirates were totally foreign to the Japanese genius, and could not be imitated. The object of the magnificent volume now under notice is to guide the European student step by step through this historic maze, and, in so doing, to enable him, also step by step, as in the case of the early Japanese, to avail himself of the ideographs, and of their excrescences and aftergrowths, as a means for expressing himself in writing in the mixed Japanese language of to-day. The Annamese, the Coreans, the Cathayans, the Tanguts, and the Golden Tartars have all in turn endeavoured to create new syllabaries or alphabets



out of mutilated Chinese characters ; but in the last three cases the visible efforts never seem to have achieved enduring practical result at all, and are at present quite undecipherable ; whilst in the two former instances the "vernacular," or adapted writing, has never produced any literature worthy of the name, and has always taken a "back-seat" and been merely ancillary to the more lucid Chinese ; and even that in a half-ashamed sort of way. It has only been in Japan, vigorous, "cocky" Japan, that native energy has been strong enough to assert itself to the extent of imposing its own development of Chinese upon true Chinese on absolutely equal terms. Just as the despised vernaculars of Europe were centuries before they could "catch on" in turn and displace the Latin monopoly of literature, so the *majiri* or "mixture" of Japanese has had to fight hard and obstinately in order to displace the pure Chinese monopoly of literature in Japan.

Even as a work of art, Mr. Chamberlain's book is deserving of a place on the drawing-room table, for the plates are beautifully finished and the character models are perfect. The only thing in true art the Chinese have ever achieved is calligraphy ; and if they appear to have achieved it elsewhere, as in porcelain for instance, it is because their best porcelain largely depends upon calligraphy for its grace and ornament. Upon this calligraphy the Japanese have successfully ventured to improve ; and though they have adhered to classic models to the last, they have managed to impart a dash and a verve to the demotic forms which the best Chinese masters of antiquity might envy.

But, apart from its artistic value, Mr. Chamberlain's noble work saves the student from profitless grinding. It marshals forth the why and the wherefore of each apparently complicated rule in such an orderly and systematic way that any industrious learner may now achieve, with the minimum of native technical assistance, results which hitherto certainly not a dozen Europeans have ever managed. Some people may be inclined to ask : Is the victory worth achieving ? It is certainly a great thing to be able to glance quickly through the best Japanese newspapers ; and in time of war a man who could promptly decipher important communications would be invaluable, not to mention the importance of being able to correspond freely and safely with an ally or an enemy. In any case, Mr. Chamberlain's book is the first systematic one of its kind, and it will probably continue to be the best for many generations.

E. H. PARKER.

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SANDS AND CO. ; LONDON, 1899.

18. *China*, by HAROLD E. GORST ("The Imperial Interest Library," edited by HAMISH HENDRY). Mr. Gorst has produced a very readable book, and has certainly succeeded in showing up very clearly some of the chief points in the political problems which present themselves to us, now that up-to-date events have altered the bearings of the general outlook in the Far East. The author, who has evidently not been to China, to a certain extent disarms criticism at the outset by paying his possible critics the compliment of assuring them that almost any one of them would have done better than himself, had that one seen fit to take up the task to which Mr. Gorst has devoted his energies. It is, however, by no means certain

that such is the case. Almost everyone in the Far East has, or has had, his own private axe to grind, or his own biased ideas to air, and it is just as well that a complete outsider, taking up the ravelled ends of interested controversy for himself, should endeavour to produce an independent pattern of his own working, and this from a purely objective point of view. Taking a general survey of the whole situation, Mr. Gorst falls promptly into line with those who think that Great Britain has sadly neglected her duty, and criminally let slip her many opportunities. Perhaps it is a wholesome thing for Her Majesty's Governments that they should be periodically gibbeted as incompetents, just as it is sound policy for the Navy League to keep the Admiralty up to the mark by drawing ghastly pictures of our coming naval decadence: in the same way, to descend to a much lower step in the scale, it is on the whole good that Consuls should occasionally be locally stigmatized as "duffers," so that they may not take things too easy when a missionary gets his head punched, or a British trader has his cargo of pigs confiscated; his cottons subjected to *likin*, extortion, and detention, and so on. In pointing to the successes of Russia, Germany, and France, Mr. Gorst seems inclined to slur over as a mere nothing our own important territorial extension opposite Hongkong, and to lay all possible stress upon the (alleged) fact that barren Wei-hai Wei is the only "compensation" we can point to. The Lu-Han Railway, the Fives-Lille concession (a miserable failure as yet), the Nan-ning Line, the proposed (as yet only proposed) purely German lines to Tsinan and Wei Hien, all loom very big in his eyes; whilst the British concessions, which really are equal to all the others put together, and the only ones likely to really pay quickly, are pooh-poohed as though they were mere asses masquerading in lions' skins. England owes all she possesses to the energy of her sons, especially her trading sons; her Government has always manipulated the brake rather than the whip or spur, and therefore on the whole it is perhaps well that the flesh of Her Majesty's Ministers should be made to creep occasionally in order that they may not relapse into indolence. But, whilst this is admitted, after all there is a good deal to be said for Sir Claude Macdonald's point of view, namely, that we have come out of the scrimmage pretty well—in fact, very well—after all. If we failed to foresee what a fraud Chinese "power" was, we did so in the good company of France, Russia, and Germany. If we failed to get those Powers to join us in stopping the war, that was no fault of ours; and if we refused to join them in meanly defrauding Japan of her hard-earned rights, we at any rate secured for ourselves morally in the eyes of both China and Japan a better permanent position than the three Powers did. China's kind "friends" commenced to grab before any thought of aggrandisement entered the brain of her "enemy," who thus stood aside to see common fair play. Japan, a country which possesses in an unrivalled degree both the means and the power to preserve impenetrable secrecy, is digesting her unforgettable insult in ominous silence. What with the smothered enmity of Japan, the wedging in of Germany, and the advent of the United States into the Pacific, Russia's prospects of securing China were never more remote than they are now. Moreover, the *Economist* has clearly proved her to be financially at least

as badly off as Japan. Man for man, the Japanese (especially in the summer season) are better fighters and marchers than the Russians. They cost one-tenth the sum to feed, present 50 per cent. less surface for the bullets to hit, fear no sun, are individually intelligent, require next to no baggage, and know absolutely no fear. They are as much ducks on the water as they are monkeys on the hills, and if war were to break out to-day it is as likely as not that they would, left alone with Russia, get the best of it *sur toute la ligne*. This, then, is one result of a crafty policy. Again, who can blame us for not foreseeing the action of Germany at Kiao Chou? As a matter of fact, it now rather suits us; but it was impossible to be proud of hitting a man under the belt when he was down, still less to predict such a departure from the rules of diplomatic sport. The fact is, if we have been slow to see the new position, at least we have not lost our heads or done anything despicable. At present Russia's policy seems to be to detach American sympathies from the "open door" by offering them the bait of first refusals of land at Ta-lien Wan.

So much for the main political idea which runs through Mr. Gorst's book. By all means let us keep poking up our Government to activity, but let us take a liberal grain of mental salt before we seriously swallow our proffered doses of regret at lost opportunities. The excellent article in the last number of the *Revue des Deux Mondes* shows that *nos bons amis les Anglais* are viewed by the French political adventurers in a very different light from that in which our Jingoës present them to us. As to the other chapters in the book, those on China's Resources, the Yangtsze Valley, the Records of the Past, Civilization, Scientific Ignorance, Farming, Family Life, Artisans, Modern Factories, Guilds, Literati, Government and Mandarins, Religion, Missionaries, Army, Relations with Europe, Recent Developments, etc.—all these are written in a pleasant, readable style; and if they display here and there inaccuracies, these are mostly of the kind involved in the celebrated description of a crab as "a red fish which walks backwards"; that is, any man who has correct and specific information on any definite subject at once discerns numerous trivial mistakes in points of detail, though these little flaws are not as a rule of such a kind as to make the book an unsafe guide for the "man in the street," to whom it may therefore honestly be recommended as a good, popular work, without any pretensions to profundity or authoritativeness, but giving in the main a fair presentment of China as she now stands, and of her new political possibilities as they are usually conceived.

The pictures are very good, though some of them seem to be old friends, and the women have all been taken from one province. The man on p. 115 is certainly no merchant; he looks like a Mandarin's card-bearer or out-door manager, and wears Northern official attire: he might possibly be a Muhammadan horse-dealer from the Government studs.—E. H. PARKER.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Fusoku Gaho*. A modern publication. An illustrated magazine of the manners and customs of the Japanese. Printed and published in Tokyo, Japan. This number illustrates and treats in the text the calamity

of the seismic wave that struck the coast between Sendai and Aomora in July, 1896, on the festival day of Tango no Sekku or the Boys' Feast of Flags.

*The Upanishads*, 3 vols., published by V. C. Seshacharri, B.A., B.L., M.R.A.S., and printed by G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras. The Upanishads and Sri Sankara's Commentary, translated by S. Sitarama Sastri, B.A. The first volume contains the Isa, Kena, and Mundaka; the second, Katha and Prasna; the third (and the fourth, not yet published), the Chha'ndogya, translated by Pandit Gangânâtha Jha, M.A., F.T.S., of Darbhanga. The translations are exact, very readable, exceedingly well printed in a very convenient and handy form.

*Travels in the Transvaal*, by CHARLES J. H. HALCOMBE. (London: Thomas Burleigh.) An instructive account of the experiences of a traveller in the Transvaal, his adventures and impressions of Cape life.

*Bulawayo up to Date*, edited and enlarged by WALTER H. WILLS and J. HALL, jun., 1899. (London: Simpkin Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., Limited.) A very useful guide to all who desire important information in an authentic form of the vast region now known as Rhodesia, including references to Mashonaland, Matabeleland, and adjoining regions, with pleasing illustrations of Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the Marquis of Abercorn, Mr. Maguire, and others connected with Rhodesia.

*In a Corner of Asia*, by HUGH CLIFFORD. (London: T. Fisher Unwin.) This handy and readable little volume gives tales and impressions of men and things in the Malay Peninsula, by one who admires its scenery and loves its races and people, their habits and curious customs. The author says: "Since my brown friends and their surroundings have been to me things very real and very lovable, these tales have written themselves, bringing me much pleasure in their fashioning; and if they serve to pass an idle hour for others, they will have achieved perhaps the only object for which they are fitted."

*Transvaal War Atlas*. (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, Paternoster Row.) Twenty-three pages of well-got-up maps, followed by an interesting description of the Boers and Boerland. Well worth a shilling.

*Arabic Self-Taught (Syrian), with English Phonetic Pronunciations*, by C. A. THIMM, F.R.G.S.; edited by A. HASSAM and Professor G. HAGOPIAN. (London: E. Marlborough and Co., Old Bailey.) This useful little work gives, in a simple, clear, and distinct manner, vocabularies, elements of grammar, idiomatic phrases and dialogues, travel talk, and a short dictionary on English and Arabic. It contains also very useful suggestions to a beginner who desires to acquire a rudimentary knowledge of the language. The system of transliteration has been carefully arranged to give the correct *phonetic* pronunciation, in accordance with the plan recommended by the Oriental Congress. Those proposing to travel in Egypt and the Sudan will find this primer exceedingly useful.

*Natural and Artificial Methods of Ventilation*. (London: Robert Boyle and Son, Limited.) A short compilation of the best authorities on an important subject relating to health and the means to be adopted, on

an intelligent comprehension of the laws which govern the movements of air, and the utilization of the natural forces which are necessary in their operation.

*New Century Library.* The works of Charles Dickens. Vol. I., "The Pickwick Club." (Edinburgh, London, and New York : Thomas Nelson and Sons.) The special feature of the series which are to compose this library is, that the volumes are to be of pocket-size, the type a large and beautiful long primer on very thin paper, called "*royal*" India paper. The library is an entirely new departure, and these small India volumes will doubtless be welcomed alike for pocket and library use.

We acknowledge with thanks the reception of the following :

*Tuberculosis, the Journal of the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption and other Forms of Tuberculosis*, vol. i., No. 1 (published by the Association, 20, Hanover Square, W.);—*Climate, a Quarterly Journal of Health and Travel*, vol. i., No. 1 (Livingstone College, Stratford, E., and Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co.);—*The War and its Causes*, by G. P. GOOCH, M.A. (The Transvaal Committee, St. Ermin's Mansions, Westminster, S.W.);—*The Periodical* (Oxford University Press Warehouse, London);—*Shaddarcaneshu en religionsstudie. I. Prolegomena till den indiskt ortodoxa filosofien* (af Oscar Valentin, Stockholm, Fosterlandsstiftelsens forlags-expedition);—*Catalogus of the Sanskrit Manuscripts in the Library of the India Office.* Part VI. Sanskrit Literature. B. Poetical Literature. I. Epic Literature. II. Pauranik Literature;—*Report on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the year 1897-98* (Government Press, Bombay, 1899);—*Annual Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle, North-Western Provinces and Oudh, for the year ending June 30th, 1899*;—*La Grande Revue de l'Exposition, 1900* (*Supplément illustré de la Revue des Revues*), No. 1, November, 1899 (Avenue de l'Opera 12, Paris);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. xxix., part 5;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*La Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (London : Isbister and Co.);—*The National Review* (E. Arnold);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London : A. Constable and Co.);—*Comptes rendus des séances de la Société de Géographie* (Paris);—*Le Tour du Monde* (London and Paris : Hachette);—From George Newnes, Limited, London : the last three numbers of *The Strand Magazine*—*The Royal Atlas of England and Wales*, parts 12-15—*The Wide World Magazine*, October, November, December, 1899—*The Captain*, vol. ii., parts 7-9—*Through the Dark Continent*, by H. M. Stanley, part 18 (now complete)—*The Arabian Nights*, parts 7-12 (complete in 20 parts)—*Tit-Bits' Citizens' Library*: *The Romance of the Victoria Cross*—*Tit-Bits' Monster Rhyme Book* and *Unbeaten Tracts in Japan*, by Mrs. Bishop, part 1 (to be completed in 8 parts);—*The North American Review*, October, November,

December, 1899 (New York);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing "Hebraica"), vol. xvi., No. 1, October, 1899 (the University of Chicago Press, and Luzac and Co., London);—*Current Literature*, vol. xxvi., No. 6, December, 1899 (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*Revue Tunisienne*, organe de l'Institut de Carthage, October, 1899 (Tunis);—*The Monist*, October, 1899 (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*The Harvest Field* (London: Foreign Missions Club);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute*, No. 1, Session 1899-1900 (Northumberland Avenue, London);—*The Madras Review*, vol. v., No. 19, November, 1899 (Madras).

For want of space we regret we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue: *Sacred Books of the Buddhists*, translated by various Oriental scholars, and edited by F. Max Müller, vol. ii. (Oxford University Press);—*Prisoners their own Warders*, by Major J. F. A. McNair (Archibald Constable and Co., Westminster);—*In Western India: Recollections of my early Missionary Life*, by the Rev. J. Murray Mitchell, LL.D. (David Douglas, Edinburgh);—*Builders of Great Britain Series: Rajah Brooke*, by Sir Spenser St. John, G.C.M.G. (T. Fisher Unwin, London);—*In Moorish Captivity: An Account of the "Tourmaline" Expedition to Sus 1897-98*, by Henry M. Grey (Edward Arnold, London);—*The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ*, vols. iv. and v. of Luzac's Semitic Text and Translation Series, by E. A. Wallis Budge, M.A. (Luzac and Co., London);—*The Story of the Australian Bushrangers*, by George E. Boxall (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, London);—*The Romance of Australian Exploring*, by G. Firth Scott (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London);—*Historical Geography of the British Colonies: Vol. IV., South and East Africa*, by C. P. Lucas, B.A. (The Clarendon Press, Oxford);—*America in Hawaii*, by Edmund James Carpenter (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Limited, London);—*Picturesque Kashmir*, by Dr. Arthur Neve, illustrated by Geoffrey W. Millais (Sands and Co., London);—*The Practical Study of Languages*, by Henry Sweet, LL.D. (J. M. Dent and Co., London);—*Rulers of India: Bābar*, by Stanley Lane-Poole, M.A. (Oxford Clarendon Press);—*Il Ce-Kiang studio geografico-economico*, by Dr. Mario Carli (E. C. Forzani, Rome, and Luzac and Co., London);—*The Bride's Mirror or Mir-ātu l-Arūs* of Maulavi Nazir-Ahmad, edited (by permission of the author) in the Roman character, with a vocabulary and notes by G. E. Ward, M.A. (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, 1899, London);—*The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*, by B. H. Baden-Powell, M.A., C.I.E. (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., London, 1899);—*Judaism and Islam*, by Abraham Geiger (Simpkins, Marshall and Co., London);—*The Moorish Empire: a Historical Epitome* by Budgett Meakin (Swan, Sonnenschein and Co., London).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

**INDIA : GENERAL.**—The latest reports up to the middle of December show that the season continues practically rainless. The short north-east monsoon has seriously affected Madras, Mysore and Haiderabad. The agricultural area most seriously affected comprises 100,000 square miles in British territory, with a population of about 15,000,000 and 250,000 square miles of native territory, with a like population. Those in parts of the northern division of the Bombay Presidency, Rajputana, the Central Provinces, and the Panjāb are the worse sufferers. There were (December 10) on the relief works : Bombay, 315,000 ; Panjāb, 81,000 ; Central Provinces, 812,000 ; Berar, 106,000 ; Ajmir, 101,000 ; Rajputana, 122,000 ; Central India, 41,000 ; Bombay States, 339,000 ; Baroda, 288,000 ; total, 2,205,000. The Government has agreed to make loans to assist the Native States.

There have been full average rice crops throughout Burma and Bengal. Both provinces are prosperous, and can supply the distressed area. The autumn harvest in North-Western Provinces is two-thirds of the average.

The Darjeeling district was visited at the end of last September by a succession of earthquake shocks, following on a tremendous rainfall, occasioning extensive landslips. Great damage was done to tea plantations. The loss of life was over 400, including some European children, in addition to many drowned in the plains.

The Hon. Sir H. Stafford Northcote, Bart., M.P., has been appointed Governor of Bombay in succession to Lord Sandhurst, whose tenure of office expires next month.

The Government has approved of Mr. Tatás' scheme for an India University of Research as recently promulgated by the Simla Conference. The resolutions of the Conference, with which the Government's conclusions are in complete accord, will be published at once.

His Excellency Lord Curzon has made a tour, which included Delhi, where he met with a cordial reception. He appreciated the good management of local affairs there, especially the adequate sanitation, the water supply, and the development of trade and industry. He visited the plague hospitals and famine works in the Central Provinces, from whence he went to Bhopal, Gwalior, Agra, Cawnpore, Lucknow, Benares, etc., and back to Calcutta.

**INDIA : FRONTIER.**—An arrangement has been concluded with the Adam Khel Afridis, whereby a road will be constructed through the Kohat Pass from Peshawar to Kohat.

Owing to fears of a rising under the Mulla Powindah, the 4th Sikhs, a squadron of the 5th Panjāb Cavalry, and No. 6 Mountain Battery moved from Dera Ismail Khan to Tank under the command of Colonel Pollock.

All the regular troops have now been withdrawn from the Khaibar Pass, in accordance with the arrangements under which the Pass will be guarded by the Khaibar Rifles.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—The Maharaja of Kuch Behar having volunteered for field service in South Africa, his services were accepted, and he was placed on the personal staff of Sir Redvers Buller.

During the recent disastrous floods at Baghalpūr, in the Bengal Presidency, 25 square miles of country were inundated, 20 villages swept away, 250 lives lost, 8,700 houses destroyed, and 5,700 cattle drowned.

The continued mismanagement of the Holkar State has resulted in the appointment of Major Jennings as Special Political Agent, under the Agent to the Governor-General. The introduction of some very necessary reforms will be appreciated by H.H. the Maharaja, and will enable the State to take its proper place in the estimation both of his own people and of the Supreme Government.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb at Lahore invested H.H. the Raja of Jhind, who has attained his majority, with ruling powers.

BURMA.—The programme of the third delimitation of the Burmo-Chinese frontier has been completed. Mr. Stirling has been appointed Assistant-Commissioner, Mr. Litton, British Consul at Szu-mao, Chinese adviser, and Brigadier Liu again represents China.

BALUCHISTAN.—In consequence of a scarcity, especially in the Zhob Valley, relief works are about to be opened.

Colonel Wyllie, the Agent of the Governor-General, has visited Nushki, and was received with marked cordiality by all the leading chiefs of the district.

Reports from Kabul prove that the Amir of AFGHANISTAN is in very good health, and is actively discharging the duties of government.

PERSIA. — There was a fanatical outbreak against Christians last September in the town of Kazvin, who are composed principally of Armenians and Russian traders, some of whom were assaulted and their houses looted. On representations being made to the Shah, the latter threatened to send troops to administer punishment, whereupon the Governor of Kazvin arrested about 300 persons, and punished them in different ways.

It is announced that the Russian engineer Sakhansky is organizing a party to survey a route for a Russian railway through Persia to the Persian Gulf.

A destructive fire occurred in November at Resht, the capital of Ghilān, when all the bazaars and sixteen caravanserais were totally consumed.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—Twenty villages were razed to the ground, and many lives lost, by the earthquake which occurred in the *vilayet* of Aidin in September last. An IRADÉ ordains the division of Yemen into four *vilayets*.

The Patriarch of Jerusalem has protested against the election of Malateos as Patriarch of Antioch, and alleges that if the Porte recognised the election serious troubles would arise.

The Government has resolved to grant the concession for the Baghdad railway to the Deutsche Bank, and the Sultan by an *Irādē* has authorized the Anatolian Railway Company to construct a line from Konieh to Basra *viâ* Baghdad.



**RUSSIA IN ASIA.**—The Russian Government has decided to establish new schools at Geok-tépé, Chikishlār, Ashkābād, Merv, Charjui, Kizil Arvat, and other places in the Transcaspian provinces, with the view of more thoroughly reconciling the natives to the Russian Government.

Railway traffic between Stretensk and Chita, in the Trans-Baikal territory, was opened last month, and with the opening of navigation on the Shilka and Amur rivers, St. Petersburg will be in direct steam communication with Vladivostok.

**PHILIPPINE ISLANDS.**—A Spanish Commission, which started in October last to endeavour to negotiate the release of Spanish prisoners at Tarlac, returned without having accomplished its purpose.

The rainy season is retarding the prosecution of the campaign by the Americans. General Otis has under his command a force of about 65,000 men, which will eventually be able to subdue the insurgents.

The American Philippine Commission has submitted its preliminary report, which sets forth that no course is possible for the United States but to maintain its sovereignty over the islands, and force the insurgents to submit to American authority.

Tarlac, the headquarters of the Filipino Government, was captured on November 12.

**SAMOAN ISLANDS.**—The treaty for the partition of these islands between the United States, Germany, and Great Britain, was signed at Washington on December 2. See our Notes in this number.

**CHINA.**—Sir Claude Macdonald has returned from England to his duties in Peking fully recovered in health.

Arrangements have been completed with the Russo-Chinese Bank for a loan of 1,200,000 taels for the construction of the Lung-chau to Nan-ning-fu railway.

China has accepted the Kwan-chau-wan boundaries demanded by the French Admiral.

It is stated that Li Hung Chang has been appointed by Imperial decree Minister of Commerce.

There has been a serious native anti-Christian rising at Tsi-nan-fu.

**JAPAN.**—The Emperor and Empress last October gave a grand banquet to commemorate the coming into operation of the revised treaties. The Emperor said he was convinced that reciprocal advantages would accrue to all parties, and he also expressed his appreciation of the sentiment of justice and friendly conciliation shown by the foreign Powers.

**EGYPT.**—The past year's rise of the Nile was the worst ever recorded. Every precaution had been taken to minimize the loss to the country and revenue. The area of land that remained unirrigated was over 200,000 acres. The Government has placed at the disposal of the Sirdar £10,000 for the purpose of cutting the great *sudd* of floating vegetation, which by blocking about 200 miles of the White Nile causes the river to lose itself in swamps, thus curtailing Egypt's water-supply.

There has been no case of plague at Alexandria since October 1 last.

The Powers have agreed that in future a majority of the members of the Caisse can grant sums to the Government from the Reserve Fund, except for extraordinary war credits or the cost of expeditions.

**SUDAN.**—On hearing that the Khalifa was advancing down the White Nile in November, Lord Kitchener left Cairo for Khartum. A column composed of 3,700 men, commanded by Colonel Sir Francis Wingate, after a decisive battle with Ahmed Fedil, the Khalifa's lieutenant, attacked and defeated the Khalifa at Om Debrikat, seven miles from El Gedid, capturing his camp. The Khalifa, his two brothers, and several Emirs were killed in action, and the remainder made prisoners, with the exception of Osman Digna, who escaped. The total number of prisoners amounted to 9,000. The casualties on our side were few in number.

**EAST AFRICA, SOMALILAND.**—The local mullah threatening Berbera having declared himself to be the Mahdi, and having created some disturbance, the Home Government requested the Indian Government to send some infantry and cavalry to Berbera from Aden, which has been done.

**WEST AFRICA.**—A punitive expedition against the Fula tribes on the Binue River has been completely successful. The troops were commanded by Captain Crawley. Eight towns were destroyed, the enemy losing heavily. The casualties on our side were few.

**SOUTH AFRICA: NATAL.**—Owing to the strained relations between the South African Republic and the Home Government, British and Colonial troops began, early in October, to take up positions in the Newcastle, Dundee, and Glencoe districts, and other points in proximity to the Transvaal frontier, where the Boers had been concentrating their forces. On October 9 the Transvaal Government presented to the British agent at Pretoria a note amounting to an ultimatum. The note declared that "Her Majesty's unlawful intervention in the internal affairs of the Republic has caused an intolerable condition of things to arise," and demanded that all points of mutual difference should be regulated by arbitration; that the troops on the frontier, and all reinforcements which had arrived in South Africa since June 1, 1899, should be immediately withdrawn, and failing a satisfactory answer, the Republican Government would regard the action of the British Government as a formal declaration of war. On October 12 the Colony of Natal was invaded in three columns, by Botha's Pass, Laing's Nek, and Mott's Nek respectively, and Newcastle was occupied by them on that day, a large force of Free State Boers occupying the passes of the Drakensberg. The Boer plan of action was apparently to rush Pietermaritzburg and Durban, but they were checked by the forces under the command of General Symons at Glencoe, and General Sir G. White at Ladysmith. Battles were fought at Glencoe (where General Symons was mortally wounded), at Elands Laagte, and Ladysmith. At the latter place Sir G. White is besieged by a large force under the command of General Joubert. General Sir Redvers Buller, in chief command in South Africa, is now advancing in force to relieve Ladysmith via Colenso, where the enemy is holding a strong position.

*On the West,* at Mafeking, a small force under the command of Colonel Baden-Powell is besieged by the Transvaal Boers, as is also Kimberley, which is defended by Colonel Kekewich. A force under Lord Methuen, in advancing to the relief of Kimberley, has fought battles, at Belmont,

Graspan, Modder River, and Magersfontein, the losses on both sides being very great.

*On the South*, the Free State Boers have occupied several places, notably Burghersdorp, Stormberg, and Dordrecht. General Gatacre, in advancing with a force from Molteno, has suffered a serious repulse.

Lord Roberts has been appointed Commander-in-Chief in South Africa, and Lord Kitchener Chief of his staff.

CANADA.—The British Chargé d'Affaires at Washington has handed to Mr. Hay a note formally accepting his proposal for a temporary adjustment of the boundary of Alaska. Thus the long-expected *modus vivendi* becomes effective, and every American interest has been conserved without acting unfairly to Canada.

AUSTRALASIA.—Lord Brassey retires this month from the Governorship of VICTORIA. The South Australian Ministry has been defeated in a motion for adjournment, which was accepted as a vote of want of confidence.

QUEENSLAND.—The Ministry resigned on December 5. The Hon. R. Philp has undertaken to form a new Cabinet. The Treasury returns for the three months ended September 30 last show that the revenue amounted to £1,253,000, as compared with £1,121,000 during the same period of 1898. The expenditure was £653,000, as compared with £565,000 during the corresponding quarter of 1898. The revenue for the year amounted to £4,174,000 or £291,700 above the estimate, and the expenditure to £4,024,000. The revenue for the current year is estimated at £4,383,000, and the expenditure at £4,364,000.

The new Ministry is composed as follows: Mr. A. Dawson, Premier and Chief Secretary; Mr. H. Turley, Home Secretary; Mr. W. Kidston, Treasurer and Postmaster-General; Mr. W. H. Browne, Secretary for Mines and Education; Mr. H. F. Hardacre, Secretary for Lands and Agriculture; Mr. Fisher, Secretary for Railways and Public Works.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.—The Ministry which had been lately formed in consequence of the resignation of Mr. Kingston's Cabinet, and of which Mr. Solomon was Premier, was defeated on December 6 by a majority of three votes on a motion proposed by Mr. Holder, Treasurer in the Kingston Cabinet, and the latter has undertaken the formation of a new Government.

WESTERN AUSTRALIA.—The revenue for the financial year amounted to £2,478,000, being £275,935 less than in the preceding year. The expenditure amounted to £2,590,357. The year commenced with a deficit of £186,800. The trade of the Colony for the year 1898 amounted to £10,201,971. For the half year ended June 30 last it amounted to £5,275,024. The profit on railways for the year 1898 amounted to 4 per cent. on the capital of £6,500,000. The gold exports to June 30 were valued at £4,899,287.

NEW ZEALAND.—The value of the exports during the quarter ended September 30 last was £2,023,000, and of the imports £2,491,000, being increases respectively of £380,000 and £178,000, as compared with the corresponding period of 1898.

The General Election has resulted in a victory for the Liberal party for the fourth consecutive time.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The expenditure during the coming financial year has been estimated at £10,000,000 and the revenue at £9,800,000. The Government has proposed to issue short-dated Treasury bills to the amount of £4,000,000, in order to cover former deficiencies.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded this quarter of:—Surgeon-Major-General S. A. Lithgow (Mutiny, Egypt);—Surgeon-General J. M. S. Fogo (Crimea);—Major-General Bowen, late Bombay Staff Corps (South Mahratta 1844-45, Persia);—Lieut.-Colonel W. E. M. Rough, 7th Dragoon Guards (Egypt 1882, India);—Major Hotham (Afghanistan, Sudan);—Surgeon-General Sir C. A. Gordon, K.C.B. (Gwalior 1843, West Coast of Africa 1847-48, Mutiny campaign, China 1860-61);—Deputy-Surgeon-General C. M. Jessop (Crimea, Canton 1857);—Mr. R. P. Jenkins (East India Company's Civil Service 1846-73);—Mr. John Donaldson, a celebrated engineer and torpedo-boat constructor;—Colonel L. F. Campbell, late Madras Staff Corps (Burma 1886-87);—Major J. C. Marston, R.A. (Afghan war 1879-80);—Colonel Sir C. P. P. H. Nugent, K.C.B. (Baltic, Egypt 1882);—Sir R. H. Roberts (Crimea, Mutiny);—Colonel Grant (Mutiny);—Captain the Hon. W. Wrottesley, 4th Dragoon Guards;—Major-General A. de C. Scott, late R.E. (Crimea);—Dr. Oscar Baumann, the African explorer;—Mr. P. B. C. Ayres, C.M.G., M.R.C.S.E., L.R.C.P. Edin., late Colonial surgeon and inspector of hospitals at Hong Kong;—Vice-Admiral P. H. Colomb (China, Burma, Baltic);—Colonel J. Sherston, D.S.O., killed in South Africa (Zulu war 1879);—Lieut.-Colonel R. H. Gunning, 1st King's Royal Rifles, killed in South Africa (Zulu war 1879, Burma 1891-92);—Captain F. H. B. Connor, 1st Royal Irish Fusiliers, killed in South Africa;—Captain G. A. Weldon, Royal Dublin Fusiliers, killed in South Africa (Burma 1887-89);—Captain M. H. K. Pechell, 1st King's Royal Rifles, killed in South Africa (Hazara, Miranzai and Isazai expeditions, and Chitral Relief Force);—Colonel G. A. Wray, C.B., late commanding 7th Bengal Native Infantry (M'asud Waziri and Akha expeditions);—Colonel W. H. Sandham, late R.A. (Zulu war 1879);—Major Wood, 11th Madras Infantry;—The Hon. Peter Mitchell, one of the "Fathers" of Canadian Confederation;—Colonel J. J. Scott Chisholme, killed in South Africa (Afghan war 1878-80);—Major H. W. Denne Denne (Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85);—Mr. T. W. Hill, formerly East India Company's service (Mutiny);—General W. W. Anderson, late Bombay Army (Panjāb 1848-49, Mutiny);—Lieut.-Colonel H. Hay, I.S.C. (Zhob Valley expedition 1884, Burma 1885-89);—Captain H. Scott (Hazara 1888, North-West Frontier 1897);—Prince Laxumanrao Baba Saheb of Mudhol;—Major-General Sir W. P. Symons, K.C.B., died of wound in South Africa (South Africa 1877-79, Burma 1885 and 1889-90, Waziri expedition, and Tirah);—Major F. L. Prendergast, R.M., 9th Sudanese Regiment (Sudan 1884);—Lieut.-General C. W. Younghusband, C.B., F.R.S., late R.A. (Crimea);—Major R. Armstrong (Burma 1887-88);—H.H. the Raja of Dewas (brother-in-law of Maharajah Scindia);—The Rev. James Kennedy, an old representative of the London Missionary

## *Summary of Events.*

Society (Mutiny);—Major G. Burges-Short, late Manchester Regiment, and proprietor of the *Broad Arrow* and *Naval and Military Gazette*;—Commander Egerton, R.N., wounded in Natal;—Sir Josiah Rees, Chief Justice of Bermuda;—Mr. C. J. Tennant Dunlop, barrister-at-law, sometime practising in the Straits Settlements;—Major-General B. Boyle, C.B., late R.M.L.I. (China);—Major-General C. J. R. Bell, late Madras Army;—Captain D. Barker, late West India Regiment (Egypt, China and Jamaica);—Lieutenant A. E. Brabant, at Ladysmith (Matabele campaign);—Major G. G. Clowes, late 8th Hussars (Crimea, Rajputana 1858);—Captain G. Silver, at Chinde, East Africa;—Brevet Lieut.-Colonel C. E. Keith-Falconer, 1st Northumberland Fusiliers, killed in South Africa (Dongola 1896, Omdurman);—Colonel E. A. Travers (Afghan war 1878-80, Sikkim 1888, Manipur 1891, Dongola 1896, and Tirah);—Major W. W. Aubert (first and second Sikh wars);—Surgeon-Major A. Harding (Zulu war 1879, Boer war 1881, Egypt 1882, Nile 1884-85);—Major-General E. Maberly, C.B., R.A. (Jaunpur, Mutiny war);—Sir William Dawson, a distinguished geologist (Canada);—Sir R. W. Rawson, K.C.M.G., C.B., formerly Governor-in-Chief of Barbados and the Windward Islands;—Mr. Alexander Ross, formerly Judge of the High Court of the N.-W. Provinces;—Dr. J. S. Prendergast (Crimea);—Lieut. F. L. Fryer, 3rd Batt. Grenadier Guards, killed in South Africa;—Dr. W. J. de Courcy Wheeler, M.D., formerly A.M.S. (Abyssinia);—Mr. C. B. Trevor, formerly Judge of the Calcutta High Court;—Sir H. T. A. Rainalds, for many years in the Consular Service;—Colonel J. Addy, late 5th Lancers (Crimea);—Major W. L. James, Lancaster Regiment (Zulu war 1879);—Major-General W. Daunt, late Norfolk Regiment (Crimea, Afghan war 1879-80);—Mr. J. P. Allen, R.N. (Black Sea, Azoff expedition, New Zealand war 1863-64);—Captain S. L. Osborne, R.N. (Abyssinian campaign);—Major-General A. H. Paterson, formerly of the Honourable East India Company's Service (Sutlej 1845-46, Mutiny campaign 1857-58);—Major-General J. Jordan, C.B., late 34th Regiment (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—Captain A. T. Carter, R.N. (Egypt 1882, Eastern Sudan 1884-85, Burma 1885-86);—Lieut.-Colonel Sir Charles B. H. Mitchell, G.C.M.G., Governor of the Straits Settlements;—General Crawford Cooke, late Madras Staff Corps (Burma 1852-53);—Dr. C. A. Stark, killed at Ladysmith;—Major-General H. B. J. Wynyard (Canada 1840-45);—Captain J. C. Patterson, R.N. (Borneo 1846, East Coast of Africa, etc.);—Hon. Lionel Lee, Executive adviser to the Governor of Ceylon;—Lieut.-General C. C. Michin, for many years a Political Agent and Commissioner in India;—Major-General C. E. Grogan (Afghan war 1879-80);—Lieut.-General J. Harpur, Bombay Staff Corps (Afghan war 1879-80);—Hon. G. A. Hobart Hampden, late Bombay Civil Service;—Sir George Kirkpatrick, K.C.M.G., Lieutenant-Governor of Ontario;—General Wauchope, in action at Magersfontein, South Africa;—Lieutenant-General Sir Gerald Graham, V.C., G.C.B., G.C.M.G. (Crimea, China 1860, Egypt 1882-84, Sudan 1884);—General Sir H. R. Norman, K.C.B. (Sutlej 1845-46, Panjāb 1848-49, Mutiny campaign);—Mr. Bernard Quaritch, a great bookseller and publisher.

*December 19th, 1899.*

### In Memoriam.

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IN sacred memory of Gottlieb Wilhelm Leitner, PH.D., LL.D., D.O.L., who died at Bonn on 22nd March, and was buried at Brookwood on 6th April, 1899. We desire herewith to express our best thanks to all his friends, who by their kind sympathy, and continued support of this Review, have assisted us to carry out his most cherished aims and wishes—the advancement of the best interests of India, and the promotion of Oriental research and learning.



THE IMPERIAL  
AND  
*Asiatic Quarterly Review,*  
AND ORIENTAL AND COLONIAL RECORD.

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APRIL, 1900.

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PERSIA.\*

BY SIR LEPEL GRITTIN, K.C.S.I.

IT was, I think, in the time of Edward I. that our first formal intercourse with Persia commenced, and it continued, partly commercial, partly diplomatic, through the time of Elizabeth and Charles I., down to the commencement of this century, when the relations of England with Persia became closer and more intimate. They have since fluctuated, now more cordial, now less so; now inspired by an eager interest, and now showing a most lamentable apathy; but, nevertheless, friendly, often cordial, relations with Persia have been the rule ever since the commencement of the present century. It is especially with India that the destinies of Persia must remain bound up, as closely, or nearly as closely, as those of Afghanistan on her one border, and Siam on the other. \*

My object is not to give a description more or less picturesque of Persia itself, its inhabitants, its institutions, or its Government—but to remark on several of those questions which have lately attracted public attention, and the effects of which have been unduly exaggerated or over-estimated.

It is not my intention at the present moment to refer to political matters when there is so much agitation

\* *Vide* "Proceedings of the East India Association," elsewhere in this Review.—*Ed.*



in all parts of the world. I would rather attempt, so far as I may, to relieve the tension which now exists with regard to the relations of England, Russia, and Persia, and avoid saying a single word which might inflame passions which have already been too carelessly excited. My object is to stimulate an interest in Persia among the financial and mercantile classes in England, and to encourage them to take a more active interest in the commercial development of the country, an interest that has been very largely shown of late years by Russia, France, Germany, and Belgium. England, the great commercial country of the world, is hanging strangely back, and this is in a great measure due to a want of co-operation amongst its financial and mercantile classes. It is true that English commerce covers so large an area, and our interests are so numerous in every part of the world, that there is a certain plausibility in the argument that we may safely neglect one particular country or one special interest. But this is not the case, and when hostile tariffs are closing door after door to English industry in every quarter, Englishmen, and especially English merchants, should second and encourage their Government in a consistent and determined effort to keep those doors open. Politics and political considerations are, of course, inseparable from any question in the East, and especially is it so with Persia.

Since I proposed to write this paper, the Russian loan to Persia has caused much perturbation in financial circles, and many excited articles have been written, both in this country and on the Continent, with the design of persuading the public that it constitutes an event of the first magnitude ; that it practically places the whole foreign policy and finances of Persia for all time in the hands of Russia, and that it is a great and permanent blow to English interests in the East. Although some feeling of nervousness and suspicion is not unnatural when we look abroad and see the persistent and malignant way in which we are attacked in the press of so many countries, yet it is as well for Englishmen, who

have the reputation of being cool and level-headed, to look things in the face like men of the world, and not to be frightened by shadows, or fancy that an ordinary financial incident of no great importance is a national misfortune.

In order to estimate this question fairly, it is necessary to consider the past history of Persian finance. If this loan were the blow that it has been represented to English interests, then indeed the object of my paper would be stultified, for it would be idle to stimulate the interests of English financiers in the development of Persia if the financial control of the country had already passed out of the hands of its Government. But this is in no way the case. When His Imperial Majesty the late Shah, whom many of you have seen in London, last came to England, Persia was in the enviable position of possessing no foreign debt whatever; but the Shah, who was an exceedingly able man, unfortunately discovered an amusement which is as fatal to a Government as gambling at Monte Carlo is to an ordinary individual: this was the game of granting concessions, by which you are able, if lucky, to obtain a great deal of money with no exertion. The consequence of this discovery was that with both hands he distributed concessions on all sides, and very soon came into conflict with the London money-market. One of his adopted schemes, known as the Lottery Concession, was especially unfortunate, and its memory is still odious to the Stock Exchange of to-day. Another concession, that of the Tobacco Monopoly, the Régie, was nearly as unfortunate, because, falling into inexperienced and rash hands, it excited such a fierce opposition on the part of the Persian people, and especially the Persian priestly class, the Mullahs, that the Shah was not only compelled to abandon the concession for the monopoly of tobacco purchase, sale, and manufacture in Persia, but had to pay large compensation to the company to which he had granted the concession. This necessity for the first time brought Persia into the loan market, and the Imperial Bank of Persia, which is the principal British

institution in that country, and of which I happen at the present moment to be Chairman, issued for His Majesty a loan which satisfied his liabilities, and which is now about to be paid off, with the proceeds of the new Russian loan, to the advantage of all those who originally took the bonds. After this there was a lull, and then the Persian Government, again falling into difficulties, applied to the Bank of Persia to supply funds. The London financiers were quite ready to advance the money on the security of the Customs of the Gulf ports collected and administered by the Imperial Bank, which made an advance to the Persian Government on these terms, holding the Customs collections of Bushire and Kirmansháh. The negotiations for the issue of a larger loan of one million and a quarter sterling on the security of the Southern Customs collected by Bank officials were completed, but were at the last moment broken off by the present Prime Minister, who had been in exile at Kum, and who was recalled to power. For reasons which it is unnecessary to discuss here, the Prime Minister opposed the continued administration of the Customs by officials of the Imperial Bank, and offered instead control in the event of default in payment of the instalments of the loan. Although I personally consider that this security was amply sufficient for the Gulf customs, the English money market would not grant a loan on these terms. Russia was not then disposed to assist, and the English Foreign Office was unwilling to guarantee a loan. Long negotiations ensued, and attempts by the Persian Government to raise money in France and Belgium. At last the Russians have come forward, and practically guaranteed £2,400,000, thus relieving the stress of the Persian financial position, which was exceedingly great. His Majesty the Shah was anxious to visit Europe, and to see the French Exhibition. His health is not good, and it was necessary for him to visit baths in the Caucasus and Europe. He will also visit St. Petersburg and London. Large sums are now due to civil officials and the army for long unpaid salaries, and

for many other purposes, and it is obvious that it was essential for the Persian Government to obtain money somewhere. As they could obtain it nowhere else, they had no option but to take it from Russia, which has given it on conditions much the same as the London money-market refused. If the loan did not come to England, I do not think that anyone is to blame except the London financiers themselves. They insisted upon control, and they would not give anything unless England had the Customs collection in its hands. Russia has taken it without control, and although you may say that the difference in the two positions is that the loan is virtually guaranteed by the Russian Government, yet no guarantee was virtually necessary either by England or Russia, as the revenues on which the loan is secured are amply sufficient to meet the interest, which would be paid direct to the State creditor, the balance alone going to the Persian treasury. The paying off of all foreign loans, which is a part of the contract, is a clause which was equally found in our own loan proposals. This was an integral part, and was the principal justification for the loan, which was ostensibly incurred in order to pay off a 6 per cent. loan, by one at a lower rate of interest. The only clause to which exception can be taken is that which forbids the Persian Government to borrow elsewhere without the previous consent of the Russian Bank in Teheran until their advance has been repaid. I may state that this condition is apparently an onerous one, but Persia is now entering the ranks of civilized nations. As its resources and revenues increase, as they will increase, as its wants become more numerous, and as the Government discovers that, if it is to prolong its existence, it must reform its administration, increase the productiveness of the country, build public buildings, irrigation works, roads, and railways, so undoubtedly will it require to come into the European money-market for the capital required. Then it will appear that the condition preventing the Persian Govern-

ment from applying elsewhere for loans is one which is absurd, and which will be inoperative, and cannot be enforced. This loan will not last very long. The claims now against it are exceedingly large, and Persia will soon be again in want of money. If, then, Russia prefers to lend her more money, I do not see why anyone should object to it. If Russia chooses, when her own vast empire is still entirely undeveloped, to waste her money by putting it into Persian roads and railways, I do not think that any objection can be taken. But it will really be a question of European competition. In England, where there is an immense superfluity of wealth, and where we have practically financed half the bankrupt States as well as the flourishing States of Europe and America, there is every reason for English financiers and merchants to assist a country which is, in my opinion, developing, which will give a fair return for their investments, and which will before very long take a more prominent part in the history of the world. It is not to be supposed that countries like England, Germany, and France will consent to Russia obstructing and preventing the industrial development of Persia, and neither the Shah nor his Prime Minister could desire such a result.

One question that might be asked—but to this I am not prepared to give a complete reply—is : Why did not Her Majesty's Government guarantee the loan which was proposed to us, and which then would have been willingly taken up by the London market? It is at present not my intention to criticise or defend Her Majesty's Foreign Office ; I know by my own experience that their interest in Persian affairs is great and constant, and I have often, on behalf of the Bank of Persia, to express my sense of their vigilance on our behalf. I do not think they want any apology from me, but I should like to suggest two considerations which generally govern the decisions of Her Majesty's Government in such matters. The first is this—that the English Government is a constitutional one, and

that every foreign loan must be the subject of public criticism, and sanctioned, or at any rate approved, by Parliament. The position is altogether different with a country like Russia, where the will of the Tzar, or his Ministers, is sufficient, and where no public opinion, in the proper sense of the word, exists. Foreign loans, as is well known, are not popular with the House of Commons, and exceptional circumstances are required for the Government to be able to justify them. There have, indeed, been cases where such loans have been approved. One was a sum advanced to Morocco, and the Customs were there assigned as security for repayment under a Commissioner, and the money was duly paid.\* There was also a brilliant exception, due to the genius and courage of Lord Beaconsfield, when the Suez Canal shares were purchased. There was also the case which, perhaps, the Government are now beginning somewhat to regret, of the China Loan, but these are exceptions, and the policy of the Government is against guaranteeing loans in foreign countries. The basis on which this policy rests is undoubtedly sound. England owes its commercial supremacy to Free Trade, and although there are politicians of standing who may question this, the great majority of Englishmen admit the principle of Free Trade to be one of the bases of our national prosperity. I may say, money is like all other commodities. There are a great many people who seem to think that money is a different commodity from sugar or salt, but it is nothing of the sort. England is now the great banker and the great clearing-house of the world simply because this is the country in which there is Free Trade in money. Directly the Government intervenes by loans to foreign countries or by guaranteeing capital invested in foreign countries there is an interference with Free Trade in money, and if such a policy were habitual England would lose the monetary position which her financial independence and impartiality have given her. At the same time, I do not conceal my personal opinion, that Her Majesty's Government might with advantage have

made Persia an exception to their general policy of non-interference, and have guaranteed Persia a loan secured on the Customs of the Gulf ports. If this had been done several years ago, the position of England in Persia would to-day be stronger, and no pecuniary liability worth consideration would have attached to the British Government.

• That is all, I think, I need say at present about this question of the loan. I do not consider it a triumph for Russian diplomacy, which I have always held to be of a crude and simple type, but an ordinary financial arrangement, the conclusion of which I have been expecting for several months ; while the influence of Russia in the North of Persia is so undoubted and unquestioned that I do not believe that this loan will affect it in any particular. The gratitude of nations for money lent to them is short-lived, especially when the loans are granted on terms advantageous to the lender ; and the influence of England at Teheran will only be temporarily diminished by the interested generosity of Russia. I do not desire to discuss on this occasion the kind or degree of influence which is exercised by England and Russia respectively in Persia ; but that of England is great, and has certainly increased during the last ten years, rather than diminished. All that is needed in Persia is a strong, consistent policy, determined beforehand, and followed with resolution, when we should find it easy to come to friendly arrangements with Russia and the Persian Government.

But although the position of Russia in the North is exceedingly strong from her conterminous frontier and her restless activity, I do not think that, beyond keen commercial rivalry, we have anything to complain of. That rivalry we have, and feel, and it is successful, allow me to say, very much because Russia fully understands and consistently carries out her policy of furthering in every way her trade interests, which in England are neglected both by the Government and commercial classes. Very little is done in England compared with what is done by Russia in the northern provinces of Persia. Take as an instance the

carriage-road which has just been completed from Enzeli, with its seaport Resht, to Kasvin, on the Teheran road, the company which has constructed it having the right to continue it from Kasvin to Hamadan, and to improve the existing road from Kasvin to Teheran. The first and most difficult part of this scheme has been completed, to the great advantage of traffic and the great convenience of travellers. Russia is to be congratulated on such a work, which primarily benefits her own trade, but is of advantage to all the travelling and trading world. This excellent carriage-road, crossing a difficult range of mountains, has cost about £340,000, of which half was found by the Russian Government. This road is paying a moderate dividend, and will pay a good dividend from the tolls which are now being levied upon it. There is much for England to do before it can show any expenditure like that with equal results. The great want of Persia at the present time is roads. The Imperial Bank of Persia has a concession for a road from Teheran to Ahváz, on the Karun River, going through some of the most valuable and cultivated parts of Persia. But road-making is not the legitimate work of a bank, and it was decided to suspend work further than keeping up its bridges and caravanserais, and so far as it is in working order it more than pays in tolls the expenditure which is made upon it. This road should be taken up by an English company as of supreme importance to the trade of the Persian Gulf.

I would now like to add a few words on the subject of railways in Persia. I hardly think that the time has come when railways can, on a large scale, be constructed with advantage. It is possible that some might pay, but the present necessity is good carriage-roads to supplement, and in some directions supersede, the mule tracks which at present constitute the only lines of communication in the greater part of Persia. The railway lines which promise well I would put, in order of their commercial importance, as follows :



1. Khanikin to Teheran *viâ* Hamadan.
2. Ahvâz to Shuster, Burujird and Hamadan.
3. Baku, along the Caspian to Resht.

The first, which would join the Asia Minor Railway at Baghdad, would catch a large portion of international trade, and would pass through a rich and well-populated country. The second would follow a great part of the line of road already conceded to the Imperial Bank, and would attract the British sea-borne trade to the Karun port of Muhamarah, which would at once become of more importance than Bushire. The third line, from Baku to Resht, would chiefly benefit Russian trade, owing to prohibitive duties, but it would probably pay, for the Caspian navigation is tedious and difficult from the shallowness of water and the prevalence of strong northerly winds. The natural limit of Russian railway construction is Northern Persia, for their commercial policy, rightly or wrongly, being founded on exclusiveness and prohibitive tariffs against other nations, they have no commercial reason to construct a line which would touch a seaport or any frontier except their own. They could not, therefore, be presumed to favour the lines from Khanikin to Teheran, or that from Ahvâz to Hamadân. In the same way, the idea, which some Continental papers are so fond of circulating for interested motives, of a Russian railway through Khorasan and Sistan to some port on the Persian Gulf may be dismissed as chimerical. I am referring to commercial and not to political considerations, and it is obvious that such a line would be a financial failure, while the trade which would benefit by its construction would be English and not Russian.

But it is more than doubtful whether Russia desires any railways in Persia. The late Shah, who had an instinctive and not unreasonable suspicion of railways and their results, agreed to grant a ten years' prohibitory concession against railway construction in favour of Russia, who had no money to spend on foreign railways, and did not wish other nations to do so. This agreement expires in November of the

present year, and it is for the Governments of countries like England and Germany, who have no other ambition than the peaceful development of their commerce with Persia, to decide upon an acquiescence in, or a resistance to, a renewal of an agreement which would seem hardly compatible with the equal rights of commercial nations in Eastern countries.

Another railway regarding which I would say a few words is that for which the German Government has obtained a concession, and which is the continuation of the Asia Minor line, and which is now to be continued to Baghdad, and possibly to a port called Koweit, on the Arabian shore of the Persian Gulf, though this extension is still in doubt. I, for my part, do not hesitate to cordially welcome the advent of Germany into Asia Minor and the East. I can see for England nothing but advantage in the co-operation of Germany, which co-operation I believe will not be altogether and for ever delayed. It is a very good thing to have a third great Power competing in the East, where two, for ever face to face, are apt, most unfortunately, to develop a dangerous spirit of rivalry and hostility. With regard to Germany, although at the present moment there is no doubt an exceedingly bitter feeling against England, an irritation so illogical as to be ridiculous, yet the Emperor of Germany, who is a warm friend of this country, and who is the cleverest man in his dominions, thoroughly understands that the future of German interests demands a sensible understanding with England. I have no doubt that before very long his people will accept his view as reasonable, and that the entry of Germany into the Asian field will be for the future advantage of both countries.

The only other question regarding railways which requires notice, because it has been prominently before the public within the last few weeks, is that of connecting the Indian railways with those of Russia on the North, or Germany in the South. I understand that an able and accomplished member of Parliament, Mr. Maclean, has

advocated such a connection at a lecture at the Imperial Institute, and he asked a question about it in the House of Commons the other night. Whatever petty and problematical advantages might accrue from such a union, I would nevertheless say that the proposal is too ridiculous for discussion. I will not speak of strategic problems or of possible enemies in the East, which are outside the purpose of this paper, and, moreover, I believe that India will be able to take very good care of herself should she ever be attacked ; but I would say that on commercial grounds there could be nothing more imbecile than to surrender the supremacy—the absolute supremacy—that we have in the command of the sea-carrying trade of the world by making railways through Afghanistan, Persia, and Baluchistan in order to favour our trade rivals. No ; so long as we have the command of the sea, commercially as well as in a naval sense, let us at any rate avoid the imbecility of constructing railways to convey the trade of Protectionist rivals into our Indian Empire. Besides this, - we must consider and respect the susceptibilities of His Highness the Ameer of Afghanistan, our very good and very loyal ally, who most strongly objects, and I think objects on excellent grounds, to the introduction of railways into his dominions.

Regarding the Persian Gulf I do not desire to say more than a few words, because in my opinion this question must be left in the strong hands of the Government. \* Our position there has been founded on a consistent policy, on sacrifices and expenditure through a great number of years. We have for long been supreme in the Gulf. We constitute its police, and have maintained the Pax Britannica for the advantage of all the trading world ; we are bound by engagements and treaties to almost all the chiefs of the Arab tribes on the southern coast. We have held from time to time many of the more important points on the Persian coast ; we have treaty rights or occupation over some of them still ; and with the remembrance of our conflicts there with Dutch and Portuguese and Arabs throughout the

whole of this century, I do not think that it is possible to assume that any British Government will allow our supremacy in the Gulf to be shaken or diminished.

The climate of the Persian Gulf is itself somewhat of a protection against European occupation. It is not a place to which we would willingly send any but our worst enemies. In Milton's poem Satan expressed the opinion that it was better to reign in Hell than serve in Heaven, but I doubt if he would care to exchange thrones with the Sultan of Muscat, for example. The heat in that town is of the most tremendous description, the thermometer rising to 189° Fahrenheit, and we have withdrawn from several points of vantage on the Persian Gulf, such as Bandarabbas and Kishm, not because we were compelled by *force majeure*, but that even our native soldiers could not endure the intolerable climate. So that I do not imagine that there will be any very large rush of competitors to take our place on this undesirable coast.

I would express my conviction that although the future of Persia cannot be expected to equal its illustrious past, because climatic change as well as the devastating effects of invasion and tyranny have altered the characteristics of the country in a remarkable degree, yet, with a reasonable share of honest administration, and by the assistance of foreign capital, judiciously applied, Persia will recover much of her old prosperity. I have been intimately acquainted and connected with Persian affairs for the last ten years, and I can see a strong tide of improvement in many directions, and industries which were falling into decay are steadily improving. We know from reports which reach us from every quarter that there is progress. Silk cultivation, which was in the Middle Ages of so much importance in Persia, and which had fallen into insignificance, has in the last few years increased largely. A Greek firm was the first to start a factory; French houses at Lyons followed, with Armenians and local firms, and in the marshy province of Gilan, on the Caspian, where Resht is

situated, the silk production has doubled within the last two years. Opium cultivation is continually increasing in extent and value, and even the Japanese have agents in Persia to buy a particular opium, which is preferred to all others by their new subjects in Formosa. The production of wool and cotton has also lately doubled, and the value of land is reported to have risen 40 to 50 per cent. I possess a report from a gentleman whose work deserves acknowledgment—Mr. Naus, a Belgian, who was engaged by the Persian Government to undertake the reorganization of the Customs of Persia. To show what can be done by honest administration, the suppression of bribery, and the unification of rates, which was inaugurated by the Imperial Bank when it collected Customs in 1898, he has succeeded in a year and a half in doubling the Customs revenue of Persia, or certainly next year it will be doubled. This week some twelve more Belgian employés have arrived in Teheran, and are being distributed to the various collecting posts. The English Government has not only made no opposition to this gentleman's employment, but has been exceedingly pleased to see the quality of his work; and the Bank of Persia has nothing but good to say of the assistance which he has rendered to them.

I have endeavoured to point out to my readers that the idea that Russia has obtained any great or preponderating advantage by this loan is chimerical. A loan of the same character was offered and not accepted in London. Its present acceptance by Russia, if it were directed against anybody at all, was a gentle hint to the Germans, whose Constantinople concession of the railway to Baghdad, by the personal influence of the German Emperor, has caused extreme irritation at St. Petersburg, that they were not to be allowed without dispute to give themselves airs in Asia Minor. It was not directed against England, in my opinion, in any way; and certainly for some years past our relations in Persia with the Russian Legation have been, putting commercial rivalry aside, of

an entirely friendly character. But England does not dread or resent such rivalry. What I want, then, to press upon English merchants and financiers is this. You lend your money to everybody in the world who applies for it. You have financed all the bankrupt States of Europe and of South America, with English money. Try Persia as a field for investment—not, I say, for wild-cat, bogus schemes or concessions, but for sound honest enterprises which will benefit the Empire of the Shah, and at the same time bring a reasonable and good return to the investors. And if you would ask me to name such possible schemes, or those certainly or probably successful, I would at once mention one or two to you. In the first place, there is the irrigation of that vast tract of land, extending some 160 miles from the sea, on both banks of the Karun River. The opening of that river to navigation to the whole world was obtained by England, not for herself alone, but for everyone equally, and very little has yet been done, except by an enterprising firm, Messrs. Lynch and Co., whose name deserves all honour in Persia, and who are now endeavouring to improve the road through the mountainous Bakhtiâri country at their own expense. I say this great tract of country can with irrigation be made equal to the Delta of the Nile. The late Shah favoured this scheme, although he was rather nervous about the importation of foreign labour to work it; but he was anxious that it should be carried out, and he saw the immense advantage that it would be for his kingdom. This, however, still remains to be done, and it is for English engineers to accomplish. The millions that would be received by the Persian Government from a work like this would, by a percentage on the returns, bring most ample profits to the English investors. The English, who have turned Egypt again into the rich province that it was in the time of the Romans, who have saved India from famine in those districts where it was possible to save her, by irrigation works, can surely do this great work for Persia,

with the concurrence of His Imperial Majesty, which, for such a purpose, and with such important profits assured to him, certainly would be forthcoming. In co-operation with this work would, of course, be the improvements of the navigation of that great river, the Karun, which, it may be remembered, is the only river in Persia whose waters flow into the ocean, every other river in the North flowing into the Caspian Sea. The Karun is the one ocean river in Persia, and it has been opened to the commerce of the world by the exertions of the British Government. In connection with and synchronously with the irrigation of the Karun district should the construction of the carriage-road from Ahváz to Teheran be undertaken. This, indeed, can be commenced at once. The concession is granted, while the returns from the Russian road in the North, and from the completed portion of this road from Teheran to Kum, prove it to be an excellent investment.

I would also say that when the German railway approaches Baghdad, I trust that English capitalists will unite with German capitalists to make the extension from Baghdad to Khanikin on the Persian frontier, and continue the line from Khanikin to Teheran, which I have already mentioned as commercially sound, carrying the great pilgrim traffic of Central Asia and Persia to the celebrated shrine of Kerbela in Turkish territory.

Our policy in Persia has been throughout the whole of this generation one of peace. We have shown no desire to annex any portion of the Persian dominions; we have no territorial ambition. Our only desire in Persia is to strengthen the hands of His Majesty the Shah, and to work in accord with him for the advantage and regeneration of his country; and the Persians know this very well. They know this as well as the Ameer of Afghanistan knows it with regard to his country, and although their fear of outside pressure may induce them sometimes to be swayed by other influences, yet in their hearts they know that the best friends of both Persia and Afghanistan are the English

people and the English Government. We are now in a somewhat anxious position so far as the outside world is concerned, and doubtless our difficulties and reverses — because we have had no defeats — our reverses in South Africa have had a disquieting effect, not only in but throughout the East. That time, we hope and trust, is past, and I have little doubt, as I have never doubted for a moment since war was declared, that the result of this campaign will be to leave us far stronger in every sense of the word than we were before; and that not only in Persia, but in the rest of the world, it will be acknowledged that the power that could at so short a notice place 200,000 men in the heart of South Africa, with its difficult communications and its long sea-voyage, could, if occasion required, make a far greater effort, and place a far larger number of men in any quarter of the world where its vital interests were assailed.



## THE CIVIL SERVICE OF INDIA—PAST AND PRESENT.

AN OBJECT OF AMBITION TO BRITISH YOUTH.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

THE Indian Civil Service has long been the chief instrument created by Imperial Parliament for the work of governing India, where our Empire extends over 1,750,000 square miles, with a population which in 1891 came up to about 290 millions, without counting Baluchistan and the Somali Coast Protectorate in Africa. Included in these figures are 750,000 square miles, with nearly 70 million people, under native kings and chiefs, great and small, over whom the Viceroy's Government exercises various kinds and degrees of control, by means of officers stationed at their Courts. Wherever we travel over this vast area we encounter the Indian Civil Servant at his work—on the Afghan frontier of the Punjab, on the sweltering plains of Bengal, in the marshes and forests of Burma, and in our older possessions on the Coromandel and Malabar coasts of Madras and Bombay. His ordinary duty consists in supervising the fiscal, judicial, and police work of hundreds of other officers, for the most part natives, in all the thirteen governments, large and small, into which we have divided our territories. He wanders about the villages, towns, and counties with his tents and camp for months in the year till the heavy rains or the fierce heat compel his return to the bungalow in the district headquarter city, where he meets and consults with his comrades and superiors for some months, till the approach of the cold weather calls them back to the wandering life. But as much of the work which in this country is done by statesmen falls in India on the more experienced and able Civil Servants, we find them at the seats of government in exalted and important positions, like Cabinet Ministers holding the civil portfolios, or as

Judges of the High Courts, or as Ambassadors to the great Native States. Bengal, with its 70 millions, the North-West Provinces and Oudh, with 47 millions, the Punjab, with 20 millions of people, are provinces each under the direct rule of a Lieutenant-Governor, chosen out of the Civil Service. To these I must add the Lieutenant-Governor of Burma, while smaller areas, like Assam and Baluchistan, are under Governors modestly styled Chief Commissioners, or Agents, or Residents, one of these tracts, the Central Provinces, having a population equal to that of Holland and Belgium combined. Stately appointments like these are the prizes of the Service, falling usually to those survivors who combine bodily and mental energy. Distinguished men like Sir Bartle Frere and Sir Richard Temple are now and then made Governors of Madras or Bombay, alternating with peers and home politicians. I mention these facts not only as showing to ambitious young men that there are great rewards for the few at the close of their careers, but to indicate also that the Service affords many varieties of life for the many. For each of these potentates has secretaries and registrars to frame his orders, and these younger men emerge from the life of the camp and the small station to spend some years, at least, in the wider social and political life of centres like Calcutta and Simla, Rangoon, Nagpur, Bombay, and Madras, varied with tours with the Governor and changes to the delightful air of mountain resorts. To others the change comes in getting into the Foreign or Political Department when the work lies in Native States, amid more feudal institutions, more pomp and pageantry, and an older surrounding of law and custom. Moreover, there are great varieties of climate in an empire extending between the 8th and the 37th degrees of north latitude. There are seventy-eight divers languages, besides many dialects; the Hindu, Mohammedan, and Buddhist religions, all contrasted strongly with one another, have in different parts of India several forms and schools; and, if my space permitted, I could argue in many

other connections that when one thinks of India he should bear in mind that the term of geography is like the word Europe or South America: it encloses many countries and climates and peoples, and so the circumstances of the Indian Civil Servant in one part differ a good deal from those of his comrade in another. For example, in the Bombay Presidency, Sind, Gujerat, Deccan and Carnatic are regions each with its own language; and it often happens that an officer promoted, say, from Poona to Belgaum or Karachi has to set to work at once with a new grammar and dictionary. It happened to me in the course of six months to be employed at Simla, Bombay, and Rangoon; and I well remember the surprise and delight I felt when, after thirteen years of India, I was sent to Burma, where I found myself among very different nations, with many strange and picturesque surroundings quite new to me. The vastness of the spaces and populations makes it rather hard for me to know where to begin and how to develop what I would wish to say, especially when I add that while the present work of the Indian Civil Service is commensurate with the whole Indian Empire, including Burma and Aden, the Andamans, and the Persian Gulf, the history of this Service begins with our earliest trading to the Eastern world, three centuries ago, when, in the year 1600, the East India Company, the greatest and most powerful trading company ever formed, got its first charter from the Crown of England some years before the Scottish James ascended the English throne, in what Tennyson aptly calls "the spacious times of great Elizabeth." The East India Company, which ceased to trade in 1834, continued, at the request of Ministers, to be the direct means of governing India till 1859. It was always essentially English in its character, with its seat in the City of London, where a number of merchants met the Lord Mayor in the Founders' Room, and, knowing the great risk of capital in foreign trade from the enmity of the Spaniards and the Dutch, petitioned for a guarantee of monopoly.

The charter made them freemen of what was a mere close City company, and assured to them and their sons on coming of age, their apprentices, servants and factors, the whole trade "in all the islands, ports, towns, and places of Asia, Africa, and America, beyond the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Magellan." Those times were full of daring and enterprise; men's minds had been excited by the discovery of America and the route round the Cape, by the Protestant Reformation, the Spanish Armada, and the heroic struggle in Holland against Papal tyranny and bloodshed. The London merchants had tried to find a way to India and China along the shores of Lapland and Siberia; the Company called "the Merchant Adventurers for the discovery of lands not before known or frequented by the English" sent out Sir Hugh Willoughby for that purpose with three ships. At length they determined to compete with the Dutch round the Cape; and the immediate cause of the creation of the East India Company lay in the action of the Amsterdam merchants in raising the price of pepper from 3s. to 8s. a pound. So they commissioned captains of military knowledge and warlike temper to take out armed ships, laden with cloth and iron, to return with pepper and cloves from the ports of Sumatra, Java and Borneo. Each ship carried some merchants and factors; and when the captain found some Malay Prince in those distant islands who would lend them a house to live in and a warehouse to store goods, he left these mercantile servants behind him to establish a trade. The residence and warehouse were the factory; when strong walls were built round them, they became the fort; and from these beginnings arose the Presidency, because one of the merchants was made President, or Chairman, with powers of control. These merchants and factors in the Malay islands were the first Indian Civil Servants. In a short time we find more of them in Celebes and Japan; but the constant enmity of the Dutch at last induced the English Company to leave the Isles of Spice and settle firmly on the mainland of India.

This is too long a story to tell. But if anyone has a mind to hear adventures told by the men who travelled so far, he might do worse than go to the town library and get the first volume of "Purchas his Pilgrims," where he will find the log-books of the Company's earliest voyages. As time went on, the Company got power to make laws and to keep an army. Its officers had to treat with Native Princes, and were sometimes at their mercy. Conquests came as the result of wars; and after the Battle of Plassey, in 1757, had been won by Clive, himself originally a Civil Servant, his successor in the Government of Bengal plainly recognised that we had a duty to the people to supply good government, and that some of his merchants must be told off for that purpose. He called these men Supervisors; they were the earliest form of those conspicuous magistrates of districts whom we now call Collectors of Land Revenue or Deputy Commissioners. But still the work of government was treated as secondary to that of commerce and the securing of good dividends, until, as the eighteenth century was drawing to a close, Parliament interfered. Ever since that time the official element of duty began to supersede devotion to money-making. That deep-thinking Scotsman, Adam Smith, in his "Wealth of Nations," attacked the Company's mercantile system. At length, in 1814, it had to lose its monopoly of India and Indian trade; but it kept its hold on China and the tea trade till 1834.

Let me mention that when I joined the Service thirty-five years ago at Bombay I found myself described as writer in the civil lists, my comrades of four years' standing as factors, and those above eight as junior and senior merchants, though we were absolutely forbidden to handle trade. These terms survived in matters of precedence from the olden times when the factory was managed by the president, accountant, warehouse-keeper, and purser-marine, with merchants and factors to buy and sell, writers for correspondence, and blue-coat boy apprentices, as was the case at Surat in 1674. The old trading factory there

still exists, with a Pafsee doctor dwelling in it, while with the change of things the castle of the Mogul ruler from whom our President had an Admital's commission has become the collector's court-house. I may add that the present Service is called the Covenanted Civil Service, because the old cautious practice of the London merchants of exacting a bond for good behaviour is still continued, and we have all to find sureties in £1,000.

I have said already that the Company was peculiarly English. In fact, it was the greatest institution in the City of London, even older than the Bank of England, and ruling as time went on ever larger dominions in that zone

“Where the gorgeous East with richest hand  
Showers on her kings barbaric gold and pearl.”

It is probable that until the Union of 1707 few Scotsmen got any footing. We find nothing about them in the brilliant and vivid account given by Macaulay, in his eighteenth chapter, of that rich merchant-prince Sir Josiah Child, the ruler of the India House in the reigns of Charles II., James II., and William and Mary. It is true that William Paterson, a Scotsman, founded the Bank of England in 1694, the same man who originated the ill-fated attempt to establish a second Caledonia with a new Edinburgh City in Darien, on the Isthmus of Panama, a project sanctioned by the Scottish Parliament, backed by such men as Fletcher of Saltoun and Lord Belhaven, and supported by the nobility and clergy of Scotland. The exciting story of this failure is well told by Macaulay in Chapter XXIV. We all know how jealous and suspicious of each other the two nations used to be; and it is matter of history that the Articles of Union were burned in Dumfries at the Market Cross. But one result of these Articles was that England, with all its means of acquiring wealth and distinction, was opened to Scotsmen, whom the law no longer treated as foreigners. When the Earl of Bute became Prime Minister, he took good care to fill the public offices, the army and navy, with Scotsmen, which soon became the

steady subject of English satires and lampoons. As the Jacobin feeling died away, more and more men from Scotland marched along these avenues to wealth and power. There were plenty of lairds and merchants with big families to provide for ; and, as last century went on, India became a favourite field for their ambitions, as is well depicted in Mrs. Oliphant's novel of " Kersteen." Then, as these men rose high in the Service, or got into the direction of the East India Company, or into Parliament, they were able and willing to lend a helping hand to others, using their immense patronage of Indian appointments on the principle that a man may take a neighbour's part, though he has no cash to spare him. Several Scots names soon appear among the earlier Governors-General ; and in the Parliamentary debates of 1814, about establishing an English Bishop, Archdeacons, and episcopal clergy in India, the protesting group of Scottish members declared, uncontradicted, that the majority of Britons then residing in India were Scotsmen, and therefore they urged that the new State Church should be Presbyterian, not Anglican. My attention being drawn to these matters by a recent order of Lord Curzon, superseding one of Lord Elgin's about Government churches, I was rather surprised to find that the present English establishment was planned by a chaplain, a Scotsman, originally Presbyterian, and carried out in Parliament and the Court of Directors by Mr. Charles Grant, of the Bengal Civil Service, an Inverness man, and his statesman son, Lord Glenelg.\* Now, this long and steady influence of Scottish character on Indian affairs lasted over a time of many conquests, which implies much caution, wariness, patience, and knowledge of the people who have to be governed by new methods when the wars are over ; and without in the least undervaluing the excellent parts played by English, Irish, and Welsh, I would lay stress on the many brilliant Scottish names on the roll of history. For example, in 1819 a Governor was wanted for Bombay ;

\* See article, October, 1899, p. 233.

but, instead of choosing, as is still usual, some homely peer or political partisan, Canning advised that, because of the extraordinary zeal and ability shown by the Company's officers, both civil and military, the place should go to them; and he named three of them, Mountstuart Elphinstone, the son of a Lanarkshire peer, Sir John Malcolm, so well known in his county of Dumfries, and Colonel Munro, whose father was a Glasgow merchant. The point is, all three were Scotsmen, and in time all three became Governors. The biographer of Elphinstone writes that each of them was a type of the civil and military services in India, their versatility, and the aptitude of their members for peace or war. In the older trading days the national qualities were much to the front; and everyone knows that to this day many of the great trading firms in India are Scottish, while that valuable order of men, the managers of banks, is pre-eminently such. In the transition period, in 1772, when Warren Hastings was in power in Calcutta, the Hon. Robert Lindsay, one of the many children of the Earl of Balcarres, may be taken as a type. After learning business in his uncle's (a wine-shipper's) counting-house at Cadiz, he got appointed by the East India Company as a writer. He retired in 1789 with an ample fortune, for he was allowed to trade and speculate on his own account; and he lived till 1836 near the castle of his fathers. To all Scotsmen he remains an interesting person as the brother of that lady who wrote "Auld Robin Gray." To the present Civil Servants he seems an object of envy, one of those who shook the pagoda tree. He managed to purchase an estate at home for £30,000, and then retire after only seventeen years of India, with a large income besides. In those trading times, however, a good many of the Company's servants lost all they had got through the risks of trade; and though no great fortunes can be acquired nowadays, the career is made more comfortable and certain. To come to the present day, the terms are that a man must remain in service for twenty-five years at least, of which



twenty-one must be active service in India, the other four may be on furlough. The furlough half-pay ranges from £500 to £1,000 a year. He is then entitled to a pension, after twenty-five years' service, of £1,000 a year from the revenues of India, but he has partly paid for this himself by contributing 4 per cent. on his salary all the time. Besides this he has to subscribe to provident funds, managed by Government, out of which his widow, his daughters until marriage, and his sons until majority, get certain pensions in the event of his dying, whether before or after retirement, leaving a family behind him. These arrangements began early in the century, and many, in Bombay at least, have to bless two Scotsmen in the Service of those times, Mr. Farish and the father of Sir William Wedderburn, while the Duke of Argyll had much to do with the matter of settling the pension of £1,000. Again, the officer is not obliged to retire after twenty-five years' service; he may, and often does, remain on for ten years longer, especially if he holds or hopes for some good appointment out of the ordinary. The wearisome climate makes holidays essential, so an officer can get one month holiday on full pay after working eleven months, two after twenty-two months, and three after thirty-three months; and thus he can amuse himself, touring into other parts of India, or take a quick run home to Britain to see his friends, or, as I sometimes did, repair to Italy as a half-way house, and let them come thither to see him. Men connected with India think highly of these pecuniary advantages, and make constant sacrifices to get their sons into this Service; the men who know it best think the most of it. The terms I have mentioned are good enough to attract first-rate classics from Oxford, and high wranglers from my own University of Cambridge;\* and considering the ordinary rates of income at home, and the usual salaries and emoluments, I would suppose these terms will seem attractive to the aspiring youth. The

\* One of them, Mr. Crump, a Senior Wrangler, has just died at Secunderabad, aged twenty-six.

great Universities of England, answering to a call made by the Marquis of Salisbury, have for many years watched these matters, as important to our Imperial prestige, our duty to India ; and at those seats of learning we find men of the stamp of retired Indian Judges, who look after the candidates and supply young men thinking of the Indian career with useful and exact information. One of these superintendents of studies procured from a retired Indian Civil Servant some tables of figures, from which I am now going to quote, as they are not well known outside of those cloisters. The compiler had served in more provinces than one, and he has a son of good standing in the Service out there. He shows what the different figures are for the several provinces ; and then, after making due deductions for the fall in the value of silver and rupees, he states the net result, the ordinary pay of the covenanted civilians actually at work in India, as follows :

	£	£
At 4 years' service, from 630 to 979 a year. .	630	979
„ 8 „ „ „ 900 „	1,267	„
„ 12 „ „ „ 1,349 „	1,749	„
„ 20 „ „ „ 1,962 „	2,475	„

I must here explain that, for promotion and other purposes, the Indian Civil Servants are assorted among seven different territorial lists, the cadres of Bombay, Bengal, Burma, and so forth, being as distinct as those of the Royal Engineers, the Royal Artillery, and the Rifle Brigade. So that while in one province the average salary at four years' service is £630, and in another is £979, the averages of the other cadres at the same stand-point range between the two amounts just given, the minimum and maximum. Every actuary knows also that arithmetical exactness is unknown in forecasting salaries in either regiments or services, as such things as invaliding, seconding, retirement, and death, vary with every year or cycle ; and with varying factors the results cannot be constant. The statistics used are taken from the Civil Lists of April, 1897. They show the average rates of

income at that date in the several provinces at stated periods of an officer's service. But an actuary would not be content with examining one year only ; he would compare the result with those to be got out of the Civil Lists of other years, where promotions might be quicker or slower in coming. A cautious candidate with a taste for mathematics can do that for himself. But the averages given above are got without bringing into the reckoning the secretariat men or those holding the lofty prize appointments in Government or judicature to which I have before referred. There are forty-eight of these, with salaries of £2,700 and upwards. The averages are made on the ordinary offices only, to which an ordinary civilian can, and does, attain.

It is not easy to determine how much of his income such an officer can save and invest against a rainy day. A bachelor can, of course, if so minded, put by more than a married man. The writer of statistics gives his opinion that if the officer marries moderately early he may devote about half his total income to Indian expenditure and half to home expenditure and savings. The man with a family has to open his purse-strings pretty wide when he has to send them home and stay out in India himself, the really trying part of this career, which in emoluments beats most other services. In the Home Service, *e.g.*, it takes eight to sixteen years to become a first-class clerk on £350 to £600 a year, and few can hope for a salary of £1,000 at twenty-five years, when the Indian civilian can retire as a free man on that pension. At middle age, too, he very often is a Collector, a sort of Prefect, ruling from half a million to two million people. Still, it appears that the men who pass highest at the joint examination prefer the Home Civil Service to that of India.

It is probable that many of the Home Civil Servants rejoice in private means, and while there are numbers who have reasons for preferring the quiet and comfort of home life, there are always sure to be in these islands of ours

plenty of robust, bright-minded scholars who thirst for adventure and travel, whose eyes seek always what is new and strange. This romantic, poetic tinge of feeling has soothed many a lonely hour in India, and Great Britain would not be what she is if we destroyed that hair-brained, sentimental trace of character which Burns discerned in his "Vision" of the Scottish Muse. For though you may not see the broom "wi' its tassels on the lea," and while in the life of tents no Sabbath bells awake the Sabbath morn, the civilian in his circuits through the counties, under his control comes across fine and beautiful landscapes, ruined castles and old walled towns, temples superb with sculpture, and mosques whose domes and minarets rise among the palms. These scenes are the setting of that teeming native life, so varied and picturesque, in which the young officer is immersed as soon almost as he lands on Indian shores.

Speaking generally, after we had passed in the languages, we all had to begin as Assistant Collectors and Magistrates, with the charge of one, two or three counties, and the duty of going about, settling and collecting the revenue, trying criminal cases, looking after municipalities, excise, police and other local affairs. The officer travels on horseback and dwells in tents. One tent is used as a court-house, and in others the officer lives, while smaller ones are used by the servants and for cooking. The day's work usually closes about five or six o'clock, leaving time for a stroll into the village or the woods, or over the fields. Dinner, which has been cooked beneath the trees, soon comes on, and it was no great treat to have to eat it all alone, night after night, with a book perched under the lamp or candlestick, or perhaps the newspaper, which might arrive about that time. So the evening wears away; one may sit in musing mood at the tent door, or smoke a cigar, pacing to and fro on the greensward by the light of the moon, thinking of home and friends, till the hour of rest. In the meantime the servants have had their dinner near the camp-fire;

one tent has been struck, the folding chairs, table, bath and other furniture are packed up, to be put into the bullock-carts which are seen coming from the village. They are soon on the march to the next camping-place, twelve or twenty miles away. Early next day, when the officer is taking his tea and toast, he hears his horse whinnying outside, already saddled; he mounts and rides forth as the stars disappear, and the calm sleeping landscape awakes under the rising sun. He stops somewhere to see a well or tank that wants repair, or to view the scene of a murder, or to talk with the peasantry. Maybe his way lies through a village or two, where he takes the opportunity of looking at the rent registers and seeing that the farmers have been duly given receipts for money paid, a great check on fraud. When he reaches his camp, he finds his bath ready and his breakfast on the table, and before the meal is finished he hears and sees some signs of the day's work. Perhaps two policemen with guns and bayonets have a prisoner with them under a mango-tree in flower or fruit, or a committee of some village have come to complain that their land-tax is too heavy a rack-rent, or it may be the rival branches of a family are waiting with their lawyers to propose their own nominees for a vacant hereditary office. If one of our County Magistrates could sit behind the Civil Servant's chair for one day, he would be surprised at the multitude of inquiries made and orders passed. He would soon perceive that the great bulk of them some way or other affect the landed classes, who in many broad tracts of country are the small tenant farmers to whom the Government is landlord, lairds and squires and great nobles being very exceptional. When I hear farmers sighing for judicial rents in England or Scotland, or read their complaints in the Blue-books about the want of security for tenants' capital expended on improvements, about the unfair competition for the best-managed farms, the out-bidding of the old farmer by the reckless people, y-clept "scabs" in Scotland, or by the well-to-do men of

cities, I often wish I could take the farmer's opinion on the merits of the Bombay Land Settlement system with which the Indian Civil Servants have so much to do. In India it is easy for the law to be extremely just to the tenant farmer, because the Government itself is the great landlord ; and although the land-rent or tax is the sheet-anchor of our revenue, and the State has a great interest in raising its amount, the Indian officials to a man know that five out of every six or seven of the population are connected with the land, that it is therefore dangerous to excite that class against us, and that if we can only keep the great rural communities comfortable and on our side, we need not be much afraid of any attempts of other classes against the British rule. A very long experience and watching of both the various rack-renting systems and of those which leave a fairly large profit in the cultivator's hands have convinced our Indian managers of land revenue that the Government gains immensely in its rent-roll by two things—carefully preventing the rent being fixed too high, and giving the tenant legal security for his own improvements, with a tenant-right by which the farm descends to his heirs and cannot be disturbed unless he ceases to pay the rent. Such a law was passed for Bombay in 1865 by that eminent ruler, Sir Bartle Frere, after an experience of the previous thirty years which had been devoted to classifying the soils, ascertaining market prices and farmers' expenses, surveying and mapping the lands, and fixing a judicial rent on each field. These great and interesting operations are worthy of some consideration in detail, and as I knew some of the founders, I would like to quote Sir Bartle Frere on the history and causes thereof, and show how it was that the small peasant farmers in South and West India got so long ago as good or better a tenure and protection against confiscation, against notice to quit, against competition by the out-bidding of outsiders, as the market-gardeners in the Vale of Evesham procured by an Act of Parliament in 1895. Sir Bartle Frere takes us back

to the years just before the Queen ascended the throne. About twenty years before then we had conquered the kingdom of Poona ; the Native Court with all its expenses was a thing of the past ; and the war-prices of corn and fodder had sunk to those of profound peace. So that where a sovereign had been a light rent in the older period, fifteen shillings was now far too heavy a demand ; many farmers were squeezed so hard that the revenue collector would take and sell their ploughing cattle, their last support. Some zealous native subordinates even inflicted horrible tortures in order to get these flagrant rents paid. We found that our tenants, rather than stand this, were moving away to the neighbouring Native States. We had to deal with the demoralization which ensues when the landlord gives uncertain remissions instead of going to the root of the matter. Rarely more than two-thirds of the culturable land were under cultivation ; often as much as two-thirds was waste. Whole villages were being deserted, left, as the Marathas say, without one lamp. This was the result of our attempting in a time when all prices had fallen to levy the same rents as were paid in the most prosperous day of the Maratha Empire. We were killing the goose that laid the golden eggs. These evils were at last brought to the notice of the Governor, Sir Robert Grant, who then set his officers to make inquiry in the villages and devise some better system. They were told that mere direct increase of revenue was a secondary matter, and that they must rather look to the indirect effects of fixity of tenure and moderation of rent. They began by surveying the fields and classifying the soils. To use the words of Mr. Inverarity, the Revenue Minister who introduced the Bill, their experience led them to the leading principle of fixing a rent so moderate and so simple as to be easily and readily paid by a poor and simple population. They fixed the leases for thirty years ; they announced that when a new lease was given the rent should not be raised on the tenants' improvements, but only on such general changes as a rise in prices or new markets.

They decreed that the lease should go from father to son, and be both hereditary and saleable. What was the result? Between 1838 and 1862 the wastes were cultivated, the villagers grew happy and increased and multiplied, a political danger was averted, and with all this the land revenue was nearly doubled, while arrears, which are everywhere a source of irritation, were seldom heard of, and remissions, which gall the honest and honourable tenantry, became exceptional instead of being part of the routine. These are the reasons which induced Sir Bartle Frere, a Bombay Civil Servant, who had watched the whole long process, to stereotype by Act of his Parliament the benefits which these able<sup>r</sup> rent - settlement officers, military men and civilians, had bestowed on one great area after another. Since then the land revenue has gone on increasing, and the tenant-right in many cases is worth twenty years' rent. The rural society becomes steadier and more law-abiding because of its great property stake; and one may say that agriculture, and with it loyalty to the Government, is based on a law as excellent in its pecuniary effects as it is suited to peasant peoples who are rooted in the soil, and whose village politics and customs are deep, hereditary concerns. The Hindu religion enjoins each man to beget a son, plant a tree, and dig a well. If he has a son, the farm is the boy's inheritance; if he plants a tree, the family get the fruit or timber; if he digs a well, which converts dry land into garden, as permanent and expensive an improvement of the soil as is the Galloway custom of removing and stacking the useless stones and rocks, the whole benefits go to the tenant-right farmer. It so happened that in my young days the first of the leases of thirty years came to an end, one of the counties under me (Indapur) being the site of the first experiment. The prosperity had been so great that the settlement officers advised an increase of 50 per cent. on the old rents. But it was a poor district with very little rainfall, and after this proposal was sanctioned, the want of rain caused a general ruin to the crops, and I was



besieged with petitions for remission. There was no time to delay, as the crops were withering, and to satisfy myself about them I gave up my mornings to riding through the parishes with a notebook and pencil, while sending my clerks on the same errand to other villages on my right and left flanks. As the rupee is made of sixteen annas, so we call an average crop a rupee crop, a half-crop an eight-anna crop, a quarter-crop a four-anna crop, just as if we said a shilling, a sixpenny and a threepenny crop. For such rough and rapid estimations my eyes were my only instruments. Arrived at camp, or in some temple or barn, I would compare notes with my clerks, and hear what the villagers had to say in the afternoon. They would tell me how deep in debt they were, and they brought the money-lenders to show me their accounts. In a week or two I made my report, advising the Governor, as a matter of grace and policy, not to press too hard. The new rent-roll would be more popular if we showed some leniency in this first year of dearth. After much thought I said, "Give them an out-and-out remission ; four annas of remission will please them more than letting half the rent stand in arrear." The Government, which had ample experience, took this view, and gave its sanction. I have mentioned the money-lenders, for they play a great part in Indian economics. In so poor a country the peasants cannot do without them. But they exact heavy interest, and sometimes overcharge, and at times the villagers rise against them and slay them. To secure the peace, and with the policy of keeping the farmers contented, several laws have been passed to prevent them being sold up, requiring the County Court to examine the whole dealings, and to give time to pay by instalments. The money-lender's capital is wanted on the land, but any wholesale eviction of the peasants, by execution for debt, would cause most bitter feeling and tend towards rebellions.

It is with subjects like these that the Indian revenue officer is occupied all his life ; and in dealing with them, speaking the language of the country, he learns many things

which are part of his stock-in-trade. As years go on, the Assistant becomes a Collector, ruling eight, ten, or twelve counties. After that he may rise to be a Commissioner over five or six Collectors, and then aspire to be a member of Government. Some, however, diverge into the judicial line, and as Assistant Judges and then Sessions Judges try civil cases, and hear appeals from the magistrates' sentences, and hold the assizes. Out of these judicial ranks some of the Judges of the High Court are selected. Others wish for service in the Native States, and the same man is sometimes at the Nizam's Court in the heart of India, while you next hear of him at Khatmandu in Nepal, on the Himalayan region, or at Bagdat or Bangalore. Occasionally a Civil Servant with a talent that way acts as inspector of schools or professor in a college; and those of a financial turn may get appointed to the Indian Exchequer or Post-office or Currency Departments. And let me add, many of us can say that one man in his turn plays many parts, which is a source of great pleasure to versatile minds; and the interest of life is increased when sudden calls arise to deal with local disturbances or desolating famines or epidemic cholera, or such a calamity as the plague. The mere mention of these things explains the high salaries which are meant to compensate for exile and danger and the diseases of the tropics. The vast variety of work and circumstance also partly explains how it is that officers of broadly-contrasted tempers are equally successful; why, for instance, one taken from the Army often matches the Civilian in purely civil duties. In the same way we account for the opinion of most men in high commands, that the perfervid, industrious, wary, cautious, persevering sort of man of the North has been, and always will be, wanted for India, equally with the lads whose peculiar virtues are those of the great public schools of the South. The mere capacity of patient listening is of untold value. The natives of India who come to the officials usually belong to one of two classes: they either come with a

grievance and complaint, or else they are persons accused of something or other. What they demand is what the law requires, *i.e.*, that they shall be heard ; and they are right in believing that a Judge is supplied with two ears, in order that both plaintiff and defendant may be listened to ; while his one tongue is reserved for a judgment to bind both, and end the strife. The facts are often complex, the incidents strange, the language foreign, the law new ; and these considerations have led British Statesmen to agree that the men we send to India should be men of proved intellectual abilities.

This decision supports the view of policy, that as the nation becomes more and more educated, as many doors should be kept open as possible for honourable careers ; and in my opinion it is most desirable that more of our educated youths should grow familiar with the attractions of Indian service, such as they are. There are reasons to believe that the raising of the age of admission to the open competition has had wide results, some of which were not foreseen. The examination is held in August, and the rule says that every candidate must on the previous New Year's Day have attained the age of twenty-one years, and not attained the age of twenty-three. The regulations are numerous, and they allow candidates to get marks in all kinds of knowledge. But while Cambridge does well, and Oxford better, the Scottish Universities have not lately been as successful as one would wish in finding men for the Civil Services. The success of Oxford in securing these prizes appears to hinge on the fact of the Civil Service curriculum, if I may use the word, fitting in well with the ordinary Oxford course, which includes political philosophy, ancient history, and kindred subjects.

The authorities of one University in Scotland, that of St. Andrews, have already detected these facts, and have started a movement to add these to the teaching in the classics. Without personal knowledge, I avoid dogmatizing, and will confine myself to what one learned pro-

fessor has lately reported. He says: "A candidate who has been through the Oxford school of *Literæ humaniores* is in a position to offer more subjects without going beyond his University course proper than any other candidate whatever. He is able to offer Latin and Greek, and thus to compete to the best advantage in the department of languages, especially as he generally has a fair knowledge of German, and often of French. He takes logic and moral philosophy, and is thus able to compete also in the department of philosophy, where he has the great advantage over the mere philosophy student that he has been specially trained in ancient philosophy, a recognised and important part of the examination. In the department of history he takes, as a matter of course, Greek and Roman constitutional history, each of which receives 400 marks, and the very important subject of political philosophy has formed a large part of his University studies. If he adds to this, as he often does, a competent knowledge of economics and economic history, it will be seen that he can profess a range of subjects which is quite beyond the reach of students from Universities where the lines of study are marked out on the principle of specialization. It is very hard, for instance, for a young Cambridge graduate to compete on anything like equal terms with such a man, even although his knowledge of the smaller number of subjects he is able to offer may be far more thorough and accurate."

I leave these matters of precision to the world of teachers, inside and outside of the Universities, as one of high importance to them, their scholars, and their sons. My present aim is rather to increase the public interest in India, and in general terms and common language to set forth what that career is which lies before clever and successful young scholars. I have not laid stress on the drawbacks, but rather dilated upon the high duties, the pecuniary comfort, and the variety of scenes in which the Indian civilian spends his active days. No man of any ability ever complained that this life of exile is a dull one. In

India there is always much to absorb the thought and delight the senses. Turn for a moment to those splendid sentences where Macaulay explains how Burke, whose eyes had never seen the Oriental world, did by force of his bright imagination "set things past in present view, bring distant prospects home." India and its inhabitants were not to him, as to most people here, mere names and abstractions, but a real country with real peoples. "The burning sun, the strange vegetation of the palm and the cocoa-tree, the rice-field, the tank, the huge trees older than the Mogul empire, under which the village crowds assemble, the thatched roof of the peasant's hut, the rich tracery of the mosque where the Imaum prays with his face to Mecca, the drums and banners and gaudy idols, the devotee swinging in the air, the graceful maiden with the pitcher on her head descending the steps to the riverside, the black faces, the long beards, the yellow streaks of sect, the turbans and the flowing robes, the spears and the silver maces, the elephants with their canopies of state, the gorgeous palanquin of the Prince, and the close litter of the noble lady—all these things were to him as the objects among which his own life had been passed. All India was present to the eye of his mind, from the halls where suitors laid gold and perfumes at the feet of sovereigns, to the wild moor where the gipsy camp was pitched, from the bazar, humming like a beehive with the crowd of buyers and sellers, to the jungle where the lonely courier shakes his bunch of iron rings to scare away the hyænas." These are the scenes mine eyes have seen, with which for thirty years and more I was familiar, and as I was fortunate enough to preserve fairly good health, and to keep on most pleasant and delightful terms with the native world, I may as well confess that I would like to live that life all over again.

## THE RESTORATION OF A GOLD CURRENCY TO INDIA.

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As the reasons which induced the Indian Government recently to pass a great and important Act to restore its ancient gold currency to India, and to make the sovereign the standard unit of the empire, in accordance with the unanimous demand of India in 1864, are very imperfectly understood and greatly misapprehended, both in England and India, I hope, by a simple historical narrative, to make the matter clear.

It is necessary, however, to begin by removing two very widely prevalent misconceptions as to the monetary system of India. 1. It is a very widely prevalent misconception that silver has been exclusively the money of India from time immemorial, and that it will be very difficult to reconcile the people of India to the change from silver to gold. 2. That India is too poor a country to have a gold currency. Both these allegations are utterly erroneous.

Gold was the original currency of India from time immemorial. India produces large quantities of gold, but no silver. Nevertheless, from prehistoric times vast quantities of silver have been imported into India to purchase gold. The ratio of gold to silver was 1 to 13 in Persia, but it was 1 to 8 in India.

The Phœnicians were the earliest seafaring traders in the world, and their commerce extended from Tartessus, or Tarsus, in the west, to Burmah and Siam in the east. They brought silver from Tartessus and exchanged it for the gold-dust of the lower Indus, which Sir Alexander Cunningham, the first authority on the subject, holds to be Ophir.

This gold-dust, however, was not coined in those early ages. It was in the form of dust, and it was kept in its natural state in small bags containing a fixed weight, and

passed as money. It is mentioned in Job, Isaiah, and Jeremiah. Darius exacted as tribute from the satrapy of the Punjab 360 talents of gold-dust, which he coined into darics. The other nineteen satrapies of the empire paid their tribute in silver.

The silver imported into India by the Phœnicians was confined to northern India. Sir Alexander Cunningham conjectures that silver was coined as early as 1000 B.C., thus gold and silver equally passed current as money in northern India from prehistoric ages. But there was no fixed legal ratio between them. Silver, however, having been coined for ages before gold, came to be considered as the standard, and the bags of gold-dust were taken at their market value.

The trade of the Phœnicians was with northern India, and the Mohammedans never conquered southern India. Consequently there was no silver coinage in southern India. Gold coin continued to be the standard in southern India till 1818, when the East India Company for the first time forced their silver rupee on them as their standard unit against the wishes of the people. These historical facts are a conclusive reply to the allegation that silver has been the sole money of India from time immemorial, and that it is too poor a country to have a gold currency.

When the East India Company extended their dominion over India, they found the multiplicity of gold and silver coins in circulation an intolerable nuisance. There were 139 different kinds of gold mohurs, 61 different kinds of gold pagodas or huns, 25 different kinds of fanams, and 59 kinds of foreign gold coin in circulation; also 556 different kinds of silver rupees, and 155 different kinds of foreign silver coins. Altogether there were 994 different kinds of gold and silver coins in circulation, differing in weight and fineness. These vast numbers of coins were not attempted to be tied together by any fixed legal ratio; as, indeed, this would have been impossible, as they were issued by a multitude of independent princes, who claimed the right

of coining in the decadence of the Mogul Empire, and if they had been so, the greater number would have disappeared from circulation. These coins were continually varying in their market value, and consequently the difficulty of rating them in any system of accounts was enormous. In fact, no one knew the value of the coins he possessed. All payments had to be made by the intervention of saraufs, or professional money-changers, which, of course, opened the door to abundance of fraud.

The East India Company were so inconvenienced by the multiplicity of coins in circulation that in 1766 they endeavoured to establish bimetallism, *i.e.*, to issue gold and silver coins at a fixed legal ratio. But it entirely failed. They could not get their gold mohurs into circulation because they were rated much below the silver value of gold. In their perplexity they applied to Sir James Steuart, who was then the leading authority in economics. In answer to their request, he drew up a treatise for them, entitled "The Principles of Money Applied to the Present State of the Coin of Bengal," in which he demonstrated that it is not possible to maintain gold and silver coins in circulation together, when issued in unlimited quantities, at a fixed legal ratio different from the market ratio of the metals, but that the one which is underrated invariably disappears from circulation, and the one which is overrated alone remains current. This doctrine had been preached for more than four hundred years by all the greatest economists to the deaf ears of governments. But in 1805 the masterpiece on the subject, Lord Liverpool's "Letter to the King on the Coins of the Realm," was published, and immediately attracted the attention of the Court of Directors. Early in 1806 they addressed a minute to their Governments of Bengal and Madras, detailing the serious losses which had been incurred by the Indian presidencies from 1770 to 1802, from the circulation of so many gold and silver coins of different values in different districts. These losses had far exceeded their expectations. They



then expressed their entire concurrence in the doctrine which had first been suggested by Petty, and enforced by Locke, Harris, and Lord Liverpool, that the money or coin which was to be the principal measure of property ought to be of *one* metal only. They said that in India this metal should be silver. They said that coins of gold and silver cannot circulate as legal tenders of payment at fixed relative values as in England and India without great loss, occasioned by the fluctuating value of the metals of which the coins are formed. A proportion between the gold and silver coins is fixed by law, according to the value of the metals; and it may be on the justest principles, but owing to a change of circumstances, gold may become of greater value in relation to silver than at the time the proportion was fixed. It therefore becomes profitable to exchange silver for gold, so that the coin of that metal is withdrawn from circulation; and if silver should increase in its value in relation to gold, the same circumstances would tend to reduce the quantity of silver coin in circulation. As it is impossible to prevent the fluctuation in the value of the metals, so it is equally impracticable to prevent the consequences thereof on the coins made from these metals. They also said that there is a radical defect in the principle itself of giving a fixed value to metals in coin, that are in their nature subject to continual change.

This minute is of the utmost importance, because it is the first pronouncement by the Government of a great empire against bimetallism, after the bitter experience of its disastrous consequences for forty years. This minute was buried in the archives of the India Office, but in 1894 the India Office most courteously permitted me to make it public for the first time, and it gives a complete answer to the clamour for bimetallism with which we have been stunned for so many years.

The Government took no action on its weighty and important minute of 1806 till 1818, when it issued a new coinage of gold and silver. They changed the ratio of the

coins to bring them into conformity with the market ratio of the metals, and for the first time forced the silver rupee as legal tender on southern India, where gold alone had been the standard for thousands of years. They then declared these gold and silver coins to be equally legal tender to an unlimited amount. This action of the Government must strike us with amazement. In 1806 they had condemned bimetallism in the most scathing and unanswerable terms, and then in 1818 they attempted to establish it on a new basis!

In 1835 the Government at length gave up the attempt to maintain bimetallism as absolutely hopeless. They coined gold and silver rupees of equal weight and fineness. The silver rupees were declared to be the sole legal tender throughout India, but the gold rupees and other native gold coin were allowed to pass current, and be received at the public treasuries at their market value in silver. So matters remained till 1852. The great gold discoveries which began in 1848 and 1849 seemed likely to cause a great fall in the value of gold. Holland, in a moment of undue panic, hastily demonetized gold, which it repented of afterwards, retraced its step, and restored its gold coinage.

Lord Dalhousie took the same alarm, and in the last week of 1852 he suddenly issued a notification that after January 1, 1853, no gold coin of any sort would be received at the public treasuries. By this unfortunate action gold was totally demonetized throughout India. By this astounding *coup de finance*, utterly without precedent in the history of the world, it was estimated that £120,000,000 of gold coin at once disappeared from circulation, and was hoarded away. This was literally a "bolt from the blue" on the Indian community. Then for the first time India became a solely silver-using country, and not from time immemorial, as many ill-informed persons imagine. This was a lamentable instance of legislating in a panic. This was one of the most important of the series of causes which

led to the recent monetary troubles of India, and for forty years we repented at leisure.

The demonetization of gold by Lord Dalhousie was soon felt to be a most disastrous error, and a strong feeling grew up in favour of restoring a gold currency. Some minor movements were made, but in 1864 a powerful and unanimous agitation was made throughout all India for the restoration of the gold currency. At this time the British sovereign had acquired a very large circulation throughout the country.

The Chambers of Commerce of Bengal, Bombay, and Madras and the Bombay Association took the lead, and were joined by many high officials and native bankers. They detailed the inconveniences of such a cumbrous currency as silver. From time immemorial, as I have already stated, until within the last few years, India had had an extensive gold currency, and the natives were very sensible of its superior advantages. The insufficiency of the existing currency had already caused severe financial embarrassments, and threatened the commerce of India with periodical and fatal vicissitudes. The exclusive silver standard and currency rendered direct trade with Australia and other gold-producing countries impossible, and forced a country with abundance of gold to traverse half the globe in search for silver before she could pay for her commodities. The superiority of gold would secure an immediate and intelligent welcome for it in India. The importation of gold into India had steadily increased for many years, though it was not legal tender. The natives themselves, *i.e.*, the native bankers, had devised a remedy for the deficiency of the existing silver currency by using gold bars stamped by the Bombay Banks as a circulating medium. The exclusion of gold from the currency of India could not be justified or be considered other than barbarous, irrational, and unnatural. The only remedy was to introduce a well-regulated gold currency into India.

Several officials, under the instructions of the Govern-

ment, held meetings of the bankers, merchants, and notables in important cities. They were unanimous in their approval of the scheme, and had no doubt of its success. They testified that sovereigns in great quantities were circulated in their districts, and were bought in large quantities by the natives. A large number of collectors in Southern India reported that large quantities of sovereigns circulated in their districts, and that the natives bitterly complained of the losses and inconveniences they suffered from their not being received at the public treasuries. The bankers were unanimously in favour of the sovereign being declared the standard unit, because it was the coin most familiar to them, being most abundant, and almost the only one used for equalizing the exchanges; and if a gold currency were established it would facilitate the introduction of a paper currency. This powerful and unanimous movement was the emphatic revolt of all India against the silver standard. The unanimous demand was, that the sovereign should be declared as the standard unit throughout India, because immense quantities of it were circulated throughout the country, and the natives were perfectly familiar with it. The whole of this movement is set forth in a Parliamentary paper entitled "East India Gold Currency," published in February, 1865, and no one has a right to form an opinion on the subject who has not carefully studied it.

In consequence of this movement the Indian Government addressed a memorial to the Home Government to authorize them to declare British and Australian sovereigns and half-sovereigns to be legal tender throughout the British dominions in India at the fixed rate of 10 rupees to the sovereign! Such a proposal was foredoomed to failure because it was pure and unadulterated bimetallism, which the Indian Government had twice condemned and abandoned. It was a revival of the lowest and most barbarous economic ignorance of the fourteenth century.

Sir Charles Wood, Secretary for India, at once quashed this fatuous proposal, and read the Indian Government

a long lecture on bimetallism, showing them that it was impossible to maintain two metals in circulation together in unlimited quantities at a fixed legal ratio. He showed them that the coin which was undervalued was sure to disappear; and gave a strong instance of the recent case of France, where a simple change in the ratio of silver to gold from  $15\frac{3}{4}$  to  $15\frac{1}{2}$ , while the legal ratio was  $15\frac{1}{2}$ , had sufficed to displace nearly £200,000,000 of silver coin, and replace it with an equivalent amount of gold. But he said that gold coin might be received as formerly at the public treasuries at a rate *to be fixed by the Government*; and he authorized the public treasuries to receive sovereigns at the fixed rate of 10 rupees to the sovereign. In this Sir Charles Wood was mistaken. Before 1853 sovereigns were *not* received at a rate fixed by the Government, but at their *market value in silver*.

At this time sovereigns were worth 10 rupees and several annas, and nobody paid sovereigns into the treasuries, where they were only to be received at 10 rupees, when their market value was several annas more, just as nobody would pay sovereigns into his account if his banker only credited him with nineteen shillings for them. Sir Charles Wood's plan totally failed. Both the proposals of the Indian and Home Governments failed because they were both tainted with bimetallism, which has ruined every system of coinage it has ever touched.

It is strange that Sir Charles Wood, with the example of the British coinage before him, did not perceive that he might have accepted the proposal of the Indian Government if he had exacted the condition that *the Indian mints should be closed to the free coinage of silver*. India would then have possessed a coinage similar to that of England, with the sovereign at 10 rupees. But the golden opportunity passed away, never to return!

With this miserable fiasco, showing gross ignorance of the rudiments of economics, began that long course of blundering which has cost India hundreds of millions of

money. Soon after this time began also that continuous fall in the value of silver which caused the greatest anxiety in the minds of European Governments. The Latin Union only came into operation in 1867, and already the clearest-minded economists saw that it must inevitably fail, and that there was no remedy but to adopt the single gold standard. In France, in 1869 and 1870, strong committees recommended the adoption of the single gold standard. In Prussia the Parliament appointed a committee in June, 1870, to devise a plan for adopting a single gold standard, but immediately after that the Franco-Prussian War broke out, which of course put then an end to such a project.

But immediately after the war was concluded Germany adopted the single gold standard. France followed suit in 1874, and one European State after another adopted the single gold standard, and closed their mints to the free coinage of silver, to save themselves from bankruptcy. But the Indian Government took no heed or warning from the example of Europe. Down, down, down went the rupee ; drift, drift, drift went the Indian Government !

In 1875 Mr. Hollingbery, Assistant-Secretary to the Financial Department, addressed a masterly report to the Indian Government, urgently advising them to restore its ancient gold currency to India as the only possible means of averting ruin from India's finance. He warned them that the restoration of gold would be found to be inevitable in the end, and that the longer it was delayed the more difficult and costly it would be. When Mr. Hollingbery wrote silver was at 57½d., and the annual loss to India on meeting its home charge was £1,500,000 ; at the present day silver is at 27½d., and the annual loss by exchange is £8,000,000 !

In 1876 the Chamber of Commerce of Bengal addressed the Government to close the mints to the free coinage of silver. But the Government replied that it would be impossible to close the mints to the free coinage of silver unless they were opened to the free coinage of gold as

unlimited legal tender. They continued to pester the Home Government with projects for bimetallism, which it constantly refused.

In 1886 difficulties continued to thicken around the Indian Treasury from the increasing fall in the value of silver. They then took up new ground with the Home Government. They demanded that a determined effort should be made to settle the silver question by international agreement. They repeatedly pressed this demand, persistently alleging that the ratio between gold and silver might be fixed by international agreement. The Treasury persistently denied this. Nevertheless, as is well known, several fatuous international conferences were held, which all ended in smoke, as they were bound to do. Every sound economist knows that it is just as impossible to establish a fixed ratio between gold and silver by international agreement as for any single State to do so. It would be just as rational to appoint an international conference to square the circle, or to discover perpetual motion. Both of these are known physical impossibilities. In economics it is equally a known impossibility to fix by law a ratio between commodities which are produced in unlimited quantities. If it were possible to establish a fixed ratio between gold and silver, it would be equally possible to fix the value of everything by law, as Oresme pointed out in the fourteenth century. It would be just as rational to suppose that, because no single State could abolish the law of gravitation, an international agreement might do so; or to suppose that because no single State could by law compel the sun to rise in the west, an international agreement might do so; or that an international agreement could compel the Ganges to flow back from the Sunderbunds to the Himalayas.

At length in 1893, when the value of silver continued to fall, and they saw that the United States would repeal the Bland and Sherman Acts, which was done, the Indian Government found itself on the verge of bankruptcy, and

saw that India would form the dumping-ground of all the depreciated silver in the world ; it then closed the mints to the free coinage of silver, and declared its intention to restore the ancient gold currency. But it ought to have been prepared with such a scheme simultaneously with closing the mints to the free coinage of silver, as the Government declared in 1876. Nevertheless, the procrastinating Government suffered five years to pass away before it took any steps to carry its fixed resolve into effect. At length in 1897 a committee was appointed to devise the means of restoring a gold currency to India.

As I had for years been urging the Government to restore its ancient gold currency to India as the only possible means of putting an end to its chronic monetary troubles, the Indian Currency Committee requested me to submit to them a scheme for effecting that purpose. This I did in my "Indian Currency,"\* the evidence I gave before the Committee, and a paper I subsequently laid before the Committee.

There were four plans before the Committee : (1) to establish bimetallism ; (2) to reopen the mints to the free coinage of silver ; (3) to maintain the *status quo* ; (4) to restore its gold currency, to declare the sovereign the standard unit throughout India and unlimited legal tender, and to place the issue of silver entirely under the control of the Government.

In my evidence and the documents I have named I showed that the first three of the above proposals were entirely inadmissible, and that they would infallibly in a very short time bring about the bankruptcy of the Government ; I showed that the fourth plan only was the one which should be adopted, and carried into effect as speedily as could be done. I submitted to the Committee the following steps which should be taken to restore its ancient gold currency to India :

1. The gold sovereign should at once be declared

\* Published by Longmans and Co.



unlimited legal tender throughout India, as was the universal demand in 1864, at the rate of 15 rupees to the sovereign.

2. In terms of the Coinage Act of 1870, chap. 10, the Indian mints should be declared to be branches of the Royal Mint in London, as the Australian mints are.

3. The Indian mints should at once be authorized to coin sovereigns and half-sovereigns of exactly the same weight and fineness as British sovereigns and half-sovereigns.

4. Indian sovereigns and half-sovereigns should have free circulation, and be unlimited legal tender throughout the Empire.

5. Every person bringing gold to the mints should be entitled to have it coined into sovereigns or half-sovereigns, as he may prefer, free of any cost or charge, at the mint price of £3 17s. 10½d. per ounce.

6. The Government should keep the coinage of silver entirely in its own hands, as in England. The Government can then extend or restrict the coinage of silver, as it may seem necessary and expedient for the wants of the people.

7. Silver rupees should, for the present, remain unlimited legal tender until the Government deems it expedient to restrict silver as legal tender.

8. So long as silver remains unlimited legal tender the Council Bills and other obligations of the Government should be payable in gold or silver at the legal fixed rating at the option of the Government.

9. So long as silver remains unlimited legal tender, all mercantile bills and all other obligations of every sort should be payable in gold or silver at the legal fixed rating at the option of the obligor.

10. In case the Government should deem it expedient to restrict the amount of silver as legal tender, all the obligations above mentioned of every sort and description, whether of the Government or of private parties, should be payable in silver only to the amount declared to be legal tender at the option of the obligor.

11. In all countries where gold and silver are made equally legal tender to a certain amount, the option of paying in either always rests with the debtor, and not with the creditor.

I then pointed out the sources from which the necessary gold could be obtained from internal supplies without requiring an ounce from any foreign markets, the details of which I need not give here.

One of the bogeys urged upon the Committee in opposition to the adoption of the gold standard was that the natives were so given to hoarding, that if gold coins were issued, they would immediately be all hoarded away and never get into circulation. In answer to this I pointed out to the Committee that, granting the propensity of the natives for hoarding which had always existed, there was before Lord Dalhousie's unfortunate notification in 1852 demonitizing gold an immense gold currency in India, estimated to amount to £120,000,000, and there was no reason why there should not be the same in future. It is a known fact that the French peasantry had the very same passion for hoarding as the natives. No one can have the remotest notion of the vast quantities of silver hoarded away by the French peasantry, and yet there are circulating in France about £200,000,000 of silver coin. The French peasants hoard away their coin in their own custody because they have not sufficient confidence in their banks. This is the very same reason which makes the natives hoard away their savings in their own custody; they have no confidence in the native bankers. But a certain amount of coin is necessary for the daily business of life, and that quantity will always be in circulation. The fear, then, that all the gold coin would at once disappear was purely imaginary.

This view has proved to be correct. We read in to-day's (March 6) *Financial News*: "An inspired Indian organ tells us that sovereigns are now passing freely from hand to hand in the bazaar, just as rupees do. They are not being hoarded, as far as Calcutta is concerned." We have the

express testimony of the witnesses in 1864 that sovereigns then circulated in immense quantities throughout the whole of India, and it is easy to see that after a certain time they will do so again.

A considerable amount of adverse evidence was given before the Committee to show that the restoration of its ancient gold currency was unadvisable and impracticable, but I am happy to say that the Committee rejected it all, and substantially adopted the scheme I had submitted to them in its entirety.

On September 15, 1899, the Indian Government passed an Act declaring that gold coins, whether coined at Her Majesty's Royal Mint in England, or at any mint established in pursuance of a proclamation of Her Majesty, as a branch of Her Majesty's Royal Mint, shall be a legal tender in payment or on account at the rate of fifteen rupees for one sovereign. Thus at length this great Act, realizing the unanimous demand of the people of India in 1864, was passed as the foundation of the complete reform of her monetary system, which will put an end to the monetary troubles which have so long afflicted her, and which could have been done by no other means.

I will now give an estimate of the losses sustained by India since the great fiasco of 1864, and the melancholy course of blundering by the Indian and home Governments since then. In 1864, if the demand of the people of India had been properly met, the sovereign might have been declared the standard unit at the rate of 10 rupees, provided that the mints had been closed to the free coinage of silver. Very soon after that silver began to fall, and the home charges of the Indian Government began to increase. In 1875 Mr. Hollingbery said the rupee was at 57½d., and that there was an annual loss by exchange of £1,500,000 in meeting the home charges.

Mr. Hollingbery showed that if the sovereign were adopted as the standard unit, instead of a loss there would be a gain by exchange, as the exchanges were always in

favour of India. At the present time the rupee is at 1s. 4d., and the home charges are about £19,000,000. With such charges to meet, it is acknowledged that every fall of 1d. in the rupee necessitates taxation to the amount of £1,000,000 on the people of India to meet the home charges. Consequently the fall of the rupee from 2s. to 1s. 4d. necessitates taxation to the amount of £8,000,000 for the sole purpose of meeting the home charges in London. Without going too minutely into the calculation, which it is impossible for any private person to do, it may be safely said that the losses by exchange of the Indian Government since 1864 have far exceeded £100,000 000.

Then two-fifths of the revenues of India are paid in rupees under contracts for terms of years. Hence the Government has lost  $\frac{1}{5}$  of  $\frac{2}{5}$  of its revenue, or more than 13 per cent. The Government alone can estimate the losses it has sustained on this head since 1864, but they must be enormous. To make up for these losses the Government has had to lay tax after tax upon the people, so that it is now recognised that India is taxed to the very limit of its endurance.

An Indian official, who holds the position of Legislative Councillor and Legal Remembrancer—*i.e.*, Attorney-General—to one of the Governments, informed me that by the fall of the rupee from 2s. to 1s. 4d. he has lost upwards of £900 of his income, and that if the rupee had been fixed at 1s. 3d., as many people demanded, he would have lost upwards of £100 more. And all Indian officials, from the Viceroy downwards, have suffered a proportionate loss of income. Indian officials and other residents who wish to send remittances home to their families even at the present rate lose more than 33 per cent. by exchange. But since 1893 the exchange has been down to 1s. 0½d. On one occasion, to my certain knowledge, an amount of rupees paid to purchase a draft which at 2s. for the rupee would have realized £100 in England only produced a little over £50.

. It was a recognised fact that for many years, in conse-

quence of the fluctuations in exchange, not only was capital deterred from being invested in India, but was withdrawn in large amounts, because the profits of trade might all be lost by the fluctuations of exchange. What the indirect losses to India might have been I cannot even conjecture, but they must have been immense, probably not less than the direct losses.

The whole of this unhappy India business is an everlasting stigma on British economic and financial statesmanship of the nineteenth century. It is a striking example of Chancellor Oxenstiern's address to the son of Gustavus Adolphus : " Come, my son, and see with what little wisdom the world is governed." A want of knowledge of the simple rudiments of economics caused the loss of hundreds of millions to the Indian Government, and incalculable misery to private persons. Now, however, that India has at length established her system of coinage on the best European model, to be completed by the reorganization of her system of banking and paper currency, we may hope that she may start on a new career of wealth and prosperity.

## A CHIEF COURT FOR LOWER BURMA.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.,

Late Judicial Commissioner of Burma.

"THE Government of India have decided, with the full concurrence of the Local Government and the approval of the Secretary of State, that in view of the growing importance of Rangoon as a centre of commerce, of the geographical separation of Burma from peninsular India, of the recent erection of the province into a Lieutenant-Governorship, and of the constitution of a provincial legislature, the time has come to provide Lower Burma with a Chief Court which shall be empowered to give final orders and to speak with the authority of an ultimate tribunal." These words of announcement, affecting some five millions of the Queen's subjects, were uttered on January 10 last in the Viceroy's Council by the official member then moving to bring in a Bill which in its enacted form will soon replace Act XI. of 1889, the law which at present makes, on the avowal of the Indian Government itself, very scanty arrangements for courts of justice in a wealthy and rising province. The honourable member told his audience that even as long ago as 1880 this judicial system was found to be wanting; while the experience of our great Indian ports, Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay, with which alone Rangoon may fitly be compared, had naturally suggested a remedy in the erection of a High Court years ago. A Bill for that purpose was at last introduced in 1887, but only to be abandoned on the ground that the plan was too costly for the exchequer and too advanced for the times. The patching-up policy which pervades the law of 1889 appears to have kept the province at bay for a whole decade; and the present proposal of a Chief Court, modelled on the tribunal which sits at the inland town of Lahore, is doubtless a compromise, a fairly big sop offered to the European

merchants of Rangoon, Moulmain, Akyab, and Bassein, who have always wished, as a protection to their vast ocean-going trade, for a court founded on the traditions of England rather than on those of the Punjaub. While Allahabad has long ago been supplied with a High Court, Burma gets none, neither is any reason vouchsafed for this unequal treatment nor time afforded for remonstrance. After twenty years of delay, the Bill is introduced in hot haste, so that it may become law in the present session. Like Macbeth in the play, the mover seems to feel that "if it were done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly." There is much in favour of this policy, as he justly brands the existing system of superior courts as "temporary, defective, complex, unsatisfactory, complicated," using Latin words to avoid over-statement. The plainer Anglo-Saxon of the Commutation Service would better suit the feeling at Rangoon and other marts of trade.

The main point of the Bill is that it erects one single supreme court instead of several, and thus enables the whole judicial work of Lower Burma to be done in the province itself. The Chief Court is to have four or more judges, of whom two at least shall ordinarily be barristers. They will hold office during pleasure, not during good behaviour as in England. Saving the Privy Council, all appeals and revisions end with them, and the whole system of sending the most important matters to the High Court of Calcutta, involving the expense of a second set of solicitors and barristers, will come to an end. While I am writing, the duties of a High Court are shared among the Calcutta tribunal and three superior courts at Rangoon, who are at times aided by judges from two lower courts. The Recorder of Rangoon, a barrister-judge, is a High Court for European British subjects; but his sentences of death must go to be confirmed or reversed at Calcutta. So do appeals from him as an Admiralty Court, from other civil decrees under Rs. 10,000, and from various other orders. The Judicial Commissioner, a civil service judge,

is the High Court for the whole country outside of Rangoon. But when either judge sits as a Court of Session, the prisoner appeals to the same judge, sitting with the other one, in what is called the Special Court, a tribunal which for some purposes is a High Court, and which sometimes comes to a deadlock when the one judge sticks to his first views and his colleague differs. In other matters they may send their opposite opinions to Calcutta, where the judges have to decide between them, even if there is no argument of counsel. To avoid this, another procedure, started in 1889, lets the ruler of the province order the Additional Recorder, if there happens to be one, or if not, the Judge of Moulmain, to sit as a third, so that an inferior judge decides between the two High Courts. The new law will abolish all these impediments to justice. The Chief Court will still be only a court of session for criminals in the town of Rangoon. But as in Calcutta or Bombay, finality is to be given to the judge's sentence. The unwholesome necessity of one high judge pitting his opinion against the other will disappear. The Recorder, the Judicial Commissioner, the Additional Recorder, the Special Court, and the Judge of the Town of Moulmain will vanish from the scene, along with the Calcutta jurisdictions over Lower Burma. The Governor-General in Council takes power to appoint one of the Bench as Chief Judge. Probably the commercial world of Burma would like to restrict his choice to the barrister-judges; but on principle the best man should be chosen, and some weight given to long experience of the duties.

This Bill contains a chapter dealing with the lower hierarchy of courts in the revenue areas of the interior. Of these there will be four—the Divisional, District, Sub-divisional, and Township Courts, under the Commissioner, Deputy Commissioner, Assistant, and Myo-ok respectively, very much as at present. It would seem that the Commissioner will still be Sessions Judge and his deputies District Magistrates with Assistant Judges' powers. It



is intended to give Additional Judges to the Courts of the Commissioners, to relieve these high officials of civil appeals and get rid of intermediate appeals to the hard-worked Deputies, a policy which has been successful elsewhere. The question under what circumstances appeals should lie has been referred to the Secretary of State. In most respects the Mofussil will remain under practically the same system of rule as was devised in Arakan after the first war and in Pegu after the second, and which still continues. The Bill contains many useful powers to reduce delays and expenses in its working, and of course provisions for pending cases. Outside the seaports the litigation is simple, and the rural and commercial communities are strongly contrasted.

It remains to show briefly the slow advances which Burma has made in judicial institutions within living memory. In 1862 Arakan was under Bengal, and Pegu and Tenasserim were under commissioners quite independent of each other but under the Governor-General. Acting on a report written by Colonel Bruce and Sir Richard Temple, the Government joined the three provinces together under a Chief Commissioner as governor, and disallowed their proposal to have a Barrister Judicial Commissioner over the interior, to sit also as an Original Side Judge at the seaports. The Chief Commissioner was erected into a final court by Act I. of 1863, and continued such till abolished by Act VII. of 1872, which substituted a Judicial Commissioner. The British merchants, who even in 1840 had wanted a Recorder like the one at Penang versed in the *lex mercatoria*, had to put up with an ordinary officer of the Commission, until on the report of 1862, recorders were provided for Rangoon and Moulmain by Act XXI. of 1863. The same Act brought into these ports the qualified law of England of the year 1726, making them in that respect like the presidency towns, and with this rule of law the present Bill is to make no change, at least in Rangoon. By Act VII. of 1872 the

Special Court was set up, Sir Barrow Ellis remarking that financial difficulties precluded a more perfect tribunal. In the debates we find a fear expressed that if a barrister and a civilian were yoked together as judges they might upset the coach. But this calamity has been avoided, and the present system has lingered till the end of this century. These are results which may fairly be put down to the credit of the judges, who worked for justice, in spite of a bad law, re-enacted time after time, creating and continuing perplexing conditions of judicature, with delays and costs.

The most important sections of the Bill are those inserted below.

#### CONSTITUTION OF CHIEF COURT.

5. The Chief Court shall consist of four or more judges, who shall be appointed by the Governor-General in Council and shall hold office during his pleasure, and of whom two at least shall ordinarily be barristers of not less than five years' standing.

#### APPOINTMENT OF CHIEF JUDGE.

6. The Governor-General in Council may, in his discretion, from time to time appoint one of the Judges of the Chief Court to be the Chief Judge, and may, during any vacancy of the office of Chief Judge, and during any absence of the Chief Judge, appoint one of the other Judges of the Chief Court to perform the duties of the Chief Judge until a new Chief Judge has been appointed and has entered upon the discharge of the duties of his office, or until the Chief Judge has returned from such absence, as the case may be.

#### RANK AND PRECEDENCE OF CHIEF JUDGE AND JUDGES OF CHIEF COURT.

7. (1) The Chief Judge (if any), whether permanent or officiating, shall have rank and precedence before the other Judges of the Chief Court.

(2) Save as aforesaid, the Judges shall have rank and precedence according to the seniority of their appointments as such Judges :

Provided that a Judge permanently appointed shall be deemed to be senior to, and shall have rank and precedence before, an officiating Judge.

(3) In the construction of this Act the expression "the Senior Judge" shall mean the Judge for the time being entitled to the first place in rank and precedence.

#### CIVIL AND CRIMINAL JURISDICTION OF CHIEF COURT.

8. The Chief Court shall be the highest Civil Court of appeal, and the highest Court of criminal appeal and revision in and for Lower Burma, and shall—

- (a) be the High Court for the whole of Burma (inclusive of the Shan States) in reference to proceedings against European British subjects and persons jointly charged with European British subjects ;
- (b) have power, as a Court of original jurisdiction, to try European British subjects and persons charged jointly with European British subjects, committed to it for trial by any Magistrate and Justice of the Peace exercising jurisdiction in any part of Burma (inclusive of the Shan States) ;
- (c) be the principal Civil Court of original jurisdiction and the Court of Session for the Rangoon Town ; and
- (d) have within the Rangoon Town such powers and authorities with respect to insolvent debtors and their creditors as are for the time being exercisable by a Court for the Relief of Insolvent Debtors under the Indian Insolvency Act, 1848.

#### EXERCISE OF JURISDICTION BY JUDGES OF CHIEF COURT.

9. (1) Except as otherwise provided by this Act or by any other enactment for the time being in force, and subject to any rules made under this Act, the jurisdiction of the Chief Court may be exercised by a single Judge of the Court.

(2) The Chief Court may, with the sanction of the Local Government, make rules to provide, in such manner as it may think fit, for the exercise of any of its powers by a bench of two or more Judges of the Court.

#### CONSTITUTION OF FULL BENCH AND OTHER BENCHES.

10. (1) The Chief Court may make rules declaring what number of Judges, not being less than three, shall constitute a full bench of the Chief Court, and may by such rules prescribe the mode of determining which Judges shall sit as a full bench when a full-bench sitting becomes necessary.

(2) Subject to the provisions of sub-section (1), the Senior Judge of the Chief Court may determine which Judge in each case or classes of cases shall sit alone, and which Judges shall constitute any bench.

#### POWER TO REFER QUESTION TO FULL BENCH.

11. Any single Judge of the Chief Court and any bench of Judges thereof, not being a full bench, may in any case refer for the decision of a bench of two Judges or of a full bench any question of law or custom having the force of law, or of the construction of any document, or of the admissibility of any evidence, arising before the Judge or bench, and shall dispose of the case in accordance with the decision of the bench to which the question has been referred.

#### REVIEW IN CERTAIN CRIMINAL CASES.

12. Where in any case any such question as is referred to in Section 11 has been decided by a Judge of the Chief Court exercising the original criminal jurisdiction of the Chief Court as a Court having power to try

European British subjects committed to it for trial, or the jurisdiction of the Court of Session for the Rangoon Town, and no reference has been made under the provisions of that section or of section 434 of the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, the Chief Court may, on its being certified by the Government Advocate that in his opinion the decision is erroneous or should be further considered, review the case or such part of it as may be necessary, and finally determine the question, and may thereupon alter the judgment, order or sentence passed by the judge, and pass such judgment, order or sentence as it thinks right.

FINALITY OF ORDERS OF CHIEF COURT AS RANGOON COURT OF  
SESSION.

13. Notwithstanding anything in the Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898, a judgment, order or sentence passed by a Judge of the Chief Court in exercise of the jurisdiction of the Chief Court as the Court of Session for the Rangoon Town shall not be subject to appeal to or confirmation by the Chief Court, or, save as provided by section 12, to revision thereby.

APPEAL FROM SINGLE JUDGE OF CHIEF COURT EXERCISING ORIGINAL  
CIVIL JURISDICTION.

14. Except as otherwise provided by any enactment for the time being in force, an appeal from any decree or order made by a single Judge of the Chief Court—

- (a) in the exercise of its original jurisdiction as the principal Civil Court of original jurisdiction for the Rangoon Town, or
  - (b) in the exercise of its original jurisdiction with respect to insolvent debtors and their creditors, or
  - (c) in the exercise of its original jurisdiction in cases withdrawn from other Courts under section 25 of the Code of Civil Procedure, or
  - (d) in the exercise of any other original jurisdiction of a civil nature to which the Chief Court may by rule extend this section,
- shall lie to a bench of the Chief Court consisting of two other Judges of the Chief Court.

SUPERINTENDENCE AND CONTROL OF SUBORDINATE COURTS.

18. The general superintendence and control over all other Civil Courts in Lower Burma shall be vested in, and all such Courts shall be subordinate to, the Chief Court.

GRADES OF CIVIL COURTS.

21. (1) Besides the Chief Court, the Courts of small causes established under the Provincial Small Cause Courts Act, 1887, and the Courts established under any other enactment for the time being in force, there shall be four grades of Civil Courts in Lower Burma, namely :—

- (a) the Divisional Court ;
- (b) the District Court ;
- (c) the Subdivisional Court ; and
- (d) the Township Court.

(2) Every Court mentioned in the list in subsection (1) shall be of a lower grade than the Court mentioned immediately above it, and shall be subordinate to all Courts above it in the said list.

SUPERINTENDENCE AND CONTROL.

22. Subject to the general superintendence and control of the Chief Court, the Divisional Court shall superintend and control all other Courts in the local area within its jurisdiction; and, subject as aforesaid and to the control of the Divisional Court, the District Court shall superintend and control all other Civil Courts in the local area within its jurisdiction.

## RUSSIA'S SPHERE OF INFLUENCE, OR A THOUSAND YEARS OF MANCHURIA.

BY E. H. PARKER.

Now that the Russians have practically taken the three provinces of Manchuria under their political control, it is of interest to consider the ethnology of the country from a historical point of view. From the time of Confucius up to the present day practically one race alone has inhabited the district enclosed by the Ussuri and Sungari Rivers to the north, and the Ever-White Mountains of Corea and watershed of the Liao River to the south. This race is that described by Marco Polo as the Ciorcia, by Persian authors as the Churché, and by the Chinese and Cathayans as Sushen, Luchen, Juchen, Chulichen, Chushen, Nüchen, and Juchih; until, in our own day, we find the Manchus, on the authority of their best Emperor, K'ien-lung, deriving their own name *Manchu* from the name of the district *Chushen*, where they first began to feel their own power. The Russian author Hyacinth thinks them to have been originally of one race with the Coreans, who certainly can be traced up as far north as the modern K'ai-yuan, the old F'u-yu, whence the ancestors of at least some of the Coreans gradually migrated south; but, if ever there was a close ethnological connection, all trace of it had disappeared before historical times, and the Manchu races never got far into that part of South Manchuria (or Shingking), west of the river Liao, until 900 years ago.

Of the early history of these tribes, whose home practically corresponded with the modern province of Kirin, it is not proposed to treat here; nor is it intended to deal more than casually with the present ruling race in possession of China. It will be sufficient for the purposes of this paper to state that, from B.C. 500 to A.D. 1000, enough is known from original Chinese history, and has been translated and published, to make it quite certain that this one race, gradually

advancing from utter barbarism to civilization, has an unbroken and continuous history, and has remained in one definite main place ; whilst, of course, from the Manchu conquest, 250 years ago, down to A.D. 1900, there is no question of Manchu identity. But no clear and consecutive account has ever, to my knowledge, yet appeared of the important developments which took place between A.D. 1100 and 1650, and which had for ultimate results at about those respective dates the setting upon the Chinese throne of two powerful military dynasties as closely allied in origin at least as are the Low Germans and the Dutch ; and it is to attempt such an account, making use of as few strange names as possible, that I now take up the pen.

From A.D. 900 to 1100 China, north of the Tientsin River valley, was politically in the powerful hands of a Tungusic race known to the Chinese as Kitan, and in nomadic habit much more Mongol than Manchu ; hence, as the true Chinese never regained political possession of this North China region until 1368, we find the Kataia of Marco Polo spoken of by him as though it were inhabited by a race different from the closely kindred people of South China. In the same way we find the Russians, who as imperial body-guards were numerous in North China during the thirteenth century, only knew of the Chinese Empire as Kitai, which to this day is still their sole name for it, and was derived from the Mongol word *K'itat*, still the Russian for "Chinaman." Well, these Kitan or Cathayans had a considerable influence over the vast area occupied by the various Turko-Tibetan tribes to the north and west, as far as the 50th parallel and the 100th meridian, and also upon the purely Chinese Empire to their south, neither of which regions, however, concerns our present purpose. Corea also recognised their suzerainty ; and even Persia, Khoten, and the Caliphs of Baghdad sent one or two missions apiece. The centre of Cathayan power is easily understood by taking a glance at any good map. It was simply the Upper Liao River, or Shira Muren

Valley, westwards from K'ai-yüan, including the valleys of all such tributaries as the Loha, Inkini, Kara Muren, etc., and as much south of the main stream as extends to the Great Wall. Later, it embraced the Peking plain south of the Wall, with as much land north of it as reaches to the rivers Kalka, Lower Nun, and Toro, and even to Hurun Pir. All their belongings west and south of this limited area were either semi-independent vassal states, or temporary encroachments upon Turkish, Tibetan, or Chinese earlier rights. One of the least vassal of these tribes is in Cathayan history actually styled *Mung-ku* or *Mongol*, and even some centuries before that the Mung-u of the Kerulon are spoken of in the T'ang History. The Cathayans had to their north and east the various Churché or Manchu tribes as above described, lying between themselves and Corea; and also some unidentified tribes akin to themselves, but not in close political union. The southern or more civilized half of the Blackwaters, Churchés, or Manchus, had for two centuries past (700 to 900)—taking advantage of Corean disintegration—governed a very extensive semi-independent kingdom, called Bohai, meaning "Sea of Liao-tung," and roughly corresponding to the southern half of Kirin (Central Manchuria) as far west as K'ai-yüan and the Sungari, and the northern half of Shingking (Southern Manchuria) as far west as K'ai-yüan and the Liao River; thence eastwards to the Pacific; but the Cathayans, after becoming a great power, soon conquered this kingdom, and reduced it to the status of a subordinate viceroyalty. However, the inhabitants, having been ruled for two centuries by a dynasty of Corean-Chinese adventurers, had already become almost like Chinese. It is here that our present history begins. The northern and illiterate branch of the Manchus occupied the valleys of the Hurka, Altchuk, Larin, and Sungari, all which rivers were then known by almost exactly the same names as now. In fact, the Hurka is mentioned in Bohai history too, and gave its name to their later "upper capital," the modern Ninguta,



the earlier one having been much farther to the south-west. The central part of the Sungari, from Kirin to Petuna, was christened by the Cathayans *Hun-t'ung*, which is stated to mean "Blackwater" in their language, and by this name it is still known: from Petuna, where it turns north-west, it was sometimes called *Hun-t'ung* and sometimes "Black Dragon." There are other *Kara-nuren* and *Kara-su* or "Blackwaters" in Mongolia, and the Amur is always called Hehlung, or "Black Dragon." Hence the middle part of the Sungari is often confused with its upper and lower stretches. In any case, the northern Manchus had for many centuries been known as "Blackwaters" before their alternative name of Nuchen or Juchen—first mentioned in the seventh century—came into general use in the tenth. The Cathayans divided the northern Manchus— that is, the Juchen or Blackwaters, as distinguished from the Bohai— into the "ripe" and the "raw," accordingly as they were registered and enrolled Cathayan subjects, or entirely under their own chiefs; and during the eleventh century they directed that the term Juchih should replace that of Juchen, as the syllable *chen* had become an imperial *tabu*. Hence I am disposed to conjecture that the final *n* in "Kitan" and "Nuchên" must be simply a sign of the plural; or possibly it may be the final *t* that marks the plural.

Amongst the Manchu tribes on the Korean frontier was one called Wanyen, which word was said to have the same meaning as the Chinese word *wang*, a "king," or "royal," and may possibly be a corruption of it. (In modern Korean the nominative case of the same Chinese word becomes *wangi*.) At that time the old Korean state of Kokorai, broken up by Chinese invasions, had given place to one called Shinra, separated by the Ever-White Mountains from Bohai; and the new state of Korai had not yet been founded. Hence, when we are told that "a Shinra man named Hanpu; or Khanfu, came from Corea and was allowed to take up his residence with the Wanyen tribe, although his elder brother Akunai preferred to remain in Corea," we shall be prob-

ably correct in assuming that one of the Manchus settled in that border region which once had been and which soon was again to be called Corea, had decided to rejoin a border Manchu tribe now more or less independent of both Corea (Shinra) and Bohai (conquered by the Cathayans). After a period of test residence, during which Hanpu, a man of noble figure, did good service in assuaging tribal quarrels, the Wanyen tribe gave him a wife, and permanent social admittance into the clan. Amongst other things, Hanpu introduced a system of *weregild*, paid in slaves and cattle, in place of continual brawls and feuds. The wife in question was a fairly old woman, and apparently only grudgingly given; but none the less she bore him two sons and a daughter. The grandson of Olu the eldest son migrated further north, and took up his residence on the Anch'uhu River, where for the first time he introduced ideas of settled homes into the minds of the rude tribe. This river is easily proved to be the Altchuk of to-day, and the tribal name appears as far back as the fifth century in the form Anch'eku, and again in the eighth century as Ankuku. It means "golden," and in its Chinese form *K'in-yuan* ("gold-source," or "source of the Altchuk") gives official name to the Kin dynasty of Nuchens or Early Manchus, who drove out the Cathayans, and were in turn driven out over a century later by Genghiz and Ogdai Khans, of the Mongol horde. No dates are given for the four reigns from Hanpu to his great grandson, but it is easy to see that they must cover the tenth century.

The next, or fifth chief, received from the Cathayans the gubernatorial title of *tiyin* or *tehiyan*; but it is distinctly stated that the Juchen or Nuchens had then no calendar or exact dates, no letters of any kind, and no organized official hierarchy. The sixth chief, Ukunai, or Hulai, was born in 1021—our first definite date—and performed valuable services for his masters the Cathayans by keeping in order the recalcitrant tribes near and beyond the modern Sansing, then called "Five State Town": the names of these five

Lower Amur states are known, but shed no light. For this he was rewarded with the Chinese title (the Cathayans having already adopted many Chinese ways) of "Commander-in-chief over the Raw Nüchens"; but his policy always was to avoid "registration;" to keep the Cathayans at arm's length by preventing them from exercising any direct influence to his north-east; and to force them to act in their relations with the "Five States" through his mediative agency. He died in 1074. His son Heli (or Helipo) during a nineteen years' reign carried strictly out a similar jealous policy, but at the same time on various occasions rendered valuable aid to the Cathayans, whose principal interest in the Lower Amur and coast region was to secure from the more uncivilized Tungusic tribes a steady supply of hawks and falcons for purposes of sport. Notwithstanding this loyal and politic external behaviour, the Nüchens secretly longed to shake themselves free of the Cathayan yoke, and accordingly on his death-bed Heli solemnly said: "My second son Akuta is the only man capable of settling once for all this Cathayan question." Akuta (or Akutañ) was then (1091) twenty-three years of age, and two brothers besides their nephew the eldest son of Heli had, in pursuance of previous arrangements, to reign before he got his chance. Meanwhile there were the usual difficulties with greedy and overbearing Cathayan taxmasters, or special hawk commissioners; but all throughout this critical period the diplomatic Nüchen rulers succeeded in "fooling" their masters by pleading that "we only can keep the further tribes in order if you leave us a free hand; any direct interference of yours may lead to a rising and a massacre." The modern Manchus have inherited this capacity to play a waiting game. Now for the first time communications were opened with the new State of Korai, founded in 908, which must therefore be the approximate date of Hanpu's arrival from Shinra, which name totally disappears by 928. Heli's eldest son Uyashu was the first to establish discipline in the Nüchen armies, which now

were the proud possessors of a thousand cuirasses, given to them, as a reward for services, by the Cathayans. The refusal of the Cathayans to surrender a Nüchen deserter named Asu had already caused the nascent germs of ill-feeling to grow apace, so that when Akuta or Ogudā succeeded his cousin in 1113, everything was ripe for a revolt, which at last broke out in active form at a fishing *durbar* held by the Cathayan Emperor on the Sungari.

All Nüchen officials were styled *pekire*, or *pögile*, with various other prefixes to denote rank. Thus, the *kulun pekire* is easily identified with the modern Manchu *kurun peile*, or "royal duke," it having evidently been the practice in Nüchen-Manchu, as in the Mongol word "Mongol" or "Moal," to slur over the medial guttural. (The Mongol historian who compiled Nüchen history is styled both Tucta and Tuta, or Toto.) Accordingly, when Akuta succeeded to the throne, his native title was *tu*, or "chief," *pekire*. His first step was to gain over to his cause the "registered" Nüchens living along the right bank of that part of the Sungari (near modern Kirin City) which was under direct Cathayan control. The next thing was to persuade the partly Chinesified natives of the Bohai viceroyalty, which, as above explained, had once been almost a genuine Manchu kingdom, that they originally belonged to the same race as himself, and then to assemble his combined forces upon the River Larin, where he gained his first victory. He now crossed the Sungari. A great battle was fought on another and southern or left bank tributary of the Sungari (not identified) called the Ya-tsz, or "Duck," River, when over 100,000 Cathayans were routed. The modern Mukden, Liao-yang, etc., fell one after the other. At the advice of his cousin Sakai, and of his own brother Ukimai, Akuta now assumed the imperial title, and consequently his official reign begins in 1117, though some authorities advance it to 1115. He had marched (they say) against the Cathayan imperial city of Hwang-lung Fu, the site of which (having in 1020 been moved north-east from its

original site, modern K'ai-yüan) appears to have been nearly identical with the place marked on the maps as Ch'ang-ch'un (Kwan-ch'êng-tsz). One of his grievances was that this city "ought to be moved back" to its former site. The Cathayans were defeated in a second great battle fought at a place a little north-east of the present Kirin, and as one of the results a considerable number of agricultural implements fell into Nüchen hands. Ukimai was now made *amban pekire*, or "vizier," to his brother, whilst Sakai received the next highest title of *kurun pekire*. In 1116 Akuta proceeded to the conquest of Liao Tung, or the country "east of the river Liao," in consequence of which Corea grew clamorous for and was accorded certain compensations. The two versions are manifestly the same, except as to the official reign date. In 1119 he concluded an alliance with the Sung dynasty—that is, the purely Chinese dynasty governing that part of China south of the Yellow River—and before three years were out he had at least three of the five Cathayan capitals in his possession, whilst the Cathayan Emperor was in full flight from (modern) Peking. The three capitals in question correspond to the two Chagan Suburgan (lat. 43° and 44° N., long. 118° and 122° W.) and modern Liao-yang. The other two capitals, corresponding to modern Peking and Ta-t'ung Fu, were occupied in 1122. The renegade Asu was also captured. The remains of the Cathayan fighting clans valorously worked their way west as far as Kermané on the Zarafshan River, near Bokhara, and after curious vicissitudes, returning a little towards the east, founded an empire near the old Western Turk encampment of the Issik-kul region, which existed up to the time of Genghis Khan. Hence there is one more good reason why the name of Cathay should have taken so firm a hold upon the Mongol-Russian imagination, as it must have represented to their minds the ruling Chinese race all the way from Persia to Corea, just as in Europe we vaguely regard as "Turks" the Slavs and Greeks of Turkey. The Sung

Empire also demanded compensation for the Nüchen conquests in the shape of the Peking and Ta-t'ung Fu regions ; they received the Peking plain, but in a year or two lost it again.

Akuta died in 1123, at the age of fifty-six, and was succeeded by his younger brother Ukimai. This Emperor reduced to subjection the Tungusic coast tribes in the modern Southern Ussuri province of Russia ; moved large numbers of people from the modern Shan-hai Kwan coast region to populate the modern Mukden ; built a new "upper capital" either at or near the old one on the Altchuk, and instituted an efficient courier service between it and the south. I am inclined to think that at this date the upper capital was moved from the head-waters of the Altchuk to a point on the same river corresponding with the present city of A-jê Ho or Altchuk, which is a Manchu military command at this moment. At first a certain amount of compensation was (as stated above) given to the Sung Empire in return for their alliance ; but soon the allies got to squabbling over their prey ; war was declared, the Yellow River crossed, the capital (modern K'ai-fung Fu) occupied, and the Chinese Emperor taken prisoner, and transported, with several sons and many women, to the Hurka. Ukimai's first idea was to create a buffer State, and to set up first one, then another, creature of his own as puppet Emperor of the region between the Yellow River and the Yangtsze Kiang ; and this "Ts'i" Empire, as the second edition of it was called, together with Corea, Tangut (the Ordos region), and the Ouigours became vassals of the now firmly established "Golden," or Kin, dynasty. Ukimai died in 1135, at the age of sixty-one.

He was succeeded by his nephew Hala, or Khara, who seems to have definitely moved from the old "upper capital" to another apparently lower down the Altchuk, and most probably the newly-built one just mentioned, and the only one officially visited by Chinese envoys in 1125, when they specially mention that all was in disorder and

rebuilding. Khara first drew up a calendar, which, in accordance with precedent, was imposed upon Corea as a vassal state. The capacity of the Nuchens to reform the calendar was derived from their having carried off with the Chinese Emperor all his observatory and instruments. The Ts'i Empire was soon abolished, and Ho Nan (*i.e.*, the land "south of the Yellow River") appropriated. China south of the Yangtsze was given to a scion of the Sung Dynasty released from captivity, who now for the first time began to rule at Hangchow; that is to say, he was officially recognised as Emperor of a region the Nuchens had never entered. This Hangchow is Marco Polo's "Kinsai," *i.e.*, *King-sze*, or "metropolis"; and the reason why he calls the empire "Manzi" is because the Southern Chinese probably did then what they certainly do at this day, *i.e.*, scoffingly call all Tartars (and by extension sometimes even Northern Chinese) by the name *ta-tsz*, whilst the latter in turn call the southerners *man-tsz*; very much as the Americans in a rough popular way divide Northern and Southern Europeans into "Dutchman and Dago," accordingly as they say "ja" or "si" for "yes." From this moment almost to the close of the dynasty, Corea, Tangut, and Sung (after some years of war) were obedient vassals of the Golden Dynasty, which (barring a few visits from the Ouigours) never had foreign relations with any other Power. Even Japan is only once casually mentioned, and that merely in connection with some shipwrecked mariners. Khara, in 1140, found it expedient to confirm in his title the forty-ninth Duke of Confucius, but the Manzi Empire also "ran" a Duke of its own in the south. (See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1897.) Khara unfortunately took to violence and drink, which led to his murder by Tikunai in 1149, at the early age of thirty-one.

Tikunai was grandson of Akuta by the eldest son, and no doubt the murder of his cousin Khara was partly prompted by jealous considerations of seniority. He was

of all Emperors in China "the biggest blackguard on record," according to his own history as compiled by Tucta the Mongol. His whole reign is a sickening story of murder, cruelty, and debauchery. He also was murdered in the end ; this was in 1161, and at the age of forty. Some important things took place in his reign, notwithstanding : the upper capital was razed to the ground, and modern Peking, or a place slightly to the south-west of it (then the southern capital) was made the chief centre of imperial government. There was a Cathayan revolt, apparently in consequence of a natural objection to assist Tikunai in his unjust wars with the Sung Empire. Extensive naval operations were also experimentally undertaken against pirates of the sea-coast.

Ulu was yet another grandson of Akuta, and one of the best rulers China ever had. But some of his measures were too drastic ; for instance, he had a thousand Chinese beggars massacred at Ta-t'ung Fu on the ground of their being a public nuisance. The Cathayan revolt was suppressed, and the Sung Emperor had in future to use his personal name in official communications, call Ulu his uncle, and pay an annual subsidy. In the matter of Corea and Tangut, Ulu behaved very honourably, declining in the case of each country the offer of local traitors to betray those states into his hands. He, like most of the Nuchen Emperors, seems to have heartily despised Buddhism ; and it is remarkable to notice a very large amount of legislation in favour of slaves, whose rights seem to have been steadily defended, not only now, but throughout the Nuchen Dynasty. In spite of his many virtues, Ulu had a decided vein of the old savage Tartar still left in him. Towards the end of his reign he gratified his wish to visit the old capital on the Anch'uhu, which (it is here distinctly stated) he reached four days after fishing in the Hun-t'ung River—that is, either the stretch of the Sungari running from Petuna past Sansing into the Amur, or the stretch between Kirin and Petuna. Corea



and Tangut were dispensed from the laborious duty of paying their respects to him up there; but, fortunately for our knowledge, an earlier envoy from the Chinese Sung Government has left it on record that he travelled 110 li from the (Upper) Sungari to the Larin, and 140 li from the Larin to the upper capital, which enables us to be pretty certain where it was: one mile is three li. Ulu was so pleased with the air and simplicity of the place that he expressed a strong desire to "get drunk and sing native songs," which he accordingly did before an admiring crowd for several days in succession. His son, the regent during his absence, died before he got back to Peking, where Ulu himself died shortly afterwards, at the age of sixty-seven; this was in the year 1189. He had just then finished building one of the temples on the hills to the west of Peking, where in our days the European Ministers and their legations habitually passed the summer, until the very recent discovery of Peitaiho near the Shan-hai Kwan opened out better amenities for them.

Ulu was succeeded by his grandson Matako (called after a mountain of that name where he was born), who is said to have been very learned both in Chinese and Nuchen: he and his grandfather both did a great deal in the way of translating Chinese standard works into their own tongue. His reign was remarkably active, in legislation especially, and he made many wise, economical, social, and sumptuary ordinances, upon which, however, we have not space to dwell here. There was a long war with the Sung Empire, which was brought on entirely by the latter's ambition, and ended in well-merited discomfiture and having to pay an increased subsidy. This Emperor was fond of visiting a picturesque temple at a place twelve miles west of Peking, called then, as now, Yu-ch'uan Shan, and where I spent several months during the summer of 1869. He died in 1208, at the age of forty-one.

The next Emperor, son of Ulu, is usually known as the "Prince Successor of Wei," but hardly counts as a proper

ancestral monarch at all ; nor has he, so far as my researches go, any ascertainable Nuchen name. He managed to struggle to the throne through an orgy of murders, frauds, and forced abortions. He was no sooner there than he found himself confronted by simultaneous invasions from Tangut and Genghis Khan. The history of the latter important event is shortly this: Yun-tsi (for that is the Chinese name of the Prince of Wei) had been sent by Matako to collect the annual tribute due from Genghis, who at that time, in common with the Tatars (as the Mongol history calls them), Keraites (Marco Polo's Prester John), Merkits, and other kindred tribes, were vassals of the Golden Dynasty, as they once had been of the Cathayans. Genghis declined to perform the *kotow* to Matako's envoy, who, on shortly afterwards becoming Emperor himself, lost no time in sending word to Genghis that he must in future kneel before the imperial mandate. Genghis asked: "Who is your new Emperor?" The envoy replied "The Prince of Wei." Genghis then faced south, and, spitting in that direction, said "I thought the Emperors of China were always men from heaven, can an imbecile like that fellow be one of them? Why should I kneel to him?" And he rode off, leaving the envoy where he was. Of course war immediately followed, and the Mongols, who were now in turn as fresh compared with the degenerate Nuchens as the latter had been a century earlier compared with the degenerate Kitans, soon had possession of Ta-t'ung Fu, Peking, and Liao-yang (the east capital). Matters were made worse for the Nuchens by the rebellion of Tangut and the Cathayans; and, finally, Yun-tsi was assassinated by a eunuch (1213).

Matako's son Utupu was the next Emperor; but the records from this date all perished during the bloody wars of Genghis' and Ogdoi's conquests; it was only in 1262 that Kublai Khan had recourse for purposes of history to the memory of an old man, supplemented by such disjointed facts as could be gleaned from various odd docu-

ments which had escaped destruction. Utupu had to transfer the seat of his government to the "southern capital" of modern K'ai-fung Fu in Ho Nan, to which place larger numbers of the Peking people followed him. For ten years the Nuchens held out bravely against the combined attacks of Genghis, the Tanguts, and the Sung. In vain Utupu upbraided his former vassals with their cowardice and ingratitude, warning them that the Mongols would be certain, after destroying him, to turn next upon them. Utupu died "game" in 1223, at the age of sixty-one, resisting to the last.

He was succeeded by his son Nungiasu, from whom the foolish Tanguts wrested the privilege of having their own calendar, and of being "younger brother" instead of "vassal"; but Genghis had already taken their capital in 1218, and in 1227 they collapsed altogether. Corea alone remained faithful, as she has invariably done to all expiring Chinese dynasties. (See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, October, 1896.) The cowardly Chinese of the Sung Empire, when appealed to for supplies of grain, not only refused assistance to the Nuchens, but supplied it to the Mongols, whose general, Subudai the Uriangkit, took the southern capital in 1233. Early in 1234 Nungiasu abdicated to a relative of his, on the ground that he himself was "too fat" to cope with the situation, and then committed suicide. The relative in question was almost immediately murdered by the excited soldiery; and thus ends the Golden Dynasty of the earlier Manchus or Nuchens, of which very little is at present known by Europeans, owing to the Chinese regarding it as an irregular power—much as the Romans regarded the Alarics, Theodorics, and other part-conquerors of their realm—and almost ignoring its history.

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The habits of the Nuchens up to A.D. 1000 differed in few respects from those of the ancient tribes from which they are clearly proved to descend. During the summer they,

moved about as their animals ate up the grass; in the winter they lived in holes or caves, roofed in with mud, along the river-banks; it was only when the fourth chief moved to the Anch'uhu that *nakoli*, or "houses," were instituted. The Tunguses alone of all Tartar tribes seem to have reared pigs on a wholesale scale; but the Nüchen Tunguses were not *kumiss* drinkers, nor true nomads like the Turks, and even like the Tungusic Sienpi (ancient Kitan) races. They had no knowledge of smelting, and were willing to pay fabulous prices for iron. It was the custom for sons to move into a separate dwelling on attaining manhood. Hence probably the migration to the Anch'uhu. From stray allusions in Chinese history, it appears certain that the pigtail was worn by them then as it is by the Manchus now; and, like the Cathayans, they wore an apron-like garment akin to our modern "combinations"; marriage by capture seems to have prevailed: in fact, the Emperor Ulu prohibited its continuance in the Bohai region. Another custom borrowed from the Cathayans was the "shooting of willows" on certain solemn occasions during the summer and autumn, evidently connected with the old Sienpi ceremony of riding round a coppice, or round a bunch of willow-twigs. This practice usually accompanied the worship of heaven, the execution of prisoners, obeisance to the sun, and so on. An oblation of white (? pure) water was made before marching forth on military expeditions—perhaps the same idea as Genghis Khan's "drinking the waters of the River Panchul" with his allies; and oaths of fealty were taken in front of a stake: "If I prove false, may my body lie under this stake." For provisions the flying columns carried parched flour for mixing with water. The military system had attained great perfection when the career of conquest began: "their tactics were almost supernatural"; and every man, a hunter in times of peace, was a warrior at immediate call. The modern Manchu "banner" organization was practically in force, for the *mingan* consisted of 1,000

families, and the *men-k* (the Chinese form of a Solon word) of 100. For a time both Cathayans and a limited number of Chinese were organized into *mingan* and *menk*, just as the later Manchus organized the Mongols and a limited number of Chinese into "banners"; and synchronously with these changes the *mingan* and *menk* varied in numerical strength. But this organization was always kept quite separate from the "ordinary," or Chinese, administration. After their rebellion in 1161 the Cathayan *mingans* seem to have been broken up, and the people of that nation were distributed over various districts so as to weaken their power; hence, probably, why the Solons of the Amur come to be the ancestors of the *Kitans*.

It was not until 1123 that the second Emperor, Ukimai, imitating the Cathayans, "put on the purple"—or perhaps "scarlet"; his system of government was organized in 1133. In 1139 Khara first wore, or insisted upon the use of, Court clothes; and already in the time of Ulu strenuous efforts had to be made to prevent Chinese degeneration from sapping Nuchen virility; it was in Ulu's and Matako's time that most of the general legislation took place. As financiers the Nuchens are respectfully spoken of, and considering that the Mongol historians lost no opportunity of sneering at them, it is plain that at first their government must have been tolerably good, as nothing is urged against it. In 1154 bank-notes were introduced. Towards the end taxation became harassing and tyrannical. Nearly all the Emperors were free from Buddhist weakness, and there is scarcely any mention of religion at all, except in the direction of restricting the numbers of temples and priests. There was some difficulty in reconciling Tartar and Chinese customs in mixed cases; but on the whole the law was liberal and equal, the sole privilege reserved for Nuchens being that Nuchen custom should prevail where Nuchens were parties to a cause. The circuit judges were provided with Chinese, Nuchen, and Cathayan secretaries. Chinese ideas upon surnames, marriage, and exogamy gave some difficulty, but at last

even frontier tribes had to refrain from marrying into the same clan name from the date of their submission to the Golden Dynasty. At first the Nüchens had no ancestral worship, having evidently imbibed their ideas on this subject from the Chinese. Nüchens were on several occasions prohibited by ordinance from using Chinese surnames or translating their own into Chinese ; in fact, like the Manchus, they had to keep up a perpetual struggle against the effeminate habits which insidiously enveloped them in China. It is nowhere stated that, as with all true nomad Tartars, wives were passed on from father to son and from brother to brother ; but in 1168 it was ordained that " Chinese widows or Bohai widows of brothers should be allowed to return to their parents and remarry," which looks as though the Nuchens were once in the habit of passing on wives like the Turks, Mongols, and Cathayans (or at least like the Sienpi, who were the Cathayan ancestors) ; but waived this custom in favour of true Chinese and bastard Nuchens. In 1129 step-brothers and step-sisters, whether paternal or maternal, were forbidden to intermarry.

The Nüchens were great sportsmen ; after 1129 there was an annual ceremony at the beginning of the new year of presenting the " first goose " shot as an offering to the ancestral temple ; apparently the idea was taken from the Cathayans, who used also to celebrate the catching of the " first fish " from the Sungari : it was Akuta's sullen refusal to dance on this occasion that forced the Cathayan Emperor to definitely suspect his loyalty ; and one Cathayan Emperor made the Ouigour envoys do so. It will be recollected that the early Dutchmen were compelled to dance in this way before the Shogun of Japan. In 1189 " trapping, netting, and wholesale hawking " were prohibited, " in order to keep up the science of archery " ; hawking, especially, was a favourite pastime, and the *hai-tung-ch'ing* from the Corean coasts and the Southern Ussuri province are frequently mentioned in all Tartar histories. The word Nüchen, or Churché, is said to mean (? in what language) *hai-si*, or

"sea-west"; *hai-tung* means "sea-east"; unfortunately, the word "sea" is often vaguely used in China in the sense of "desert" and "river"; moreover, the modern Manchu word for "sea" appears to be *mederin*, whilst the Nüchen word was *telin* (written in Chinese); so that we cannot extract philological matter hence. The *ch'ing* were the gray variety, but there were also *hai-tung-poh*, or "white." Both belonged to the *huh*, or *falconidae*. Ball-playing was popular at Court; there are indications that one form of it was simply *polo*, as horses were used.

There are numerous indications that the Nüchens were politically almost Anglo-Saxon in their independent simplicity. Besides their generous and almost equal treatment of Cathayans and Chinese, and their frequent legislation in favour of women and slaves, we have the positive statement that their primitive laws were destitute of complication or privilege. The punishments were the birch-rod, confiscation, and battering out the brains; and their prisons were underground pits; and apparently most penalties could be ransomed; but whether this was before or after Hanpu introduced *weregild* I cannot say. There was a form of salute called *sasu*, said to mean "hand-wagging," which suggests our hand-shaking—a ceremony unknown to the Chinese.

A great deal has been written about the Nüchen form of writing, which so far has resisted all attempts to decipher it consecutively and grammatically. The celebrated inscription in the Nankow Pass near Peking, published in Colonel Yule's *Marco Polo*, has now been proved by Dr. S. W. Bushell, of Peking, and by the late M. Gabriel Devéria to be Tangut, and not Nüchen. Mr. Pozdneyev, in a Russian work on Manchuria, mentions a Nüchen inscription at Tır, near the mouth of the Amur; but I am not aware that it has been actually proved to be such. Even the inscription of Salican (*Journ. R. As. Soc.*, 1870), described by Mr. Wylie, may turn out to be Cathayan, for I find on referring in Nüchen history to Salican's biography,

that he lost his life in consequence of an enemy having addressed to him a secret political letter written in the "smaller Cathayan character," with a view to encompassing his destruction. But as Nuchen is officially stated to be based on Cathayan, it is not impossible that Salican knew both. In 1887 Dr. Hirth (now in Munich) discovered a Chinese key to the Nuchen script; but whether the Berlin authorities, in whose possession I believe it now is, have utilized it in order to elucidate all the points raised by M. Devéria (*Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, 1882) I do not know. I learn, however, from M. Chavannes that M. Grube has ascertained from a study of that key that another inscription, known as that of Yen-t'ai, is undoubtedly Nuchen. This much is quite certain: the Annamese, Tanguts, Cathayans, and Nuchens all constructed for themselves syllabaries formed by the comparatively simple process of grouping together in an incongruous way the strokes or halves of Chinese characters. With Annamese this is quite easy, for the language consists of monosyllabic and tonal roots like Chinese; but, as at least two of the other three languages mentioned are agglutinative, purely phonetic signs had to be devised for prefixes and terminations, as well as ideographs for root-meanings or roots. No doubt in connection with or in continuation of the same inventions it was that, for sesquipedalian languages like Korean and Japanese, systems of a more purely syllabic, not to say alphabetical nature, were evolved from the same mutilated Chinese materials, eked out with ideas derived from Sanskrit or Pali priests, who wandered all over China at that time. The story of Nuchen script, as I gather it from Nuchen history, is as follows: In the year 1119 was issued to the public the Nuchen form of script invented by Wanyen Hiyin, and in 1125 one Yelu was ordered up to the capital to teach it. In 1138 the Emperor Khara himself invented a new form of Nuchen, called the "small" (or short-hand) character; it was ordained that Cathayans, Nuchens, and Chinese should each use their own writing,



and that the Bohai people were to count for this purpose as Chinese. In 1145 the first official use of these small characters was made, and in 1183 a considerable number of Chinese classical books, histories, etc., were published in Nüchen; a little later all hereditary *mingans* and *meuks* had to be able to read Nüchen before succeeding to their commands; in 1188 a Nüchen college was established; it is distinctly stated, however, that the Emperor Matakō was the only one of the Nüchen princes who ever became a really competent scholar in his own language. In 1191 the Cathayan written character was abolished, but Chinese and Nüchen law-clerks still accompanied each circuit judge. In 1194 Yelu Kushen's memory was honoured with a temple at the upper capital because (like the semi-mythical Ts'ang Kieh, it is at the same time stated, who was similarly honoured for inventing Chinese) he "first made the Nüchen script."

Now Yelu, Yelu Kushen, and Wanyen Hi-yin, are manifestly one and the same man, for in Wanyen's biography it is stated that his "old name" was Kushen. He was the son of one Hwantu, and his great-grandfather had been an intimate and fellow-villager of the fifth Nüchen chief, who, as we have seen, was a Cathayan *tiyin*, or "governor," and would therefore be a man of some ideas and instruction. Yelü was the surname of the Cathayan royal house, and it would be quite customary to "present the royal surname" to a prominent man, who, being of the royal Nüchen Wanyen tribe, as his name shows, would naturally revert to his own surname when the Nüchens overturned the Cathayans. Yelü scarcely differs in sound from Yelü. Wanyen Hi-yin was present at the taking of Peking, and his name is mentioned later on in connection with Kara-Cathayan and Tangut plots. It is said in his biography that Khara was jealous of him, and that, having been degraded in 1139, he was "allowed to commit suicide" by the same Khara. Khara is stated to have been jealous because he had no son of his own; it might have been literary jealousy, too.

There were a great many shiftings about of populations during the early part of the Nüchen dynasty. Useful Chinese, such as artisans and scribes, were moved up to the upper capital on a wholesale scale, and Nuchens from the unproductive lands of the Altchuk Valley were sent westward to cultivate parts of the old Cathayan metropolitan circuit—what is now the modern Korchin Mongol reserve ; the Salican above mentioned was one of the few who successfully resisted this forced emigration from his ancestral river. There are no details of population until 1183, when it was found that there were 615,624 households of 6,158,636 souls (one quarter slaves), under 202 *mingans* and 1,878 *meuks*, cultivating 1,690,380 *k'ing*—say 26,000,000 acres—of land, and owning 285,000 cattle. In 1190 there were 6,939,000 households of 45,447,900 souls in the whole empire (apparently inclusive of *mingans* and *meuks*), which then extended to the river Hwai, and included Shen Si, Shan Si, Shan Tung, Ho Nan, and even part of Kiang Su. By 1195 these figures had gone up to 7,223,400 and 48,490,400 respectively. This is a very high figure indeed for so limited an area; but even in Nuchen times the Mongol wars had considerably reduced this, and in 1274, under Kublai Khan, there was only one third or a quarter of that population in the same area. The Nuchens had half a dozen different classes of householders : the “proper” were genuine Nuchens ; the “mixed” were Cathayans and Chinese. The other classes are not clearly defined, but they point to a probable discrimination between soldiers, scholars, colonists, occupiers of tents, slaves, etc. In 1193 there were 11,495 officials in the Nuchen Empire, 6,790 being Chinese, and 4,705 Nuchens ; no Kitans.

Mr. Pozdneyev is in error when he says that the Mongol history makes no mention of Northern Manchuria. During the Mongol Dynasty (1234-1368) scarcely a year passes without some mention of the Nüchens, who are throughout in most cases mentioned with the “Water Tatas ;” these appear to have been the descendants of those “Black-

waters" north of the Hun-t'ung (Dr. Bretschneider thinks perhaps the "Su Moals" or "Water Mongols" of Rubruquis are meant). In 1283 both branches of this Tungusic race were placed under the provincial government of Liao Tung-Hai Si. Those Nüchens born in the north-west and ignorant of Chinese were treated as Mongols, the rest as Chinese—so far as holding office went. They took an important part in the disastrous invasion of Japan under Hung San-K'iu (Marco Polo's Von-sani-cin). The modern Mukden was part of Nayen's appanage: Kublai had to march in person against this Prince, as correctly stated by Marco Polo, whose "Barscol" may possibly be Bars-koto on the Kerulun, and perhaps the *kotun* city of Cathayan history, which was certainly situated about there. In 1697 the Manchus mention a place called Pa-r-s-ku-r, near Hami; but Nayen's appanage hardly went so far west. There were "dog-posts" on the Sungari-Amur roads under an official called the *tucta-khasun*; but nothing is said of such in Nüchen times, though the Nüchens often brought dogs to Cathay as tribute. The dogs in Mongol times were fed on fish. After 1330 the word Nüchen does not occur, but a tribe called the "Ushe Wild Men" are mentioned with the Water Tartars as being in joint revolt. Both in Cathayan and Nüchen history this tribe is frequently mentioned under the same name, or as "Uje" or "Uzhe," and their habitat seems to have been west of modern Ninguta. In 1355 a decachiliarch was placed over the "Wushe" Wild Men, with residence at Harfen. This is probably the Harpin of to-day, one of the railway-stations on the Russo-Kirin-Tsitsihar line, where it is joined by the Vladivostock branch. The word also seems to occur in Nüchen history in the form Holipin-te, said to be on the north border.

During the Ming Dynasty, 1368-1644, there does not seem to be a single instance where either Nüchen or Water Tartars are even so much as named as individual peoples. But in 1387 a decachiliarch of the Uche, Nüchen, and

Kilimi was established, with residence west of K'ai-yüan city. In this Government was a Kin-shui Ho, or "Gold-water River," running north into the Sung-hwa Kiang—manifestly the Altchuk running into the Sungari. The word Kilimi also occurs in Nüchen history as the name of a tribe to their extreme east. Mr. Pozdneyev speaks of an ancient fortification near Mergen called *Urkho-Kherim* by the natives, and this might have something to do with the *Kilimi* in question: possibly the Cherim Mongols of to-day: but the direction given is rather wrong. During the Ming founder's long reign even Peking was the appanage of his son, and scarcely yet formed part of the organized empire—*à fortiori* places north of it. That son conducted several campaigns into the "Uliangha" country, which was divided into three military circuits, possibly co-extensive with the decachiliarch's three tribes. As the natives of those military districts were allowed to come and sell horses at K'ai-yüan and Kwang-ning, which places still exist under those names, and as a portion of those natives are called "Hai-si," it is evident that some, at least, were Nüchens, and lived in Central Manchuria or Kirin. Moreover, in 1486, natives of the same three districts were allowed to take refuge in Liao Tung from revolters, so that probably all three were well north of the Liao Valley. During the next 150 years the same tribes made frequent raids upon Kwang-ning and Liao Tung, and in 1606, after one such raid, we are suddenly told that "all the Kalka Mongols joined the Manchus;" so that it is evident there must have been some connection between these natives and the Manchus. As the Manchus edited the Ming history, of course they would not dwell too much therein upon their own humble origin. As to the word Uliangha, the Mongols in the dynasty previous to the Ming always use it in the sense of a Mongol tribe; for instance, the great conqueror Subudai above mentioned, who, besides beating the Nüchens, assisted in the conquest of Russia, was, as also, of course, his son Ulianghadai (=man of Uliangha),

who served in Burma, a native of that tribe. Even the Persian author Rashid (according to Dr. Bretschneider) mentions Subudai as an "Uriangkhit." It is difficult to explain why the name of a Mongol tribe should be thus apparently transferred to the whole people of Manchuria, except on the hypothesis that, as we have seen, those Nüchens who were ignorant of Chinese ways were assimilated to Mongols; and perhaps the Uliangha tribe was preëminent there when the Mings drove the Mongols from China. It is a curious fact that the modern Coreans have a word *Orangk'ai*, meaning (so far as I could ascertain when in Corea) "foreigners," but only those to their north in Chinese territory. Both the Kitan and the Nüchen histories mention a Wolangkai tribe bringing tribute of deer and dogs. Finally, amongst the five Nüchen tribes the Mongol history enumerates Wotolin; and Manchu history says that the first ancestor of whom they have any record—Nurhachi, born in 1559—came from Otol, which was between Ninguta and Kirin, on the head-waters of the Hurka River.

To come now to the present dynasty. Its originator, Nurhachi, only gradually discovered, after conquering the tribes around him, that they practically all spoke one and the same language, or dialects of it. Among those tribes he mentions the Noyin, Wanyen, Hurka, Tung-hai, Wochi, and Khuifa, the last five all mentioned in Nüchen history, the last one in Kitan history, and the first is perhaps one of Nayan's old districts. Wochi is plainly Uje, Uche, or Ushe. Whilst a mere chieftain, we find Nurhachi descanting upon the virtues of Ulu and the vices of Tikunai, so that he must even then have had some knowledge of Nüchen history; in 1619 his state was bounded by Corea, the river Nun (Petuna), the Korchin Mongols, and then eastwards over Hai-si—the old name once more; his title was (not *Khagan*, but) *Khan*, which is a very old Sienpi word. His successor, Abkhai, the same year making a raid near Peking, sent an officer named Sakhalien (also a

Nüchen name) to sacrifice at the tombs of Akuta and Ulu, which lay six miles outside the north gate of Fang-shan city, south-west of Peking. But the following statements made by him are particularly interesting: "I am not the lineal descendant of the Golden Dynasty, any more than the Chinese dynasty of Ming is the lineal descendant of Chinese Sung. In both cases *tempora mutantur, nos et mutamur in illis*. Our state originally consisted of the Manchus, Khuifas, etc., which the ignorant call Chushen; but the descendants of the true Chushen lie towards Mergen, and have no concern with us. Henceforth simply say *Manchu*." (It must be remarked, however, that the highly-educated Emperor K'ien-lung a century later says: "We Manchus are the Gold Source" (*i.e.*, the Nüchens), "and the land we administered when our state began was called Chushen.") In 1642 Abkhai said: "I now possess all the Golden Dynasty possessed" (plainly meaning "before they took Peking"). In 1644 Peking was taken, and his son was the first Manchu Emperor of China. One of the very first things the new Emperor did was to send to Fang-shan to find out exactly where the two graves were. He and his successor K'ang-hi repeatedly repaired the tombs, the roads to them, etc., and offered sacrifices to the *manes*. In 1747 the Emperor K'ien-lung said: "In the last chapter of the Golden Dynasty History, which discourses upon native Nüchen words, there are many absurd errors, owing to the Mongol author Tucta having recklessly copied in Chinese character things he did not in the least understand. He failed to see that all he had to do as a historian was to give the mere *sounds* of original Nüchen words as closely as possible, and not to trouble himself to fit them with Chinese characters, of this or that supposed suitable meaning. The true significance of their titles and personal names can only be seen after a comparison with Manchu words having the same meaning. I have directed that all future editions shall be corrected by the Premier Nochin, with Manchu words alongside, as

arranged under my direction. Shopkeepers are, notwithstanding, still allowed to sell off existing stocks if they choose, if only as literary curiosities." The list of words is quite a long one ; but the Emperor, who was an efficient Mongol and Tibetan scholar, and very fond of dabbling in philology, shows that many of them were not Nüchen at all, but either Mongol or Solon. Among the words which I myself know to be original or borrowed Manchu, though I am ignorant of the language, he gives the following : *peile*, *kurun*, *ilan* (three), *mingan*, *ordo* (government office), *fiyanku* (younger), *uyun* (nine), *sakhalien* (black), *uju* (first, or head), *aisin* (gold=*anch'un*). He enumerates among the Solon words apparently borrowed by the Nuchens from the Cathayans *meuk*, "a village," and identifies the modern Solons (still China's best warriors) with the ancient ruling caste of Kitans. Akuta's title of *tu-pekire*, or "high duke," was also partly borrowed, *tu* being a Solon word meaning "high," and *pekire* the Manchu title (still in use) of *peile*.

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Russian influence has so far avoided Cathayan or modern Mongol territory. The railway runs from Port Arthur through Newchwang, Liao-yang, Mukden, K'ai-yuan—following, in fact, the old post-road—up to Mergen. A branch will doubtless pass through Ninguta from Vladivostock, and join the main line at Harpin east of Petuna. The Russians, in fact, stand exactly in the shoes of the conquering Nüchens and Manchus, and at this moment have more troops under their command at Port Arthur than either of those two peoples ever had at Kwang-ning. The modern Manchus stand in the shoes of the degenerate Nüchens of Genghis' time. Corea has never been able to resist any imperial dynasty established in South Manchuria, and (unsupported) could scarcely resist Russia to any effect. The one essential point which is necessary for the complete success of Russian "designs" on China (assuming, which I by no means do, that such are entertained) is the Shan-hai Kwan, where the Manchus have the good sense to keep their best forces, and through

which runs the "English" railway. From the Boer War the Chinese ought to learn the efficacy of entrenchments and repeating Mausers, and their *ma-tsei* or "horse bandits" of Manchuria might be turned into very useful "Boers."

P.S.—I beg to refer readers to the excellent Russian map published by the Ministry of Finance a year or two ago, with a copy of which Mr. Pozdneyev kindly furnished me. The Chinese Envoy who in 1125 proceeded by way of modern Peking to Altchuk, in order to congratulate the Nûchen Emperor Ukimai upon his accession, followed the line of the new "English" railway past the Shan-hai Kwan to Mukden, and the following three places named by that envoy are actually marked as existing names on the modern English map (sold in London) recently issued by Mr. Waeber, formerly Russian Minister in Corea :

1. Chwang-wang Tien (26 miles south of next).
2. Old Yu-kwan (35 miles south of the Shan-hai).
3. T'ao-hwa Tao (120 miles further north-east ; an island).

The envoy passed also through Hien Chou (the old name of Kwang-ning).

Shên Chou (the old name of Mukden).

From Mukden to Altchuk he followed the new Russian railway, and actually names P'u-ho, thirty-three miles from Mukden, which is on Mr. Waeber's modern map ; and proceeded thence through T'ieh-ling, K'ai-yûan, Ch'ang-t'u, Fêng-hwa, Ch'ang-ch'un (*alias* Kwan-ch'êng-tsz), across the Sungari and Larin rivers to Shwang-ch'êng ; across the river Altchuk to A-jê Ho, which is the site of the later or lower of the two Upper Capitals : but all these seven names, though identifiable with the envoy's names, are modern. Ch'ang-ch'un, however, was a Nuchên name. The village of Harpin, six miles south of the Sungari after it turns round to the north-east, is, as we have seen, mentioned several times in ancient history : this is where the new line from Vladivostock and Ninguta joins that from Mukden, to proceed in a north-westerly direction across the river Argun to Nertchinsk.



## DIFFICULTIES IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN SETTLEMENT.

BY AFRICANUS SECUNDUS.

THERE have been some obvious sarcasms over disposing of the bear before killing him, but unless we are to assume that a united British Empire is unequal to the task to which it has set itself in South Africa, we need not be deterred, even after the inevitable early British reverses, from the discussion of a question which is really urgent in point of time. It may, however, be admitted that in Natal, at any rate, there has been a little premature eagerness to handle the question of settlement as one of spoils. Sir Hercules Robinson, in the early days of his governorship of the Cape, gave great offence by speaking of the little colony of Natal as having a soul too big for her body. The soul has by no means shrunk with years, and after the certainly valiant aid which Natal has rendered the Empire during this struggle, Natalians may be pardoned if they think that the best way to cure the disparity, which the Cape Governor flung in their faces is to get a little more body. How much is a matter I will deal with at a later stage. The general question of settlement is one that it is not at all premature to discuss in all its bearings, since the close of the war will bring to the front a multitude of questions, personal, financial, and political, which will not wait for settlement. Prompt decisions will have to be given both by the home authorities and by their representatives in South Africa, and upon such decisions will depend to an extent almost unparalleled in history, the peace and well-being of half a continent. Let us at least not be taken blindly by surprise, as we were with the defective range of our artillery in warfare. If our military operations failed at first from lack (amongst other things) of local advice and information, let us at least see that those who have to resettle South Africa,

after the greatest disturbance in its history, are enabled to take the measure of the task.

The settlement presents itself in two aspects—the temporary and the permanent; and it is the latter which has naturally called forth most attention in England. That the talk of a “Dominion like Canada” has been a little too easy is something which I shall presently deal with. In South Africa people are far more concerned with the temporary aspect of the resettlement than with the final condition of the country politically. The loss, confusion and misery of this conflict have been felt, and, I would add, endured uncomplainingly in South Africa, to an extent impossible to be realized in England. I am not speaking of mourning for the dead. The war has taken its death-toll of the noblest families, as of the poorest, in the old country, just as it has of the flower of colonial youth. But in displacement from home and business, in certainty of heavy loss both in town and country by looting, and in a hundred ruinous disarrangements of ordinary life, the burden is mainly South African. It is no wonder, therefore, that colonists, echoing the tone of a famous telegram, are inclined to cry, “Let confederation wait.” They want to recover what is left of their property, and have law and order secured so that they can get to work again. There never was a war before this, in which it was deemed necessary to expel the entire urban population of a State as a preliminary, or in which the civil relationships of the people were in such confusion. Immediately upon complete occupation of the republics, we must presume that some law will run, besides the mere will of the officer in supreme command, and queer as some of the results of a continuance of the standing laws of the republics may be, I do not see what other course is possible. The repeal of bad laws and the reform of the whole republican system can only come by slow degrees; and meanwhile there will be a thousand questions between man and man which will not wait. One or two examples will best illustrate the statement. A British subject being

desirous of becoming a member of the Johannesburg Sanitary Board—a paid office—took the oath of allegiance to the republic, and became a burgher liable to be commandeered for military service. Of course, in common with most people outside Boer confidences, he never anticipated that a time would come when he might be called upon to fight his own countrymen. That, however, is just what happened ; but as he had become a refugee, his dwelling-house, said to be a rather fine building, was, in strict accordance with republican law, declared forfeited. The Government sold it to some favourite for a mere song, and the man who has bought it will certainly claim to retain possession, while it is equally certain that the man who has been dispossessed will think it very hard in a British settlement of affairs if he is to be robbed of his property because he would not remain to fight Great Britain. It is clear, however, that the new authorities will have to take the law or leave it ; they cannot administer it to suit their own sentiments, for that is just one of the evil things done by the Boers that, combined with others, have brought about the war. Another source of dispute and lawsuits will be found in a decree of the Executive Council at the beginning of the war, which was, I believe, issued for once with the best of intentions, but which will be provocative of untold confusion. It was ordered that during the continuance of martial law no interest or rent should be recoverable, except where it could be shown that there had been beneficial occupation of the property concerned. There was some reason in this, as it would be hard for a mortgager to have the interest on his bond mounting up while a state of war prevented his doing any business in the premises upon which the money was advanced. Equally hard, perhaps, for the mortgagee to bear the whole burden of war loss ; but war presents numerous successions of hard cases. Already two views are held as to the meaning of the proclamation itself. By some it is held that the President's proclamation merely means that all courts would be closed during war-time, and that

interest and rent, while running on as usual, will not be recoverable until the close of the war. The more general view is that payments are intended to lapse altogether. As mortgages are all but universal in South Africa, business transactions will produce a large crop of disputes to settle over this one item alone, and as the continuance of daily business will depend upon settlement, the question will be most urgent. The Transvaal Government itself may be expected to contribute to the list of difficulties of this kind. The Transvaal is the scene of some of the most curious governmental arrangements in the world. When it becomes certain to Boer intelligence that the British will soon be in possession in Pretoria, I should not be surprised at an extensive transfer of the assets of the State, such as the interest of the Government in the Netherlands Railway Company. The undoing of such transactions may involve us in international complications. Strange as it may seem to say so, the very fact that the republics are to vanish will make the work of settlement in some respects all the more difficult, as there will be nobody to look to for redress. The commandoes of the Boers have looted the property of colonists to an appalling extent, not merely capturing cattle for their commissariat—an act which has some of the excuse of war about it—but destroying everything, like so many savages. Who is to pay? Not the republics, for there will be none, and not the individual Boers, for we shall never be able to identify them. There will be no State assets to speak of, as everything will have gone in the war; and, moreover, Great Britain will have to assume the debts of the Transvaal if she takes the country. The reckoning with the mines will be a severe exercise of ingenuity. The Government has been working some mines itself, and taking a modest tax of one-third of the produce from others, and has been discriminating in treatment between those which appear to have most foreign names on the register and those which are believed to be in English hands. Finally, there is some wild talk of wrecking

the mines altogether. Probably the only settlement of this series of difficulties will be for the unfortunate shareholders to resume possession of what is left of their properties and pocket their losses. In the Free State, of course, all questions are immeasurably simpler, as the Government has never played Pretorian pranks, and the population is more homogeneous. There is but one considerable diamond-mine, the Jagersfontein Diamond-mine, and it is not believed that there will be any interference with it. The State has no debt to speak of, and no concessionary complications, while it has a good asset in its trunk line of railway acquired from the Cape Colony.

The new Government will be confronted with one special difficulty, easily to be compassed in the Free State, but of overwhelming dimensions in the Transvaal—I mean the manning of the Civil Service. In the Free State the Service is pure, and there is no reason why it should be interfered with. But the case is very different in the Transvaal. Of deliberate policy the Service has been filled with the foreigners whose intrigues against everything English have been one of the causes of the war. Anti-British patriotism has been made the screen for the most widespread corruption. There are some good men, Colonial Afrikaners and others, in various posts in the State, and it would seem a pity to drive them all out. I can only say that the presence of thousands of displaced Hollander officials will be very embarrassing to the new Government, while, on the other hand, it will never do to restore the reign of official insolence, incompetency, and corruption with which the country has been cursed. Altogether there never was such a tangle. What to do with the Presidents and high officers, whom to repress and whom to restore, how far to go in punishment of rebellion, these and a hundred questions, not to speak of those which the wisest of us cannot anticipate, might well tax the resources of archangels.

So much for the difficulties, which, however trying, must

in the nature of things be evanescent, since the settlement, good or bad, will have to be immediately made, if society is not to be left in a state of chaos. The territorial and constitutional difficulties of settlement have at least this consolatory aspect, that they can be postponed without interfering with the ordinary business of life. They are, however, the weightier of the two groups of questions, because their consequences will, in the nature of things, be the more permanent. Territorially it is understood that Natal is to have something. Ardent Natalians say, with no small voice, that that something should be—the Transvaal and the Free State. There has been talk of a Dominion League in Natal for securing any slices of territory that may be going. The advantage of strengthening Natal by extending her too narrow boundaries is cheerfully admitted by the British section in the Cape Colony. Probably the north-east corner of the Free State and the south-east corner of the Transvaal with Swazieland, will be found to meet the case. For the rest, it is possible that any rearrangements will be fissiparous. The eastern districts of the Cape would like to enter a confederation as a separate province from that containing the western districts, while Griqualand and Bechuanaland would probably also prefer a separate existence from the old Cape Colony. In Rhodesia, Mashonaland would hail with joy a provincial existence independent of Matabeleland. As to what is really likely to take place in these respects, it would be unsafe for the oldest colonist to hazard an opinion. Each side in the great quarrel is afraid of being gerrymandered into a minority in the juggling of settlement—not a very hopeful outlook for federation prospects.

Supposed parallels are misleading. We speak of Canada; but in Canada the French population, presumed to be in some way the counterpart of the South African Dutch, are grouped for the most part in one portion of the country, and the remainder of Canadian land is occupied by British Canadians as closely as England is occupied by

Englishmen. But in South Africa the English, except to a limited extent in the frontier districts of the Cape Colony and in the south of Natal, are confined to the towns and the mines, while the whole broad countryside is Dutch. Consequently the plain truth must be faced, that unless separate town representation is to be granted upon a scale which has not been attempted in any country in the world, the legislature of the Cape will always tend to contain a country or Dutch majority, while in the Free State there are virtually no towns to redress the balance, if the thing could be done that way. The texture of Natal and the Rhodesian legislatures may be expected to remain English. The Transvaal will have a British majority when fields other than the Rand are developed, for even a dozen members granted to Johannesburg alone would not turn the scale against outside districts. And we shall naturally be held to our pledge of "equal rights" in representation. The real source of British weakness in South Africa is that the Briton has not settled on the land as the Boer has done. However, I am not now discussing the South African Question at large, but merely the prospects of settlement with such material as is at hand. I confess I do not see any escape for some years to come from Crown Colony government for the conquered republics, while Rhodesia is being brought into line as a colony, with its public debt agreed upon, and while the urgent practical administrative questions I have just indicated are gradually settled. If Sir Alfred Milner begins a second term as Governor-General in three years' time, we shall have done wonderfully well.

## AUSTRALASIA FEDERATION.

BY SCRUTATOR.

THE federation of the important Colonies of Australia has happily reached its last stage. After the process of a *referendum* to the inhabitants of the respective Colonies, the result has been that by a great majority the proposal has been approved of by New South Wales, Victoria, Queensland, South Australia and Tasmania. It only remains for Western Australia to give its adhesion, and there is good ground for expecting that an arrangement will soon be adopted. As regards New Zealand, its distance from Australia may cause some difficulty.

The draft of a Bill for the Constitution of this federation is now in the hands of the Colonial Secretary, and its provisions will be discussed by the British Parliament as soon as the delegates of the various Colonies arrive, and have a conference with the Government as to matters of detail.

The main clauses of the Bill relate to : 1. The Parliament in its respective composition. 2. The Executive Government. 3. The Judicature. 4. Finance and trade. 5. The various Colonies called States, and any new Colonies that may be annexed or created.

The Parliament will consist of a Governor-General appointed by the Queen, as her representative, with a yearly salary of not less than £10,000. The Governor-General will have the power of summoning and proroguing Parliament. There will be a Senate, directly chosen by the people of the respective States, and until Parliament otherwise provides, there shall be six Senators for each original State. These Senators will be chosen for a term of six years. The law prescribing the method of choosing the Senators shall be uniform in all the States, and Parliament may determine the times and places of their election. The qualification of each Senator shall be the same as those of



a Member of the House of Representatives, one-third of which shall be necessary to constitute a meeting of the Senate and to exercise its powers.

The House of Representatives will be composed of members directly chosen by the people of the Commonwealth, and the number of such members shall be, as nearly as practicable, twice the number of Senators, and the number of Members chosen shall be in proportion to the inhabitants, and until Parliament otherwise provides, a quota shall be ascertained by dividing the number of the people of the Commonwealth, as shown by the latest statistics, from which it would appear that the total would be sixty-two members, distributed as follows .

	STATE	POPULATION	MEMBERS
1	New South Wales	1,348,400	23
2	Victoria	1,162,900	20
3	Queensland	482,400	8
4	South Australia	370,700	6
5	Tasmania	132,300	5
	Totals	3,546,700	62

Of the Parliament thus constituted, at least one-third of the whole members shall form a quorum for the exercise of its powers, and each Senator and each Member of the House of Representatives shall receive an allowance of £400 a year, and their powers, privileges and immunities shall be the same as those of the British House of Commons. This Parliament will have power to make laws for the peace, order, and good government of the Commonwealth, and those appropriating revenue or money, or imposing taxation, shall not originate in the Senate.

When a proposed law passed by both Houses is presented to the Governor-General for the Queen's assent, he shall declare, according to his discretion, but subject to the constitution of the Commonwealth, that he assents, in Her Majesty's name, or that he withholds assent, or reserves the same for the Queen's pleasure.

The Executive Government will be invested in the

Queen, and exercised by the Governor-General as her representative. There will be a Federal Executive Council to advise the Governor-General, the members of which shall be chosen by himself; and he may also appoint officers to administer the departments of State established by him. They shall hold office during his pleasure, and shall be the Queen's Ministers of the Commonwealth; their number, however, shall not exceed seven, and the money payable to these officers as salaries out of the Consolidated Revenue Fund of the Commonwealth, until Parliament otherwise provides, shall not exceed £12,000 yearly. The command of the naval and military forces of the Commonwealth will be vested in the Governor-General as the Queen's representative.

The judicial power will consist of a Federal Supreme Court, and such other courts as Parliament may create. The High Court will consist of a Chief Justice, and so many other Justices, not less than two, as Parliament directs. These Justices will be appointed by the Governor-General in Council. The jurisdiction of the High Court will be: to hear and determine appeals from all judgments, decrees, orders, and sentences of Justices exercising the original jurisdiction of the High Court or other Federal Courts, or of the Supreme Courts of any State; and it is provided that the Constitution shall not impair any right which the Queen may be pleased to exercise by virtue of her royal prerogative to grant special leave of appeal from the High Court to Her Majesty in Council, relating to various matters as to treaties, Consuls and States.

All revenues or moneys raised or received by the Executive Government shall form one consolidated fund, to be appropriated for the purposes of the Commonwealth in the manner and subject to the charges and liabilities imposed by the Constitution.

The Constitution of each State will continue as at the establishment of the Commonwealth, until altered by the State itself, and every law in force in a Colony shall con-

tinue, unless it is inconsistent with that of the Commonwealth, and to that extent will be invalid.

A State shall not coin money, nor make anything but gold and silver coin a legal tender in payment of debt.

The Commonwealth shall not make any law for establishing any religion, or for imposing any religious observance, or for prohibiting the free exercise of any religion, and no religious test shall be required as a qualification for any office or public trust under the Commonwealth.

Full faith and credit shall be given throughout the Commonwealth to the laws, the public acts and records, and the judicial proceedings of every State, and the Commonwealth will protect every State against invasion, and on the application of the executive, against domestic violence.

Power will also be given to Parliament to admit into the Commonwealth new States. Such States may be formed by separation of a territory from a State on the consent of the Parliament of the State, or a new State may be formed by the union of two or more States or parts of States, with the consent of the State Parliaments affected.

The usual oath or affirmation of allegiance to Her Majesty is prescribed by a schedule annexed to the Bill.

## COLONIAL SOVEREIGNTY.

BY C. DE THIERRY.

As middle-aged men regard the rising generation, so Englishmen regard Colonials. When they refuse to be sat upon, it is audacity. When they assume responsibilities of their own free will—burdens thrust upon them by the Colonial Office are quite another story—it is taking the road to ruin. Indeed, any sign that they have arrived at maturity is looked upon at home with surprise, not unmixed with alarm. To the critical the reason is obvious enough. Neither a common nor a polite education includes the study of Colonial history. Hence the average Briton knows as little of any country beyond his own as the average man elsewhere in the world; the governing class sees Imperial things either in a false perspective, or is ignorant of them altogether. True, of late years Imperialism has received such tremendous impetus that English statesmen have been at the pains to acquire at least a passing acquaintance with the Empire they once despised. But here their good intentions are marred by their constitutional defect. With imagination the little knowledge they possess of the England beyond the sea would illumine their whole political path. But so rare is this quality in the conduct of Imperial affairs, that its appearance marks an epoch. And so we have no definite Colonial policy, and, consequently, no definite foreign policy.

That the Imperial spirit is developed only in the people of these islands is a delusion dear to all sorts and conditions of men, from Cabinet Ministers to Fleet Street scribes. Their limited vision can see only one State from which proceeds the impulse to expansion, only one State invested with sovereign power. In spite of Mr. Kipling, they do not realize that every Colonial Englishman is an Imperialist; in spite of history and experience, their political perspective does not widen, which perhaps

accounts for the fact that more regard is paid to opinion in the United States than to opinion in the Colonies. Is it due to London or to Ottawa that the Empire has a quick route to the East and a North Pacific seaboard? To the Colonial Office or to Mr. Rhodes that British South Africa extends to the Zambesi? To Lord Derby or the Australasian Premiers that we are in possession of British New Guinea? Nor is this all. At least a quarter of the area of the Empire, exclusive of India, is under the direct control of responsible Ministries in the Colonies. That is to say, Queensland, New South Wales and New Zealand, administer territories beyond their own borders; Canada, the Cape Colony, and Natal, administer territories which have geographical continuity with themselves, but no other social or political tie. In other words, the great provinces of the Empire exercise sovereignty.

In this, as in nearly all the important steps made by the Anglo-Saxon world towards union, the Dominion led the way. Even before the Act of 1840, faint glimmerings of her splendid destiny lit up the darkness of that critical time, and her prophetic sons saw her the power in the British Empire she has since become. But it was not until the Confederation of the Maritime Provinces and the Canadas that her future course marked itself out clearly before her. Then she began to see that her prosperity and very existence as England in America depended on an outlet to the Pacific. But between her and the western seaboard lay Rupert's Land, the truly Imperial possession of the Hudson Bay Company. She was, therefore, as completely cut off from British Columbia and the North-West as though an ocean rolled between. In a vague way she had always regarded herself as the direct successor of the Company, an aspiration, which was given practical expression, when her statesmen made provision for the admission of Rupert's Land into the Confederation. Moreover, when in 1857, a Parliamentary Committee, of which Mr. Gladstone, Lord Derby, and Lord John Russell

were members, was appointed to report on the problem presented by the North-West, she sent Chief Justice Draper to watch its proceedings on her behalf. In 1858 the Colonial Office invited her to consider the boundary and other disputes on her Western frontier. But the Government at Ottawa, in an address to Her Majesty, referred these to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, a proposition which was at once vetoed by the Hudson Bay Company. During the next ten years several attempts to come to terms were made in the same direction both by Canada and the Colonial Secretary, but they all shared the same fate. But with Confederation the situation wore a new aspect. The far-reaching mind, which moulded Canadian policy for nearly half a century, saw more in the question than the extension of a Colonial farming area. In a letter from Sir John Macdonald to Sir Edward Watkin, dated March 27, 1865, occurs the following passage: "If Canada is to remain a country separate from the United States, it is of great importance to her that they (the United States) should not get behind us by right or by force, and intercept the route to the Pacific." Three years later he went further. "It is imperative," he said, "that we find a broad country for the expansion of our adventurous youth, who are not satisfied to look here and there for an isolated tract fit for settlement. It has consequently always been a political cry in Western Canada that this country must be obtained. No sentimental cry, either, but one eminently practical—a cry expressive both of principle and interest. If this country is to remain British, it is only by being included in the British North American scheme, and in addition to the necessity which we recognise, with a stronger power on our front and flank, of extending over the whole of the British possession here the just and beneficent institutions of government which we ourselves enjoy, we are also swayed by the interested object of finding fresh lands for the outlet of our adolescent population. . . . If the country was offered to

us free, should we hesitate to obtain the extension westward we so much require? Should we be deterred, then, by this Hudson's Bay bugbear of a claim which, if well founded, might be disposed of within moderate limits? If offered to the United States—the recent purchasers of a tract of ice adjoining—can we doubt that they would consent to pay for it an amount equal to the whole debt of Canada four times over? It was but the absorbing interest of the late internecine war that prevented the country from having been overrun already.” Early in 1868 an address was sent to the Queen praying Her Majesty to unite Rupert's Land and the North-West Territory with Canada. At first it looked as though former diplomatic failures were to be repeated, but the desire of all parties for a settlement was now so strong that the question almost solved itself. The Colonial Office, believing that the independence of Canada was at hand, were anxious “to speed the parting guest.” The Hudson Bay Company saw that their princely day was done, and the Dominion was keen to secure the West with its littoral before it was too late. Hence early in 1868 the Duke of Buckingham officially announced to the Government at Ottawa that the transfer of Rupert's Land could be effected, at its pleasure, by arrangement with the Company under authority of an Act of the Imperial Parliament, which Act was duly passed in July of the same year. After much negotiation, it was agreed that 45,000 acres in the vicinity of the great trading posts, and one-twentieth of the fertile belt, should be reserved to the Hudson Bay Company, all other rights, privileges and interests being vested in the Crown on payment of £300,000. This arrangement was accepted by the Dominion Parliament, and provision at once made for the temporary government of the territories. Thus ended the picturesque reign of the “Great Company.”

To understand the magnitude of Canada's task, it is necessary to realize the extent and nature of the region, which at the last Downing Street thrust on her with a

haste that was almost indecent. The total area of Rupert's Land and the North-West is 2,665,000 square miles, or larger than Russia, Austria, and Germany combined. At that time the total area of Canada herself was 389,141 square miles, or less than one-seventh of the territory she was called upon to administer. During the past half-century Russia, France and the United States have each and all extended their sway over States larger than European kingdoms, but the process has been gradual. Canada at one bound carried her frontier across half a continent. An accession of territory so vast has been paralleled only in the British Empire itself. But the size of the North-West was a burden easy to be borne; the character of its population was another matter. There were about 5,000 French and 5,000 Scottish half-breeds, a few English, Canadian, and American settlers, and 30,000 Indians; to these may be added the servants of the Hudson Bay Company. It will therefore be seen that the Dominion's new subjects were, for the most part, anything but promising.

Again, Rupert's Land and the Territories were the "Great Lone Land," a region of "magnificent distances," a trackless wilderness roamed over by the naked savage and the wild animals on which he preyed. Its awful loneliness and remoteness from the world can be conceived only by an Australian Bushman, its intense cold and unutterable silence in winter only by a Yukon miner. Roads there were none, and the posts of the Hudson Bay Company were as widely sundered as the oases of the Sahara Desert. The only countries in modern times which have had to overcome physical obstacles on the same scale are Russia and the United States. But it must always be remembered that Tartars and Chinese made a track, rude as it was, for the advance of the Cossack in Central Asia; the stately Spaniard for the advance of the American in the South and Far West. Moreover, they had no serious rival on their frontier. They were on this account able to build up



an empire at their leisure. Canada was in a very different position. Neither the Indian nor the Hudson Bay Company did anything towards the development of the North-West, the former from incapacity, the latter from policy, and every step of her career was jealously watched by a strong and aggressive power on her southern boundary. Any sign of weakness on her part, and the path of England to the Pacific would have been cut off for ever. It must also be remembered that the Dominion was merely a Colony with a population of little more than 3,000,000 souls; that she was poor, and, though rich in potential resources, had few of those at command; that she was a Confederation less than three years old; that the Canadas themselves had been given a Constitution only thirty years before; and that she had absolutely no experience in Colonial government, and small experience in dealing with a subject race. Her position as a loyal Colony, too, was against her. The English capital, which should have flowed into the North-West, flowed into the United States, because in those days it was an article of faith that the Great Republic was safe from "foreign complications." But with greater natural difficulties, less resources and no experience to guide her, Canada has performed her task in the North-West, better than Russia has performed hers in Central Asia, or the United States hers in the West.

For the Dominion, though she had only just begun to awaken to the call of a national life, had, in the storm and stress of nearly three centuries, developed those qualities which are essential to a ruling race—self-reliance, patience, dignity, and a strong sense of justice. Happily for her, too, she had at the helm a statesman of the first rank in the person of Sir John Macdonald; for all at once Canada's outlook in the North-West became dark and lowering. During the summer, parties of Canadian surveyors had been engaged in making a waggon road from the Lake of the Woods to Fort Garry, and a track from Lake Superior to the Lake of the Woods. The Transcontinental Tele-

graph line was begun, and some progress made in surveying the North-West. But unfortunately the Civil Servants employed in this necessary work were neither wise nor prudent, and it is to their tactlessness that much of the half-breed trouble can be directly traced. The appointment of the Hon. William McDougall as Lieutenant-Governor, too, was an error of judgment. Instead of carrying out his instructions by laying a foundation for the new order of things as a private individual, until he was officially notified that Canada had taken over the territory, he assumed the functions of his office on December 1, the date on which it was understood the formal transfer was to be made, and blindly rushed into a course as injudicious as it was feeble. Indeed, so little did he realize the situation that a report on half-breed discontent sent to him before he left Ottawa was forgotten almost as soon as it was read. Even more unfortunate for the Dominion was the illness of Governor McTavish, the highest official of the Hudson Bay Company, and the absence of Bishop Taché, who was in Rome. Here, then, were all the elements of serious trouble. The Indians were rendered restless by the many signs of coming change and the intrigues of Mr. McDougall. The half-breeds were irritated at his proclamation, and by the conduct of Canadian surveyors, and were afraid that the leasehold title by which they held their lands would not be recognised by the Dominion Government. The priests and the French owed no allegiance to the Queen, and had no love for Canada. The officials of the Company, who felt that they were being "set aside for new-comers," naturally resented the change of sovereignty. A little tact and patience would have touched all these jarring elements into harmony; but the Lieutenant-Governor was not the man to do it. On the contrary, his wild words and actions added fuel to the flame of discontent, so that, one fine day, Ottawa was electrified to hear that a rebellion had broken out in the North-West under Louis Riel.

The position was critical and triangular. On the one side was Sir John Macdonald, representing the Imperial policy of expansion ; on the other was the Colonial Office, together with the Hudson Bay Company, selfishly seeking their own ends ; the base was the United States, eagerly watching for a chance to play the same game which had proved so successful in Texas. Sir John, however, was equal to the occasion. So clearly did he see every point in the situation, that neither Lord Granville nor the Company were able to hurry him into making a false step. Let blood be once shed in an encounter between the two peoples, and it might sow seeds of hatred towards Canada and Canadian rule, such as would hamper good government for a generation. In the event of hostilities, the Indian tribes of the North-West and the adventurers of the United States would have been almost irresistibly tempted to join the insurgents. As it was, the Fenian organization sent men, money and promises to Fort Garry, and actually appointed General Spear, of St. Alban's Raid fame, to lead a force across the border the moment the time was ripe. A single mistake, and not only Canada and the North-West, but England and the Republic, might have been involved in war. Unfortunately, neither the Colonial Office nor the Hudson Bay Company was concerned about any of these things. Their sole desire was to wash their hands of the Territory, by throwing the whole responsibility on Canada, when she would have been left to get out of the trouble the best way she could. This would have thrown the game into the hands of the insurgents and Yankee wirepullers, and so the aim of all Sir John's diplomacy was to secure the active co-operation of the home authorities and the Hudson Bay Company, until Canada was given peaceable possession of the Territory. He therefore pointed out to Lord Granville that, upon the Company's surrender of their rights and privileges to the Queen, the responsibility for the peace of the North-West would rest with the Colonial Office, and not with the Government of

Canada, which absolutely declined to accept the transfer in the then disturbed state of the country. In reply to a disingenuous complaint of the Colonial Secretary, he said that the Dominion had not bound the Company to hand over the Territory in a state of peace, because no one dreamed that it would be handed over in any other way. To the Hudson Bay Company he pointed out that no steps had been taken by them to prepare the people under their rule for the change. The consequence was the half-breeds were allowed to believe that they had been sold to Canada without any regard for their rights, until their discontent became a source of public danger, a state of things which was not reported either to the Dominion Ministry or to the Colonial Office. If, therefore, they were not aware of it, the responsibility for such wilful blindness on the part of their officials rested with them, and the wisest course was to continue the old and fully organized government of the Company, while steps were being taken to allay the suspicions of the half-breeds and Indians. In this way the North-West was secured from anarchy. A combined force of English and Colonial troops were despatched under Colonel (now Lord) Wolseley to Fort Garry, and Governor McTavish and his subordinates, in response to urgent messages from London, performed the task which should have been performed a year earlier. When, therefore, Riel and his followers heard the first sound of the British bugles heralding relief to the sorely pressed inhabitants of Red River, they fled, and the rebellion was at an end without firing a shot. On May 2 the Manitoba Bill, embodying a Constitution on the Canadian provincial model, was introduced by Sir John Macdonald, and passed the House of Commons almost without comment. On the following day the purchase-money, £300,000, was paid over to the Hudson Bay Company, and on the 20th the Hon. A. G. Archibald was appointed Lieutenant-Governor in place of Mr. McDougall. A fortnight later an Order in Council transferred Rupert's Land and the North-West Territories to Canada.

But the goal of the Dominion's ambition was the Pacific, whose waters washed the shores of British Columbia. Realizing its vital importance to the Confederation, Sir John Macdonald took steps to acquire it directly. The British North American Bill became a political fact; but the Home Government refused to negotiate until Canada accepted the sovereignty of the intervening territory. The area of this far-off Colony is 390,344 square miles, or larger than France and Italy combined. Its population was in 1871 less than 50,000, for the most part diggers and Indians. As they had done in the North-West, the officials of the Hudson Bay Company used their influence to thwart the designs of the Colonial Ministry, and the Governor, who represented the Little England views of Downing Street, was hardly more friendly. Another hostile element in the situation was a party largely composed of American citizens, who desired annexation to the United States. But the diplomacy, which in Rupert's Land forced the Hudson Bay Company to see that their interest lay in working with, rather than against, the Canadian Government, was equally effective in British Columbia. At the critical moment, too, death removed Governor Seymour, and, at the request of Sir John Macdonald, Mr. (afterwards Sir) Anthony Musgrave was appointed to fill the vacant place. In concert with the Hon. Joseph Trutch, the leader of the Unionists, he made an arrangement by which the Province agreed to join the Confederation, on condition that the Dominion built the Canadian Pacific Railway within a certain time. Unlike the North-West, which is governed by a Lieutenant-Governor and a Council, partly elected and partly nominated, British Columbia is governed by a Lieutenant-Governor and a single elective Chamber. On July 20—memorable day in the British Empire—Canada looked out on the Pacific. In 1867 her western boundary was the 90th degree of longitude; in 1870 it was the Rocky Mountains; in 1871 it was the great sea; so that in four

years she had carried her frontier westwards 1,500 miles, and England in America was supreme from ocean to ocean.

But expansion is not everything; unless it acts as a healthy stimulus to the national life and character of the Sovereign State, it has a deteriorating effect, such as brought about the decline and fall of Rome. In other words, it is one of those forces which, if they do not make for good in the world, almost invariably make for evil. Perhaps the soundest foundation, on which the British Empire rests, is the fact that its growth, while undoubtedly fostering a love of luxury in the upper classes, has also developed in Englishmen as a whole some of the finest qualities ever associated with a ruling race. Expansion is, therefore, to the Mother Country the finest moral discipline a nation ever knew, and Canada is worthily treading in her steps. As union and the Empire have together made England what she is, so Confederation and the North-West are together destined to make of the Dominion a great nation. Already she displays in the conduct of State affairs sound judgment, foresight, a sense of responsibility, dignity, courage, patience, and humanity. A shrewd observer once remarked that, in passing from Washington to Ottawa, one leaves behind a provincial atmosphere for the atmosphere of a world centre. Canada, in her political relations, acts, not with the bad manners and worse faith permitted to a new country, but as becomes a great Empire with a noble tradition. Excuse is constantly being found for the Republic on account of its "youth"; for the Dominion, never. Notwithstanding, Englishmen are slow, very slow, to do her honour. So quietly, and with so little apparent effort, has she laid the foundations of her great work in the West that it is only now they begin to realize none but a great people could have done it. Its scale is truly Imperial; its character solid; its spirit in accordance with the highest principles of English colonization. The Mother Country herself might be proud to claim it as her own, than which the Daughter State could desire no higher praise.

In nothing has the Dominion shown a keener sense of responsibility than in her treatment of the Red Man. In the older provinces she had an Indian population of about 25,000, which, though confined to reservations, was well on the way to civilization. So orderly is it, indeed, that crimes of violence are almost unknown, and petty larceny so rare that in one settlement, only a decade ago, not a single Indian had been convicted of that offence for the previous thirty years. In the North-West the conditions were entirely different. True, the Hudson Bay Company was as successful as the French in dealing with the Indian; but while the latter civilized him, it was to the interest of the former to keep him a roaming savage. Hence to the Dominion fell the difficult task of placing him on a reservation, which his soul loathed, and gradually leading him to adopt the habits of a complex and orderly life. Moreover, she had to put his faith in her policy to the severe test of contact with an ever-encroaching civilization. That she has been triumphantly successful is clear from the fact that she is the only self-governing Colony whose dealings with the native race in possession have never awakened the sensitive conscience of humanitarians in this country. Hansard may be searched in vain for a debate on the ways of the Red Man.

Ten treaties, expressed in plain and simple terms, form the Magna Charta of the North-West tribes. By these Canada secured the restriction of the Indian tribe to the soil, in return for which she agreed to pay \$5 a year to every man, woman, and child of the population, and a sum to chiefs and councillors varying in amount according to the rank of the individual. To break up the tribal organization, the Indians were placed on numerous small reservations as near their old homes as possible, and in the near neighbourhood of Canadian settlements, the land to be held in trust by the Government. In this way the two races were put in such a position that they mutually react on one another to their mutual profit, the inferior race

by acquiring the habits of civilized life, the superior race by acquiring a sense of responsibility and national self-restraint. The law which prohibits the sale of liquor is strictly enforced, and no one is allowed to sell to an Indian arms or ammunition without a written permit. Agents, of which there is one on each reservation, are chosen for their high character and experience, holding their posts as long as their conduct gives satisfaction to the Minister for the Interior, to whom they are responsible. In 1884 Sir John Macdonald carried through Parliament the Indian Administration Act, which guarantees the franchise to any Indian wishing to withdraw from the restrictions as well as the privileges of his treaty, and 600 acres of land on the reserve of his tribe. Forty-two schools are maintained at the expense of the Government, and every effort is being made to teach the Indian the art of farming. At one time the whole of the vast region from the Lake of the Woods to the Rockies was kept in order by 300 mounted police. Later on the number was increased to 500. Since the opening up of the Yukon Territories it has been still further increased to 1,000. The smallness of the force is, however, eloquent of the distance Canada has travelled on the Imperial road marked out by the Mother Country.

One has merely to cross the frontier to estimate the nature of the Dominion's Indian policy. Her soil has never been reddened by the blood of a native slain in warfare. In the United States fighting with the Indian population has been continuous from the very beginning of their existence. To nineteen separate wars, which have cost the Federal Government over \$500,000,000, may be added massacres, atrocities, fraud, and murders without end. The only representative on an Indian reservation in the United States is that synonym for corruption and rascality, the Indian agent, whose one aim is to make a future during his four years' term of office. Consequently, the cost of the Indian Department, which in the Dominion is \$1,500,000, including the cost of the government of the



North-West Territories, is in the United States, with twice as many Indians, \$13,016,802. In monarchical Canada settlers who squat on Indian land are promptly ordered off by the police. In Republican America it is the Indians who are ordered off; not because the Federal authorities are unwilling to enforce the law, but because they are unwilling to come into collision with State rights. The difference in the policy of the two countries accounts for the fact that when the American Civil War was drawing to an end all the Indians of the plains rose to a man. When Canada was confronted with Riel's rebellion in 1886, the Indians, not having any wrongs to avenge, remained quiet.

Not less striking is the success with which this great Colony deals with a mining population. In the United States a gold rush is always associated with lynch law, vigilance committees, riots, and unseemly disorders of all kinds. Even at this late day, when the whole of the West is practically in touch with civilization, the vicinity of Cripple Creek, in the State of Colorado, furnishes material for seventy inquests a year on victims to violence, and there are other districts of which a similar tale could be told. In the British Empire the miners are as law-abiding as any other element in the population. When the gold fever was at its height between forty and fifty years ago, the diggings of Australia and British Columbia thronged with the same class of men we meet in the pages of Bret Harte. But lynching, and murder, and all the other disorderly incidents of Californian camp-life were in those Colonies conspicuous by their absence. On the Yukon gold-fields Canada is true to the British tradition, and the two systems are sharply contrasted. On the one side of the border every man is a law unto himself. On the other, society, though rough, is held together by a wholesome respect for English justice. From 1880 to 1886 Canadian and American methods of organization were contrasted in a similar way. In those years the Colonials were building

the Canadian Pacific Railway ; the Americans were building the Central Pacific Railway. The Dominion project was under the able management of Mr. Donald Smith, now Lord Strathcona, who employed at one time as many as 5,000 labourers. They were, however, more orderly than the workmen of an English factory. Firearms were confiscated, and the sale of drink entirely prohibited. As an old Yankee contractor once remarked, "When a man breaks the law here, they see justice is dealt out to him a heap quicker and in larger chunks than they would see anywhere in the United States. I tell you there is a way to do it, and they are doing it here right from the scratch." On the American side drunkenness, rioting, and general lawlessness marked the laying of the line from Chicago to the Far West.

Not only has the expansion of Canada quickened her national life; it has also quickened her Imperialism. Within the last ten or fifteen years she has become a potential rival of the United States, and the greatest creative force towards Anglo-Saxon Union in the British Empire, two factors in the world's political situation which are better understood in Washington than they are in London. With Confederation and the acquisition of the North-West, all the intellectual and moral forces, generated in the storm and stress of three stirring centuries, came to maturity, and she could not check them even if she would. By uniting the whole of British North America under the Crown she had taken the first great step towards Imperial Federation. Her next step was to connect it with the English world-chain. To do this she built the Canadian Pacific and Intercolonial Railway, probably the mightiest public work ever undertaken by three millions of people. When the last rail was laid, England was a power in the Western Pacific. She held its key, and she was given an alternate route to the East. In 1886 Canada was the first Colony to conduct a war without the assistance of the Mother Country. In this year of grace 1899 she has begun the Ottawa-Georgian-Bay Canal,

which will enable the navy to defend half her southern frontier, and make Montreal a formidable rival of New York in connection with the grain trade. She forced the hand of the Home Government in the matter of penny post ; she indicated the lines on which the trade-union of the Empire may be effected by giving Great Britain a Preferential Tariff. In short, the expansion of Canada has made her a great nation, whom we ought to estimate at her true value and not merely as a loyal Colony. She has most of the virtues of age, with few of the faults of youth and all its energy and optimism. Hence she craves no indulgence for her newness, and needs none. Her ideal is high, her national character solid, her faith such as may remove mountains. She is the nation whose history has been moulded by La Salle and Champlain, Frontenac and Montcalm, Wolfe and Sir John Macdonald, and above all by the example and tradition, the help and guidance, of the Mother Country herself.

The Cape Colony, between which and Canada there is much in common, has since 1872, when she entered on the self-governing stage of her development, increased her area by 93,580 square miles. But it has been a slow process, making no great demands on statesmanship, and adding little strength either to herself or to the Empire. As a matter of fact, it was Colonial Office pressure rather than the pressure of internal events which induced her to annex Fingoland, Idutywa Reserve and Noman's Land in 1876 ; Walfisch Bay in 1884 ; Tembuland, Emigrant Tambookieland, Bomvanaland and Gcalekaland in 1885 ; and Pondoland in 1894. For, unlike any other self-governing Province of the Empire, the Cape Colony's most pressing problem is the Native Question. Hence to add nearly 700,000 Kaffirs to her already mixed population of Malays, Bushmen, Fingoes, Hottentots, and Kaffirs was a serious responsibility, particularly as the region they occupy is not more than 15,573 square miles in area. But as long as a single independent chief, or a single chief under Imperial control, was

left beyond the Kei River there was constant trouble. War, misrule, cruelty, and injustice, made things so insupportable on her Eastern frontier, and Colonial Office proposals to annex each district in turn were so frequent and so urgent that, bit by bit, she had absorbed all the territories which lie between the Kei River and Natal. For a piece of land at the summit of St. John's River she paid £1,000. Griqualand West has a different story. Until the discovery of diamonds it was claimed by nobody. Then the Boers tried to extend the rule of the Orange Free State over it. But this would have been fatal to the peace of South Africa. Hence, when Nicholas Waterboer, the nominal owner of the region, petitioned Her Majesty to proclaim it British territory, his claim was supported by the High Commissioner, Sir Henry Barkly. A detachment of Cape Frontier Armed and Mounted Police took possession of the dry diggings, and hoisted the Union Jack. The Free State was afterwards paid £90,000 as compensation, which lay a dead-weight on the struggling district until it was taken over by the Cape Colony. At first it was governed by a triumvirate of Commissioners, which was an utter failure. Then an Administrator was appointed, who was not more successful; and finally, after a period of misrule rare in the history of the British Empire, it was turned into a Crown Colony. But, unfortunately, it was a form of government too costly for the resources of the district, and things were no better than before. At last, in despair, Lord Carnarvon sent out Major Lanyon as Commissioner, and despatches to the Cape Ministry, earnestly requesting them to take over the region, which was done in 1878, since when it has been as orderly and prosperous as any other part of South Africa. British Bechuanaland was annexed by Mr. Rhodes.

Though expansion in the Cape Colony is not the result of national feeling, and has developed in her people few of the qualities which the growth of the Dominion has developed in Canadians, sovereignty has not failed to

quicken in her a sense of responsibility. She has a population of 1,526,224, of which 1,150,237 are natives, whose numbers, instead of declining, are steadily increasing. Here, then, is a problem of the first magnitude, and one which the Cape Colony is facing nobly. Her great aim is to break up the tribal organization, and to induce the native to till the soil. To attain her end they are placed on small reservations, governed by resident magistrates, who, however, deal only with civil cases. All criminal offences are punished according to Colonial law. To pay the expense of administration and annuities to the chiefs there is a hut-tax, and each electoral district is represented by white members in the Cape Parliament. Moreover, the natives have the franchise on the £25 house qualification, though so far the number of voters has been very small. The Glen Grey Act is probably destined to solve this pressing problem as well as it can be solved by legislation, providing as it does for overcrowding by the law of primogeniture and a system of allotments; for civic education by the establishment of District Councils; for the control of the drink traffic by local option; and for the maintenance of industrial schools by means of a labour-tax levied on all male natives without distinction. At Herschell, in the Eastern Province, is one of the finest proofs of the Cape Native policy. This district, which is about 800 square miles in extent, contains a mixed population of Fingoes, Kaffirs, and Tambookies, 22,000 strong. It is the best-cultivated portion of the Colony, and in 1880 was kept in order by four constables. There are about 230 Europeans in the district, mostly traders and store-keepers. The chief crops grown are corn and millet, of which thousands of bags are yearly sent to the Orange Free State and various parts of the Cape Colony itself. Herschell is, perhaps, unique, but it must be admitted by every unprejudiced person who studies the question that the Colonials of South Africa have done their share of the Empire's work to the credit of the English name.

New Zealand sovereignty, while an evidence of Imperial

feeling, is little more than nominal. It calls for no national sacrifices, and makes no demands on administrative ability, or, indeed, on statesmanship of any kind. Hence it has no appreciable effect on the character of the people. As might be expected from its geographical position, the only territories dependent on the Colony are islands. Of these the chief are the Chatham Islands, 500 miles to the East; the Auckland Islands, 200 miles to the south; the Campbell, Antipodes, and Bounty Islands, between 200 and 400 miles to the north-east; and the Kermadec Islands, to the north. None of them are settled except the Chatham Islands, with a mixed population of Europeans, Maoris, and Morioris, who are nearly all engaged in stock-rearing and sea-fisheries. In the Auckland Group is Port Ross, described by D'Urville as one of the best harbours of refuge in the world. Here the New Zealand Government maintains a station, in which food and clothes are stored for the use of shipwrecked mariners. But it is in the Cook Archipelago that the Colony takes most pride. These beautiful and salubrious islands are distant from Auckland by steamer about 1,700 miles, and support a population of 9,000. As early as 1864 the leading chiefs petitioned the Queen for British protection, but, with Little Englandism rampant at Downing Street, nothing came of it. During the next twenty years, however, the Church and trade brought the natives more and more in touch with New Zealand, and, in 1885, Makea Takau, Queen of a part of Raratonga, the largest island of the group, visited Auckland to urge its annexation by Great Britain. Sir Robert Stout, the Premier, laid her case before the Home Government with suggestions of his own, and, in 1888, the British flag was hoisted at Raratonga, by Captain Bourke, of H.M.S. *Hyacinth*. New Zealand, which had agreed to hold herself responsible for the government of the islands, appointed Mr. Moss as Resident in 1890, since when they have made large strides towards self-government and prosperity. In concert with native delegates from all the

seven islands which form the archipelago, he drew up a simple Constitution providing for a Federal Parliament to raise a Customs revenue and deal with other national affairs, while leaving local interests entirely in the hands of the native councils. But it was not so easy to choose a chief, a difficulty which was finally overcome by the election of Makea Takau, who is to hold the position for her life. The Federal Parliament consists of twelve members, all laws passed by whom must be approved by the Resident. They meet in a Parliament House built for the purpose about two years ago. There is also a Supreme Court, to which appeal may be made from the petty native courts. The liquor law is prohibitive, except in Raratonga, where all liquor is placed in charge of a public officer, who gives permits for its purchase. No one is allowed to buy more than he requires for his own consumption. In this way drunkenness, which was once common, is now rare. Revenue is raised by a 5 per cent. duty on imports. At first the Federation suffered from the old and bitter jealousies of other days; but when each island discovered that it had perfect freedom in its local affairs, and, moreover, received a small subsidy from the Federal revenue, the way was paved for harmony and united action for a common purpose. As a result, one of the Maori councils recently imposed a road-tax in Raratonga varying in amount according to the frontage of the land owned by each individual. Even more hopeful is the fact that it should be cheerfully paid. The cynical observer might find another sign of the progress of civilization in the passion of the Raratongans for writing letters to their only newspaper. But the question is, Are these islands, morally, socially and politically, the better for New Zealand sovereignty? And as the answer is a most emphatic Yes, no other justification for it is necessary.

In 1897, owing to the lax manner in which the law was administered, it was deemed advisable to transfer Norfolk Island to New South Wales. This place of stately pines lost in the wastes of the Western Pacific is 900 miles distant

from Australia. It has an area of over seven square miles, buttressed by frowning cliffs, against which the southern swell beats endlessly. From 1788 to 1803 it was occupied by convicts who made it blossom like the rose. But in the latter year they were all removed to the mainland by an order from the Home Office. Twenty years later it was again a convict settlement, and a veritable hell on earth. With the end of the transportation system Norfolk Island was given over to desolation, until the descendants of the *Bounty* were transferred to it from Pitcairn Island. Placed under the Governor of New South Wales, it has enjoyed the blessings of a primitive Constitution such as would be impossible in any other part of Her Majesty's dominion. Under the rule of a magistrate and jury of seven elders, it has developed into a flourishing community of 800 persons, all of whom are teetotalers and able to read and write. But the island has outgrown the primitive form of its government, and so, by an Order in Council of 1897, it was made a dependency of New South Wales. The Colonial Office paid £1,500 towards the repairs of public buildings and other expenses incident to the transfer; but as it saves £1,000 a year in the cost of administration, it may be congratulated on a good bargain. The premier Colony was not, however, allowed to annex Norfolk Island without a protest. New Zealand, just for all the world as if she were a jealous foreign Power, considered her own claim to the home of great pines superior to that of New South Wales on various counts. In the first place, it is nearer Maoriland by 300 miles than it is to the Australian coast. In the second place, it is included in the Diocese of Melanesia, ecclesiastically speaking a part of New Zealand, whose inhabitants largely support the Melanesian Mission. In the third place, the Bishop of Melanesia objected to the sovereignty of New South Wales. But, like other States with a soaring ambition, New Zealand had to give way to the State which was first in the field.

Norfolk Island is now governed by a resident magistrate,



appointed by the Colonial Ministry, and by a council of twelve elders.

The Australasian Colonies can hardly be said to exercise sovereign rights over New Guinea, as, politically speaking, Australasia is unknown. It is exactly in the same position as the Dominion before Confederation. But like the Canadas after the Union Act of 1840, they have Imperial dreams, to which, so far as they are able, they give practical expression. One of them is the consolidation of British power in the South Seas. As early as 1864 the idea took root in New South Wales that the possession of New Guinea was necessary to the peace and safety of Australia, and a company was formed in Sydney for the purpose of colonizing it. But the Home Government poured cold water on the scheme, and it was dropped. Nevertheless, the idea grew and strengthened during the next twenty years, until it had become an article of faith with every Colonial Ministry. Between 1864 and 1887 at least twenty exploring expeditions to the island were fitted out by Government or individual enterprise, and in 1874 the Legislature of New South Wales again addressed the Home Government on the question of its annexation, but their views met with no encouragement. Nor was a deputation to Lord Carnarvon in the following year any more successful. In 1878, however, Queensland was permitted to annex Thursday Island and several other small islands in Torres Straits, which is one of Australia's highways to Europe and Asia. Colonial opinion therefore regarded her as possessing a more peculiar interest in New Guinea than any of the other Colonies, so that when, in 1883, Sir Thomas M'Ilwraith, the Premier, sent a Government boat with a civil officer on board to hoist the English flag at Port Moresby, his action was applauded in every part of Australasia. But, unfortunately, though the designs of France and Germany were known in the South Seas, they were not known at the Colonial Office, and Lord Derby refused to acknowledge the annexation. He ridiculed the

idea that Germany intended to create a Colonial Empire, and explained to a deputation of Agents-General that England already possessed more territory than was at all desirable. A few days later, in the House of Lords, he said that the occupation of New Guinea by any other power would be an unfriendly act, which the Colonies accepted as a declaration that the Mother Country regarded the island as her own. Unhappily, Lord Derby admitted the necessity of the case by permitting Queensland to occupy stations on the shore opposite her own coast with a hinterland, whose boundaries were not delimited. This was quite enough for Germany. The moment she understood that the Colonial Secretary did not claim the whole island beyond Dutch territory, an order was sent to a gunboat in waiting at Melbourne, and a week or two later the flag of the Fatherland was flying over Northern New Guinea. After allowing Germany to steal on her in this easy way, there was nothing for England to do but to proclaim a Protectorate, which was done in 1884. At the Colonial Conference of 1887, an arrangement was made by which Queensland agreed to become responsible for the government of New Guinea, each of the other Colonies to contribute a share of the cost for a period of ten years. All the officials are, however, appointed by the Home Government, though they correspond with the Colonial Office through the Governor of Queensland. With a Federated Australia the island will be governed as a dependency, and it is their consciousness of future possibilities which makes the Colonies so averse to a syndicate supported by the Colonial Office acquiring territorial rights in New Guinea. Australasia does not want to repeat Canada's experience with the Hudson Bay Company.

The latest Colony to acquire sovereignty over territories beyond her own limits is Natal. In 1885 a British Protectorate was proclaimed over Amatongaland, a region between Swaziland and the sea, bounded on the north by the Portuguese possessions, and in the south by Zululand, to

which it was annexed in 1897. A month later they were incorporated with Natal, which thus became mistress of a region 10,000 miles in extent. As the Colonial Office saves several thousands a year in administrative expenses, while Natal has added 200,000 to her already teeming Kaffir population, the gain would seem to be largely on the side of the Home authorities. The Native Problem in this beautiful Colony is more serious than it is in any other of the self-governing Provinces of the Empire. In 1891 more than four-fifths of the inhabitants were Kaffirs, and about 7 per cent. Indian coolies. With the annexation of Amatongaland and Zululand, the relatively small number of Colonials will be more marked than ever. The various tribes live on reservations held in trust by the Government, on the lands of religious missions, on Crown lands, and as tenants on the lands of private persons. An annual hut-tax of 14s. is imposed on each adult Kaffir of the male sex. Justice in civil matters on each reservation is administered by a white magistrate; all criminal offences are tried in the ordinary courts of law. As in Canada, every effort is being made to destroy the tribal organization, and to train the native in the habits of civilized life.

It will thus be seen that without a flourish of trumpets, or poems from the Empire's Poet Laureate, or the encouragement of the Peace Societies, or pæans of praise from a certain section of the English press, the Colonies have taken upon themselves "the White Man's burden." How well they are performing their task is proved by the fact that the world hears nothing about it. As for the average Englishman, he ascribes this satisfactory state of things to the wisdom of the Colonial Office, quite oblivious of the fact that all the great Colonies are *self-governing*. In 1860 the area governed by responsible Ministries was 1,835,647 square miles, with a population of about 3,000,000, which included 100,000 natives; in 1898 it was 7,180,956, with a population of 11,072,472, which included 2,357,362 natives. In other words, two-thirds of the whole area of the

Empire is ruled by Colonial Englishmen, a political fact whose vast importance is recognised only by foreign nations. Great as their responsibilities are, however, it is not their fault that they are not greater. The Dominion, for instance, did all in her power to induce Newfoundland to join the Confederation. The Cinderella of the Colonies foolishly refused, and has since sold herself to a Canadian citizen. As for New Zealand, during the past forty-five years she has seized every chance of pressing the annexation of Samoa on the Home Government, and of extending English influence in the islands. In 1853 Sir George Grey, foreseeing the advent of France and Germany in the Pacific, suggested a Federation of all the South Pacific Islands, with New Zealand as a centre. His plan was laughed to scorn by the Colonial Office, and his warnings as to French designs on New Caledonia disregarded. Somehow, the Colonial Office, which in its wisdom put three big men on a plate as it were, does not laugh now that the china is being broken in their efforts to obtain a footing. In 1872 New Zealand offered to administer the islands, again in 1884, and again in 1894. But she made no more impression on Downing Street than Australia in the matter of New Guinea. South Africa in 1859 was ripe for Confederation, and a scheme was forwarded to the Duke of Newcastle by Sir George Grey, who was then Governor of the Cape Colony. But he was frowned upon by the Home Authorities, and the golden opportunity was lost.

From every point of view it is desirable that the self-governing Provinces of the Empire should take up their share of "the weary Titan's burden," and in the near future a great development in this direction may be expected. For there is no doubt that Colonial Ministries are better able to rule new communities than the Colonial Office, which has seldom shown the necessary ability in administering distant dependencies. How could it be otherwise, when its knowledge of the Empire is purely academic? A Colonial Ministry, on the other hand, is more elastic in its views, and

hampered neither by party issues nor tradition. Moreover, it is more in touch with the people it is called upon to govern, and accustomed to deal with the problems which they present for solution. It treats a question more on its merits than on the particular light in which it will appear to a certain number of gentlemen, whose opinion of it is formed by theory or sentiment. Not that party feeling is absent in the Colonies, but when it conflicts with national ideals it can be more effectually silenced than when it conflicts merely with ideas, as in England. The territories governed by Colonial Ministries may safely challenge comparison with the territories ruled by the Colonial Office. South Africa, after a hundred years of Home Government inconsistency, is plunged into one of the great wars of the century. Could there be a more damaging indictment of our rule? Had Natal and the Cape Colony been in the position of Canada with regard to British Columbia in 1871, they would never have consented to the retrocession of the Transvaal after Majuba Hill; nor can we conceive that they would have quietly permitted a subject State to oppress British subjects, transform itself into a huge arsenal, and lay the foundations of Dutch supremacy in South Africa. The instinct of self-preservation alone would have preserved them from such political imbecility. The West Indies are sunk in despair, out of which they see no escape except in annexation to Canada or the United States. British Honduras would be a disgrace to Spain. British Guiana is not much better. Cyprus is a failure, and Malta can hardly be described as a success. The West African settlements have lost their hinterland, and are by no means as flourishing as they might be. And since these things are so, it is not wonderful that the regions ruled by the Chartered Company absolutely refuse to accept the administration of the Colonial Office, whose chief sin is not of the will, but of its remoteness from the pulsations of Colonial life.

# WAS VOHU MANAH PHILO'S LOGOS?

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D., OXFORD.

It was with a feeling of very deep mortification indeed that I read such a suggestion as the above from the pen of a serious scholar.\* It seemed to me, indeed, so futile, if not so feeble, a hypothesis that it proved too much rather than too little, and showed that the once-gifted pen that repeated it (for it was not original with any distinguished Zendist) had become blunted by popular writing, and that the hand behind it had for the moment lost its cunning. It was written in a whirl of popular literary details, details which left the great writer no time to recover his scattered thoughts, only showing once more that exactness can hardly go on hand-in-hand with a pandering even to refined superficial tastes. Vohu Manah was not Philo's Logos, first, because it was a totally different conception in its nature, and, secondly, because it was extant in a literature hundreds of years before Philo was thought of. It would seem that any schoolboy could have seen that the Logos of Philo, which was, of course, an elaboration of that of Plato, made for a point glaringly in contradiction to a leading Zoroastrian tenet, which was that God, as Ahura, created the heaven and the earth, without any intermediary needed on account of the unholiness of matter. Philo, on the contrary, expands himself in a delineation of the uncanny thing which God could not touch, but needed a logos to bridge the chasm.† If the Logos had any analogon among the *Amesha Spenta*, it would be *Asha*, and not *Vohu Manah*, for *Asha*, as the rhythm of law, was in one light only exactly what Heraclitus, the first conjecturer who made elaborate use of the term, meant by the "Logos."

*Asha*, as well as *Vohu Manah*, is therefore heterogeneous to, or, as we might better say, from the Platonian concept so fully developed by the ardent Philo. Zoroastrian philosophy knows nothing about an inherent impurity in all matter, though it was the first philosophy which emphasized the original and eternal separateness between a good and an evil creation. Heraclitus himself never stated his hypothesis of an eternal "war" more firmly than did Zarathushtra in Yasna xlv. 2. And as Heraclitus at Ephesus was a near neighbour to a Zoroastrian theology, we may well hesitate before we deny that the great dualist of Asia Minor got his leading hints from the man who composed the Gâthas or from the same original.‡

\* Any person familiar with Zend philology knows to what this refers. I avoid names from a sense of delicacy.

† Matter was something "confused," "undetermined," or "undefined." God could not come into contact with impure matter. Therefore, bodiless powers were used by Him, the actual names of which were "the ideas" ("De Vict. Off.," xi. 261).

The powers of God (conceived of as in a sense separated from Him) were in general intermediaries; but this doctrine finally culminated in that of the Logos as the summing up of the powers (Heinze, "Lehre vom Logos," 72, s. 215. He, the Logos, was the "organon" through which the Kosmos was formed ("De Cherub.," i. 162; "Leg. Alleg.," iii. 1, 106, H. 217).

‡ Though he differed from the Gâthic sage on no less an item than the existence of a supreme *effective* God as a universal creator.

Plato (at Athens) came into contact with Cratylus, the pupil of Heraclitus (Plato, I think, being a young man at the time), and it is more than probable that those interviews and conferences first aroused in the Athenian that grand if erroneous surmise which bridged for him the separation between a God untainted with "existence" and the poor struggling world (kosmos); but in formulating a dualism between God and nature Plato departed from that dualism which recognised a strife in Nature without condemning both sides at once as being each so inherently impure as to need an intermediary between both and each of them and the Supreme Abstraction. The Platonian-Philonian Logos had nothing to do with either the *Asha* or the *Vohu Manah* of Zoroaster, because the two ideas had each one element in itself irreconcilable with a chief element in the other, although both were attributes or quasi-attributes of a concept which served each thinker as a supreme Deity.

But, secondly, neither *Vohu Manah* nor *Asha* could have been the Logos of Philo, because both were familiar ideas in a well-known literature hundreds of years before Philo existed, or Plato either, for the matter of that; and it is amazing that any man of reputation could have penned such a thought as the one refuted without at least calling attention to some of the patent facts. *Vohu Manah* as the name of a Vedic Ṛishi was somewhat late, for the hymn in connection with which his name stands was not a very early one (relatively considered) as a part of the Rig Veda, but the occurrence of the word *Vasumanas* (*Vohu Manah*) as a proper name\* shows that the idea was very familiar to the people of the Vedic period, as do also the synonymous or analogous terms† which occur in the same early lore.

But the companion ideas, *Asha*, *Khshathra*, *Aramaiti*, *Haurvatāt*, and *Ameretatāt*, are very familiar in old Vedic, occurring in the most ancient pieces which have survived to human memory. Their forms are *ṛtā* (*asha*), *kshatrā*, *arāmaiti*, *sārvatātī* and *amrtatvā*. They are scattered in the Veda, but collected in the Avesta. To imagine that any of these venerable concepts, which had their firm existence in the earliest records of our race, were invented by either Philo or Plato, or even by Heraclitus, is simply absurd. And I am confident that no one who ever said they were so invented had ever given a sober thought to the subject or an hour's investigation amid the proper sources of information. It is deplorable that in the legitimate search for what is new, respected scholars should wish to bring themselves into undesirable prominence by venturing upon revolutionary propositions which are pseudo in their character. Surely there is enough that we can say that is new in a science, the very materials of which have notoriously never yet been completely exploited in all their parts, without stultifying ourselves by such a hazard as to say that "*Vohu Manah* was Philo's Logos."

Oxford.

\* R.V., x. 179. 3. (Not mentioned in the text, but by Sāyaṇa. He was, in fact, the reputed author of but a single line.)

† Such as *sumanas*, *sumati*, etc.

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

LET us begin by bringing to the notice of our readers several works which are about to be published, and which we have several times had occasion to mention. In the first place, the "Dictionnaire de la Bible," edited by the Abbé Vigouroux, of which the sixteenth fascicule (Fontaine-Gazer) has recently appeared;\* the first and second volumes of this important collection are now complete. The seventh volume of the third edition of the "Realencyclopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche," edited by Hauck,† comprises articles from *Gottesdienst* to *Hess*, and proves the regularity and rapidity with which this remarkable work is being proceeded with. The same cannot, unfortunately, be said of the "Assyrisch-englisch-deutsches Handwörterbuch," by Muss-Arnolt, of which the ninth number has been published,‡ the preceding number having been issued nearly a year ago. It will be remembered that this dictionary has been in course of publication since 1894!

The "Recueil d'archéologie orientale," by Clermont-Ganneau, is now completed, the last numbers of Vol. III. having been published,§ in which there is an interesting article on El-Kahf and the cave of the "Seven Sleepers" (the well-known legend of the sleepers of Ephesus), accompanied by explanatory figures and plans. The third and last volume of the "Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient classique," by Maspero, is also completed.|| It extends from the Assyrian revival (Assurnazirabal, 885-860, and Salmanasar III., 860-825) to the Persian conquest (Cyrus, Cambyses, Darius) and the end of the old Eastern world (Median wars, the last national dynasties of Egypt, and the Oriental world at the time of the Macedonian conquest). This notable work by one of the masters of Eastern science is of extreme importance, and forms a kind of historical encyclopædia of the classical ancient East (Egypt, Syria, Chaldea, Assyria, Persia). Nothing could be richer or more varied than its contents. The erudition is very extensive and the information trustworthy; but the method of explaining and the editing appear defective. In order to display before the reader the simultaneous destinies of different peoples of the East in a single tableau, one often has to sacrifice clearness in so complicated a subject. We notice finally, amongst general works, the German translation of the late Dr. Robertson Smith's remarkable book on the religion of the Semites.¶

\* Paris, Letouzey et Ané, 1899.

† Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1900.

‡ Paris, Hachette, 1900.

¶ "Die Religion der Semiten," übers. von Stübe. Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

† Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1899.

§ Paris, Leroux, 1899.



THE OLD TESTAMENT—HISTORY AND RELIGION OF ISRAEL,  
APOCRYPHAS, ETC.

A new volume of "La sainte Bible polyglotte" (Hebrew, Greek, Latin, French) has appeared, edited by the Abbé Vigouroux. It contains the Books of Numbers and Deuteronomy.\* As we remarked in our last report, this publication is serviceable, but we cannot refrain from criticising some strange statements which it contains. On page 1025, in a note upon the longevity of the patriarchs, there is the astounding assertion that "there are still sometimes to be found examples, sufficiently authenticated, of people who have much exceeded the ordinary term of life, and have lived from 150 to 200 years."† It is really to be regretted that the author has omitted the sources from which he has taken such extraordinary information!

Among the works on the Old Testament we may quote the interesting commentary of Kittel upon the Book of Kings‡ appearing in the Nowack Collection ("Handkommentar zum Alten Testament").

The remarkable work by W. St. Chad Boscawen on "The Bible and the Monuments" has been translated into French by C. de Faye.§ This book possesses great merit, although one could dispute various doubtful interpretations of texts or facts (for instance, the relationship established by the author between Mount Sinai and the lunar god Sin). Indeed, the author not only thoroughly knows his subject, the archæological and linguistic riches of which he unfolds with enthusiasm, but he also fully grasps the spirit of it.

He draws attention to one of the most characteristic traits of the Semitic race when he affirms that the Semitic peoples patronize the customs as well as the language of those that surround them. The entire history of Israel is a striking example of this essential character. That is why the author has been able to write a popular volume full of interest upon the very numerous and very intimate analogies between the Bible and the monuments of Babylonian Assyria.

Another popular and scientific work to be noticed and recommended is the last edition of the manual for acquiring a knowledge of the Old Testament, by Köstlin.§ The Italian review of Orientalism *Bessarione* (Nos. 41, 42, Rome, 1899) has commenced the publication of an interesting study by G. Gabrieli on the Semitic sources of a legend respecting Solomon, the *Kebra Nagasht* (biblical sources, Joseph, Rabbis):

We now turn to the Apocryphas, and must first welcome the completion of the great publication by Kautzsch on the Apocryphas and Pseudepigraphs of the Old Testament, the last numbers of which (29-34) have appeared.|| They contain the fourth book of Esdras, the Apocalypses of

\* Paris, Roger et Chernoviz, 1900.

† "Die Bücher der Könige." Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1900.

‡ Paris, Fischbacher, 1900 (with 24 photo-gravures).

§ "Leitfaden zum Unterricht im Alten Testament für höhere Schulen," third edition. Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

|| Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

Baruch, the Testaments of the twelve patriarchs, and the life of Adam and Eve. Ecclesiasticus continues to give rise to much critical and exegetical literature. We quote the following among those which have appeared on this subject: König has endeavoured to show the originality of the Hebrew text, lately discovered, of the wisdom of Jesus, son of Sirach;\* Nöldeke (*Zeitschrift für die alttest. Wissenschaft*, vol. i., 1900) has introduced some remarks on the Hebrew of Ben Sira. Finally, in the *Revue biblique internationale* (a Dominican Catholic publication)† Touzard has commenced an investigation on the new Hebrew fragments of Ecclesiasticus.

• Professor Basset, in his interesting Ethiopian Apocrypha series (No. X.), has published "La Sagesse de Sibylle."‡ The Ghéez version of this work, unpublished, and translated for the first time, is of rather recent date, and is derived from a lost Arabic translation; at the British Museum and elsewhere there are several manuscripts of this text. The original of this Apocrypha appears to be Syriac. From this Syriac original, from which a lost Armenian translation was made, are derived the Arabic versions (two in number),§ Ethiopian and Carchonian (Arabic in Syriac characters) which are in our possession. The contents of this apocrypha would indicate its date to be towards the middle of the thirteenth century (1247-1250). Basset prefaces the Ethiopian translation with a very instructive and clear introduction, and ends with a translation of the two Arabic versions (of the Bibliothèque nationale) of the Sibylle of Tibur (according to the edition of Sackur), and some chapters on the end of the world from the "Perle des merveilles," by Ibn el Ouardi.

By putting the texts together, one can thus compare the Christian and Mussulman apocryphal traditions, and explain the influence which the former exercised over the latter. Professor Basset is to be congratulated on his successful efforts.

• The publication (text and translation) of the Talmud of Babylon by L. Goldschmidt continues; the second part of the treatise "Erubin" has appeared.|| One cannot give too much encouragement for the completion of this important series.

In terminating the Hebrew part of this report we must point out a new book by N. Slouchz: "Emile Zola, sa vie, son œuvre," written in Hebrew.¶ Zola, by the prominent part he played in the Dreyfus affair, could not but stir up enthusiasm and sympathy amongst the Israelites. The work, which Slouchz dedicates to him, is a fresh proof of it. It is divided into three parts: the man, the author, his works. After having related the life of Zola, the author describes the writer from a literary, philosophical, and psychological point of view. There is an interesting chapter where the author establishes a parallel, which is not without grandeur or truth, between Zola and the prophets.

\* "Die Originalität des Hebr. Sirach textes." Freiburg-i.-B., Mohr, 1899.

† Paris, Lecoivre, 1900, No. 1.

‡ Paris, Bibliothèque de la haute science, 1900.

§ The two different versions of the Arabic translation from which the Ghéez text is derived.

|| Berlin, Calvary, 1899.

¶ אמיל זולא. Warschau, verlag Tuschijah, 1899.

The book finishes with a short analysis of every book published by the celebrated novelist. Slouchz writes Hebrew admirably. From a perusal of his writings, we are surprised at the facility and elegance in which the ancient Biblical language appears; he is a master of this forcible language, of which the Old Testament presents so many admirable pages.

#### ISLAMISM AND ARABIC LITERATURE.

A new translation of the "Thousand and One Nights" has begun to appear in French, three volumes of which I have before me.\* This translation, which will consist of a considerable number of volumes, is due to an enthusiastic admirer of the famous collection of Arab stories, Dr. Mardrus. The work is well got up, but the author claims perfect literality, more so than even Burton, and has fallen, in this respect, into exaggeration. It is, in fact, a useless literality, and rather ridiculous to translate, as, for instance, "The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night," or "she threw her soul into the water." One knows that the Arab employs certain words (soul, etc.) with the pronominal suffix in place of the personal pronoun ("she threw herself into the water"). Also: "He drank at the eye of a running stream"; the word *eye* in Arabic means also source, etc. The author also pays particular attention to detail in his translation of delicate passages in the Arabic text; literality is here transformed into an analysis of the original, which savours somewhat of the indecent expressions of the text. He should have been satisfied with being exact without running the risk of being accused of obscenity.

Apropos of the "Thousand and One Nights," we may mention an interesting work on folklore by Chauvin, entitled "Mahmud," or the Legend of the Barber Assassin.† In this work there is a very true observation: "An event which has happened everywhere (like the story of Mahmud) has probably happened nowhere, and one finds in it inventions of the nature of the ritual of manslaughter or the poisoning of wells, which had the result of stirring up an ignorant and cruel people against certain persecuted races, such as the Christians or the Jews."

In the *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* (vol. i., 1900) may be noticed a very short article by Goldziher on the שֶׁמֶן (Deut. xxii. 11; Lev. xix. 19)—that is to say, on the mixture of tissues (wool and flax) in one and the same dress. It is proved that the Arabian authors had a knowledge of magical practices obtained by an identical mixture of similar products (wool and cotton), the one of animal and the other of vegetable origin.

We have reserved our conclusion for the mention of an important work on "L'Islam dans L'Afrique occidentale," by A. Le Chatelier,‡ to which we desire to draw our readers' particular attention. This remarkable work of Le Chatelier, the materials of which were gathered on the spot by the author in the course of his travels in Senegal, Gambia, Sudan, etc., is divided into three parts. The first part treats of the countries (land and soil), the inhabitants (the different races and their history), their creeds

\* Paris, éditions de la *Revue Blanche*, 1899-1900.

† Wallonia, Liège (January 13, 1900).

‡ Paris, Steinheil, 1899.

(the coming of Islam, and its conquests before the modern period), of Western Africa (Songhai, Berbers, Arabs, Sudanese races, Jews). The author has devoted special attention to the Mandés, and, above all, to the Peuls. Several well-got-up maps of the Mandé and Peul countries, and the propagation of Islam by migrations, help us to follow the text more easily and to discriminate amongst the mass of matter quoted. The second part relates to the revival and the propagation of Islam in the same countries in modern times. We there read the very captivating history of El Hadj Omar, the surprising epopee of Samory, not to speak of other less illustrious chiefs whose power was considerable.

In conclusion, the author tells us of the actual state of Islam (the repartition of Mussulmans, local characters of religious influences, rites and doctrines, the future of Sudanese Islam). Several maps serve to enrich and explain the two latter parts, which end with a lengthy bibliography and an analytical index.

Le Chatelier's work is the history of the conquests of Islam in Western Africa. It is enriched with documents, and is written with the greatest impartiality. The author points out the colossal power of Islam; he endeavours to discover its causes and its *raison d'être*. He does not conceal the drawbacks of Christian missionary work, and enters into the numerous considerations and conclusions from the French political standpoint, which we cannot discuss here. He believes in the future of Sudanese Islam, and explains what steps should be taken to limit its propagation. The author is quite right in laying stress on the great force given to Islam by its language—the Arabic—and on the commercial power it possesses. To sum up, Le Chatelier's work is to be warmly recommended to those who study Islam in its actual advance. It is a book full of facts, and written in good faith. One cannot say this of all publications which appear on Islam.

In conclusion we announce a very interesting article by Doutté on the Marabouts ("Notes sur l'Islam maghribin") which appeared in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* (November-December, 1899).

CLARENDON PRESS, OXFORD.

## SACRED BOOKS OF THE BUDDHISTS.

EDITED BY F. MAX MULLER.

VOL. II.: DIALOGUES OF THE BUDDHA, TRANSLATED FROM THE  
PALI BY T. W. RHYS DAVIDS.

BY JOHN BEAMES, B.S.C. (RETD.).

THIS is a further instalment of translations of the vast collection of Buddhist religious works, an immense undertaking which nothing but extreme zeal and interest in the subject could induce any European scholar to undertake. Thirteen Suttantas are here translated, the endless repetitions which render Buddhist literature so repulsive and wearisome being omitted, and each text being provided with a learned introduction and copious notes. In a preface are contained valuable notes on the probable age of the dialogues. While in a field hitherto, in comparison of its vastness, so little worked, much must still remain undecided, the learned translator, however, has given all the evidence available for establishing what he modestly calls a "working hypothesis," which further researches may either confirm or modify. The Dīgha and Majjhima Nikāyas, as these dialogues are called in Pali, are proved to be older than Milinda, which was written in Northern India about the time of the Christian era. They are older than the Kathā Vatthu, written at Patna in the middle of the third century B.C. They are older than inscriptions of the same century. They are older than Asoka. There is even fairly good reason for assuming that they are as old as the fifth or sixth century B.C., which brings them up to the period immediately following the death of the Buddha.

As usual in Indian teaching in schools of every kind, the instruction imparted by the Buddha took the form of *sūtras*, or aphorisms, short sentences intended to serve as a *memoria technica*, while their full meaning was to be developed either by oral instruction or by written commentaries. It is necessary to bear this in mind in order to understand, not only the form and arrangement, but also the subjects of these discourses. They range over a wide area, including moral teaching, the ascetic life, caste, the claims and position of Brahmans, and many other points of minor interest. As in other Buddhist texts, there are many curious and interesting allusions which throw light on the habits and customs of the people of India in those distant times, though from the nature of the subjects treated there is perhaps less information of this kind than is found in the Jātakas. The notes throughout are a mine of information, and the whole work is well worthy of the reputation of the learned translator and editor.

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## DESCENDANTS OF OLIVER CROMWELL IN CALCUTTA.—PART I.

BY C. R. WILSON, M.A.,

Principal of Patna College.

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JOHN RUSSELL, GOVERNOR, 1711-1713.

1. AFTER all that has been recently told us about the great Protector, Oliver Cromwell, and his family, an interesting chapter still remains to be written on his descendants in Calcutta, for such there were in the first half of the eighteenth century.

These offshoots of the Protectoral tree were all sprung from Frances, the youngest daughter of the house, a lady, it would seem, of singular attraction, and rich in suitors. At one time His Majesty Charles II. solicited her hand in marriage through the Earl of Orrery, as a happy conclusion to the contention between King and Parliament, but Cromwell after some hesitation refused him as being too "damnably debauched." At another time Cromwell surprised his chaplain, Master Jeremy, while on his knees before the Lady Frances, kissing her hand, from which it appeared that it was high time that she was married and settled. The choice seemed to lie between the Prince of Condé and the young and wealthy John Dutton, who had actually been bequeathed to Frances by his uncle. The lady herself preferred Robert Rich, the grandson of the Earl of Warwick, who, however, died soon after his marriage. She now took as her second husband Sir John Russell, the representative of an ancient and honourable family, and grandson of Sir William Russell of Chippenham, Cambridgeshire, created first baronet in 1629. It is the story of the children of this marriage which brings us to Calcutta in the early half of the eighteenth century.

2. Passing by William, the eldest son and fifth baronet,

of whose children something may be said at another time, I come at once to John, the last and posthumous son, born in London on October 4, 1670. On November 22, 1693, John Russell was elected a factor for the East India Company, and in this capacity arrived in Bengal on December 3, 1694. On December 17, 1697, he married his wife Rebecca, sister of Sir Charles Eyre, the then Governor of Calcutta, by whom he had one son and three daughters.

In 1704, in consequence of the arrangements made upon the union of the two rival East India Companies, the line of Calcutta governors was for some years interrupted; and the management of the English affairs in Bengal was placed in the hands of a Council of eight, with two chairmen, one to represent the old and one the new Company. Of this Council John Russell was appointed the fourth member, but on the death of Ralph Sheldon in April, 1709, he succeeded as Chairman for the old Company. The Chairmen presided over the Council in alternate weeks, but this division of responsibility robbed them of all authority, and the "rotation government," on account of its incessant quarrels and disputes, became the laughing-stock of all India. At last, in November, 1709, the Court of Directors in London resolved to abolish the system of dual management, and appointed Captain Anthony Weltden President and Governor of Fort William in Bengal. On July 20, 1710, Russell, in conjunction with Abraham Addams, the Chairman of the new Company, made over the government of Calcutta to the new Chief. The doings of Anthony Weltden—how in the earlier part of his career he precipitated a massacre on the English in Siam, and narrowly escaped being killed himself; how at this time he took bribes wholesale in Calcutta, and on his way home fell a prize to the French—are another story. His rule in Bengal was short. One Court of Directors, considering that the government of Fort William required fresh blood, appointed him—an utter outsider—President; another



Court, desiring to give all reasonable encouragement to their old and faithful servants, revoked his commission, and made Ralph Sheldon, of whose death they had not heard, chief, and John Russell second in Bengal. Thus, after a brief rule of seven and a half months, Weltden was deposed, and in March, 1711, John Russell became Governor of Calcutta by right of seniority.

In attempting to form any estimate of his three years of rule, we may conveniently pass in review first of all his relations with what were then called the Country Powers ; secondly, his one act of spirited foreign policy, the Maldivé expedition ; thirdly, his attitude towards the French during the war—a somewhat small matter ; and lastly, his management of the internal affairs and commerce of the Company.

3. At the beginning of Russell's government, Bahadur Shah, the last of the Moguls for whom we can feel any respect, still sat on the Imperial throne. The province of Bengal, ruled nominally by Prince Azim-ush-shan, was really in the hands of the able but unscrupulous Murshid Quli Khan. But the officer in immediate connection with Calcutta was the Admiral and Governor of Hugli, Zea-ud-din Khan, the sole surviving representative of an old family of Mogul officials, who was extremely well disposed to the English.

The changes which followed during the years that Russell held office were in almost every case unfavourable to the interests of the English Company, and, indeed, of any kind of peaceful pursuit. At the request of the jealous Murshid Quli, Zea-ud-din Khan was turned out of his independent government of Hugli in September, 1711. In March, 1712, India was convulsed by the news of the death of Bahadur Shah. The usual family struggles followed. At first Jahandar, the Axe,\* contrived to defeat and kill his three brothers, and seat himself on the peacock throne. But at the same time Farrukh-siyar, the son of

\* From the English records it appears that on account of his cruelty Jahandar was popularly called *Kalharra*, the Axe.

\*Azim-ush-shan proclaimed himself King at Patna, and with the assistance of the two Sayyad brothers and the extorted wealth of Bengal raised a great army. At Christmas, 1712, he met and overthrew Jahandar near Agra, and the new year saw him established at Delhi.

Russell's attitude towards the contending powers was one of simple opportunism. It mattered nothing to him whether Tweedledum or Tweedledee sat on the throne so long as he could purchase piece goods at reasonable rates, and convey saltpetre from Patna to Calcutta in safety. Unfortunately this was just what the local authorities would not allow. They took advantage of the unsettled state of the country to demand various aids and benevolences, which the English merchants were most unwilling to give. Something had to be paid to secure the goodwill of the greedy Murshid Quli—something, too, to supply the necessities of the aspiring Farrukh-siyar; but, on the whole, the English under Russell did far better than the Dutch, who lost all their property in Bihar on the death of their agent, Jacob van Hoorn.\*

4. At one time, towards the end of the year 1712, the action of Zea-ud-din Khan made an opportunist attitude a little difficult. The nephew of one of Aurangzeb's viziers, and sole surviving representative of a great family, was not likely to quietly accept his dismissal from his office of High Admiral. Instead of withdrawing from Bengal, he remained at Hugli, and raised a large force of armed men. He avowed himself a strong partisan of Azim-ush-shan and Farrukh-siyar, and in July, 1712, was "ready to come to battle" with Murshid Quli's representative, Wali Beg, who besought the English to come to his assistance. The English, however, declared that they were merchants, and could not concern themselves with such matters. Yet, later on in the year, Russell twice attempted to mediate between the two parties, though without success; and the

\* The tomb of Jacob van Hoorn is still to be seen in the old Dutch Cemetery at Karinga, Chapra, with the inscription, "I. V. H., Obiit 26 Junij, A.D. 1712."

quarrel was not ended till April, 1713, when Zea-ud-din informed the English that he had been appointed treasurer of the western country near the coast of Coromandel. So the English made him a present to the value of Rs. 1,200, and lent him two small barges, and in June he took his departure to Patna.

5. In the latter half of the year 1712, Calcutta was honoured by the presence of two Embassies, which halted there on their way to the Mogul's Court. The King of Pegu's Ambassador arrived on August 23, under a salute of thirty-one guns. A week later news was brought that the Persian Ambassador had arrived in the river on a Dutch ship. The Company's Persian writer was sent to wait on him with a letter of congratulation, and the junior members of the Council met him at a distance of twelve miles from Calcutta. When he reached Govindpur,\* Governor Russell himself went off and attended him from thence up the river to the Fort,† where he was entertained with great respect. He was afterwards conducted to a house prepared for him in the town, and provisions were ordered for him and his attendants. On the morning of September 3, "the Persian Ambassador sent for the Governor and Council to dine with him, and acquainted them that he kindly accepted of the provision which was made for him yesterday, but would no longer be at the Company's charge." The next day the Ambassador dined with Governor Russell and the Council at Fort William. He asked Russell's advice about proceeding to Hugli while it was disturbed by the dispute between Zea-ud-din and Wali Beg, and was advised to wait in Calcutta for the present. So the Persian Ambassador stayed for nearly three months in Calcutta, and did not leave for Hugli till November 18. On this occasion the English merchants made him a present "in cloth and rarities" to the amount

\* Govindpur was the southernmost of the three villages which made up Calcutta, and occupied part of the site of the present Fort William.

† The old Fort William stood in the heart of Calcutta, and not in the south part of it, where the present Fort is.

of about Rs. 15,000, which he evidently appreciated, for in April, 1713, when about to leave Hugli for Delhi, he asked the English to send him "one piece of black cloth, fifteen covids of fine lace, three fine hats, one black and the other two white, and a black periwig." In return for these courtesies the Ambassador promised to do his utmost at Delhi for his Calcutta friends, and he carried with him a letter from Russell to the Emperor setting forth the English grievances.

The relations thus established by Russell with the Country Powers gave entire satisfaction to the Court of Directors, who held that it could never be amiss "to carry it fair with both parties," and, "when it can be done so as not to be discovered, to make them apprehend that you are always ready to do them service when in your power." And such they declared was the policy of Sir Charles Eyre, Russell's brother-in-law, who "did his business by good words and good correspondence, and rarely paid a penny for it." But the policy of fair words and opportunism seems hardly worthy of a grandson of the great Oliver, and I cannot, without shame, read the letter of John Russell of England to the Emperor Jahandar in which John Russell is described as "the smallest grain of sand," and his forehead as "the tip of the footstool of the Mogul," while the cruellest and most worthless of tyrants is styled "the prop of the universe, the conqueror of the world, the hereditary support of justice, whose throne may be compared to that of Solomon, and whose renown is equal to that of Cyrus."

6. The dealings of the English with the Maldivé Islands at the beginning of Russell's administration seem more in accordance with the spirit of his grandfather. The story is obscure, as all mention of the matter was deliberately suppressed; but it appears that about the beginning of the year 1711 the common fate of Oriental dynasties overtook Sultan Ibrāhim Mulhir-ud-din, the King of the Maldivé Islands. He had gone on a pilgrimage to Mecca. On his return he found that a subject, Muhammad Ismad-

ud-din, had usurped the throne and would not even let him set his foot on the Jessamine-scented island of Male, where the Maldivian Sultans resided. Coming to Bengal, Sultan Ibrahim applied first to the Dutch, and afterwards to the English, to help him to recover his throne. The Dutch refused to meddle with the business. But the English first of all sent a Mr. March with ships and soldiers to restore him; and when these failed in December, 1711, they sent three other ships with 110 men and Captain Gordon. John Calvert, the fifth in the Council, went as General with the second expedition. He was to receive Rs. 10,000 if he succeeded, and the English were promised the sole trade of the islands. But Calvert died, and the second expedition failed like the first. In spite of the secrecy with which these two expeditions were conducted, accounts were brought home to the Court of Directors by some of the ships' captains, and the matter became a serious ground of complaint against Russell.

7. The spirit of Cromwell flashes out, but only for a moment, in Russell's dealings with the French. At this time the war of the Spanish Succession was drawing to a close. The saltpetre from Patna, which helped to win the decisive victory of Blenheim, was still being burnt in numerous futile engagements; but a Tory Government was now in office, and the end of these things was certainly not far off. Yet these changes were hardly felt in India, where the English were far more jealous of their Dutch friends than of their French enemies. The struggle had not yet extended to the land, as it did forty years later, but was confined to the sea. Here and there an English ship was captured by the enemy, and from time to time the alarm was raised in Calcutta that the French were haunting the coast. But, beyond this, the war gave the English in Bengal very little trouble. The most serious shock was felt just as the war was nearly over. In 1712, when negotiations for peace were actually in progress at Utrecht, the celebrated quarrel between the footmen of Count

Rechteren and Monsieur Mesnager not only "held all the affairs of Europe in suspense," but lost the East India Company at least two more ships. In April the *Sherborne*, on her voyage from Calcutta to London, with the late Governor Weltden and his family on board, was met near the Cape by three privateers from Toulon, to whom she fell an easy prey. In September the same three ships appeared in the Bay of Bengal, and caused much anxiety. At this juncture Russell proposed to take vigorous action. He offered to fit out a squadron of six ships in conjunction with the Dutch "to clear these parts of the French"; and if this had been done we can hardly doubt that the losses of the English would have been more than repaired. But the Dutch refused to co-operate, and the proposal fell through. Meanwhile, the *Marlborough*, on her way from Madras to Calcutta, had fallen in with the Frenchmen and barely escaped after a hard fight; while a little galley which had been sent out to warn the other ships was herself surprised and taken. The Court of Directors presented the captain of the *Marlborough* with a medal, but they complained to Russell about the loss of the galley, for which they were unwilling to pay.

8. But although the Court of Directors were in no case pleased with Russell's few efforts after a spirited foreign policy, it was his internal administration of the Company's affairs in Bengal which met with their strongest condemnation. They complained bitterly that he mismanaged the Company's shipping, that he took no trouble to provide freight voyages for the Company's vessels while in India, that the goods purchased for the annual investment were badly selected and badly packed, that he left everything to his Indian broker, who was a villain, and that he allowed expenses to grow prodigiously, while the revenues of the settlement remained stationary.

A good deal could be said in defence of Russell under each and all of these heads. Thus, as regards the revenues of Calcutta, it may be pointed out that though Russell did

not see his way to take the particular steps recommended by the Court of Directors, yet he brought about a most substantial improvement by placing the management of the office of the Collector of Calcutta in the hands of Henry Moore,\* whose long years of faithful service justified the wisdom of the choice. As regards the much-abused Indian broker, it may be pointed out that subsequent experience showed that the accusations of the Court were unfounded, and that no better man could be found for the post.

On the other hand, if there was some slackness in Russell's general management of the Company's affairs, this can hardly be wondered at when we remember the unbroken length of his service in India, and his flagging energies. To this, undoubtedly, must be ascribed the fact that John Russell did very little for the health or safety of Calcutta. In the Fort he merely finished off the buildings which his predecessors had begun; but he made no effort to enclose the place with a properly constructed moat and earthworks. The Court of Directors frequently suggested large schemes for the improvement of the settlement, such as the digging of a great ditch all round the town, the building of a new dock and a large warehouse for general use. But Russell had no mind for such schemes. Thus Calcutta was left for the next fifty years with a fort which was really no fort, which made "a very pompous show to the waterside by high turrets of lofty buildings," but had "no real strength or power of defence."

9. For three years the Court of Directors remonstrated with Russell, and complained of his mismanagement. At last, in January, 1714, they wrote to Bengal to say that they had dismissed him from his office of President, and had appointed Robert Hedges to succeed him. As it

\* The Collector or Zemindar of Calcutta was always, till the days of Holwell, a member of the Council. He had under him a deputy or "Black Zemindar," who did the real work. Henry Moore seems to have been the only honest Black Zemindar during the whole of this early period.

happened, these orders were unnecessary. During the whole of his government, Russell had been in failing health, and, during the last two years, 1712, 1713, he had been frequently absent from Calcutta, which probably accounts for the opportunist dealings of his government with the Country Powers. In March, 1712, he went down the river on the *Mary Buoyer* in the hope of recovering strength; but the benefit, if any, could only have been temporary, for, at the beginning of 1713, it is recorded that Russell had then been for several months very much indisposed, and that the doctors declared that his only chance of recovery was to go up the river. Russell accordingly made over the charge of his duties to Robert Hedges, and went up to Nadia, accompanied by Richard Harvey, the surgeon of the *Recovery*, and by Captain Woodville, with a guard of fifty soldiers. In February Russell returned, and was apparently so satisfied with the treatment, that he had Harvey appointed doctor to the settlement to replace James, who had gone to England. But in a few days he had a relapse, and was again ordered away out of the bad air of Calcutta.

On April 14 his wife Rebecca, to whom he had been married for more than fifteen years, died at Chandarnagar, and was the next day buried in Calcutta. Russell, it would seem, was too unwell to attend the funeral, for he did not himself return from Chandarnagar till May 29. Left thus a widower, with three young children to care for and educate, Russell struggled on in great mental and bodily affliction through the steaming months of the hot season of Lower Bengal till, at the end of the year, the departure of the Company's shipping brought him his release. In the autumn, he seems to have spent a good deal of time on the river, going about from ship to ship. In the log of the *Cardigan* we catch glimpses of him as he passes by under a salute of twenty-one guns to dine on the *Somers* or sup on the *Marlborough*, on which he was to take his passage home. At length, on Thursday, December 3, 1713,



"having already committed the Company's cash and all under his charge to the care of Robert Hedges, Esq., and not being charged with any debt in the Company's books," he resigned "his station, leaving Mr. Hedges to succeed as President possessed of that station agreeable to the Company's orders." As the *Cardigan* lay at anchor opposite the Fort, her captain, who seems to have been ready to burn powder on every possible occasion, manned the yards of his ship, and fired twenty-one guns when Russell delivered up his commission, and twenty-one more when he went into his boat. On Wednesday the 9th the *Marlborough* sailed from the Sand Heads, and Russell saw the last of the flat shores of Bengal. On the 22nd the ship reached Madras, where they stayed a month. Early in April they touched at the Cape, and Governor Russell went ashore, and returned after a week's stay, each time under a salute of eleven guns. In August, 1714, Russell with his three children reached England.

10. A year later, on September 7, 1715, John Russell, of Duke Street, St. James, Westminster, married Joanna,\* sole daughter and heiress of John Thurban, of Chequers Court and Alsborough, Buckinghamshire. Though only forty-five years old, the climate of India had left him no strength for active work, and so after a life of twenty years spent in retirement, he died at Bath on December 5, 1735.

By his second wife John Russell had only one child, Ann, who died an infant. Of his children by his first wife, Mary and Elizabeth,† the two younger girls, returned to India in 1728, where they were married, Mary to Josiah Holmes, and Elizabeth to Samuel Greenhill. The eldest daughter,

\* Her first husband, Colonel Edmund Revett, was killed at the Battle of Malplaquet.

† Mary was born on August 6, 1701, in Calcutta; married Josiah Holmes on November 13, 1728, and died without issue at Cassimbazar on August 30, 1732. Elizabeth was born on July 20, 1704, and married Samuel Greenhill of the Company's service on September 18, 1728. Her children lived to represent the family in England.

Frances,\* remained in England and became bed-chamber woman to the Princess Amelia. Of her the following anecdote is told. Once, on January 30, when she was adjusting the Princess's dress, the Prince of Wales, coming into the room, foolishly said: "Ah, Miss Russell, are you not at Church to endeavour to avert the judgment of Heaven from falling upon the nation for the sins of your ancestor Oliver?" To which she replied with spirit: "Is it not humiliation sufficient for a descendant of the great Cromwell to be pinning up your sister's tail?"

Charles,† his only son and heir, entered the army, and greatly distinguished himself in command of a battalion at Dettingen and Fontenoy. While at Minorca, as Colonel of the 34th Foot, he fell ill, and returning home, died in London on November 20, 1754. He lies buried at Kew, in the tomb of his uncle, Sir Charles Eyre.

The tomb may still be seen on the north-east side of the church, to which position it was moved in 1884, when the east end was enlarged. At one end is a shield with the arms of Eyre, and at the other a shield parti per pale with arms of Eyre and Carey, the family of Sir Charles Eyre's second wife. The inscription to the memory of Sir Charles

\* Frances was born on January 6, 1700. She married John Revett, only son of Colonel Edmund Revett and Joanna, who afterwards married Governor John Russell. John Revett died in 1763 and Frances in 1775 without issue; consequently the Chequers estate passed to Charles and Mary Russell.

† Charles was born or baptized on January 8, 1701. He married Mary Joanna, the daughter of Colonel Edmund Revett and Joanna, who afterwards married Governor John Russell. Their children were Mary, who died unmarried, and John, who succeeded as ninth baronet. The complicated relations between the Russells and the Revetts may be shown thus:

Rebecca, sister = Govr. John Russell = Joanna = Col. Edmund Revett.  
of Sir Charles  
Eyre.

Frances = John Revett.      Major Charles Russell = Mary Joanna.  
Sir John Russell, ninth baronet.

Eyre and his second wife, on the north side of the tomb runs as follows :

Under this Monument  
Lyeth interred the Body of  
SIR CHARLES EYRE, KT.,  
Who for several years was Governor  
of Fort William in Bengal,  
Which office of Great Trust He discharged with the utmost  
Skill and Fidelity to the Entire Satisfaction of the East India Company.  
He Lived in this Hamlet upwards of 28 Years,  
And Died September the 26th, 1729, in the 69th year of his age.  
He was a Gentleman of truly Virtuous and Just character,  
A liberal Benefactor to this CHAPPEL and Particularly Concerned  
in the Erecting of it.  
At his Death He Bequeathed Considerable Legacies to the Poor  
towards their Cloathing and Education.

Also Here Lyeth the Body of LADY EYRE, Widow and Relict  
of the Above SIR CHARLES EYRE, KT.  
She died the 16th January, 1735, in the 56th Year of her age.

The inscription to Charles Russell is on the south side of the tomb, and runs thus :

In this tomb with his Uncle,  
SIR CHARLES EYRE, KT.,  
to whom he was obliged  
in Education and Fortune,  
Lye the remains of  
COLONEL CHARLES RUSSELL,  
Who entered into the service of his King and Country in the year 1718.  
He served in GIBRALTAR in the year 1727,  
And led the first Battalion of Guards in the Charge at the Battle  
Of FONTENOI April the 30th 1745 with greatest bravery and  
Resolution And was soon afterwards honoured with the command of the 34th  
Regiment of Foot [Attending of] which in the Island of Minorca  
He contracted a disorder of which he died Nov. 20 1754  
Aged 54.  
In the more private duties of Life as a Husband Father and Friend  
He deserved the esteem and imitation of all that knew him.

## JAPANESE MONOGRAPHS.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

VII. ON ORNAMENTAL METAL-WORK APPLIED TO  
JAPANESE WEAPONS.

THE Japanese did not use firearms until the sixteenth century. The mighty sword and arrows were the chief defensive weapons. These they made in endless forms and fashions to suit all requirements—for distant practice or hand-to-hand fighting. Generals carried flat and closed fans, for giving direction on the battle-field or for use as a shield at close quarters. Often during action soldiers threw small sharp knives at each other. But the art of utilizing metals for weapons of defence was known to these people a thousand years ago. This art was brought to a great pitch of excellence in the fourteenth century, and was perfected during the term of Great Peace, which commenced A.D. 1603, and continued until the Restoration, A.D. 1868.

Arms were in great request during the turbulent times, when the Minamoto and Taira clans contended for the right of governing the people in a military sense; but when Ieyasu settled the long dispute and restored tranquillity, the beautifying of swords and sword furniture became a matter of great interest to all privileged to carry these protective weapons. In the sword was centred all the pride of the wearer; it became his dearest friend, the guardian of his honour as well as his greatest treasure. Most of the male population were armed, each feudal Prince having many retainers under him, all allowed not only to carry one, but two swords.\*

\* The wearing of two swords was granted as a great privilege. The large sword was for self-defence. The smaller one for self-destruction. This severe prerogative was extended to certain persons under certain conditions. For instance, if a retainer wished to avenge any wrong done to his liege lord, and went so far as to punish the offender with death, the

Upon the sword, as upon everything else which these Orientals produce, labour was abundantly lavished; every portion received minute attention—the guard, the blade, the hilt, the scabbard, down to the smallest accessories. Not only was it an appendage of dress in the daytime, but it was carefully laid aside in a suitable resting-place at night; and in the living-room of every house was seen a raised dais, with a stand specially provided for the purpose of holding the sword.

As many thousand swords were worn, an endless variety of patterns and makes was the result. Like everything else, hand labour alone was employed. Machinery was unknown. Tools were of the simplest description, and contrivances were nominal. Women took the heaviest share of the labour of sorting, washing, raising ores from the mine's mouth, and preparing them for the refining and other processes.

With regard to the making of swords, there were certain solemn rules of etiquette to be observed, which on no account could be disregarded. The forging was almost a religious labour, and those who undertook it had, in the first place, to exercise strict abstinence, robe themselves in new garments of a ceremonial pattern, and forge in secrecy, while above them floated the *Gohai*, or strips of white paper, offerings to the Shinto gods, or spirits of departed heroes, to invoke a blessing on the work.

Most of the best blades were of steel and iron combined, welded into each other, cut into bars, hammered out, folded and refolded, and reforged, until the numerous layers

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servant, if he had been granted the above-named privilege, was permitted to take the law into his own hands, and perform *seppuku*, a peculiar form of self-destruction. This act secured him the respect of his friends and followers, the honour of the family, and saved his real and personal property from confiscation. Had the life of the avenger and retainer been taken by stranger hands, honour and possessions would have been forfeited. One of the greatest classic stories of Japan is that of the forty-seven Ronins who avenged their lord, and then sacrificed their own lives in the bravest manner according to the idea of the times.

became perfectly amalgamated. After these processes came the tempering, during which stages the upper portion of the blade was carefully covered up with wet clay, sand, etc., and the edge alone exposed to heat. This was to create a very hard edge, while the back remained malleable to a certain extent, and able to receive the attentions of the engraver and chaser. Then followed the sharpening, which was not done by the aid of the grindstone, but by friction, backwards and forwards. Finally the polishing of the blade was undertaken, which was effected by a steel burnisher. A fine blade, carefully made by an expert, was of great value, and was often handed down as an heirloom through many generations, or was preserved in one of the temples, if the wearer had distinguished himself by deeds of heroism or valour. Many famous swords are known, and have legends attached to them. Sword-blades were sometimes engraved, sometimes cut in open patterns with a fret-saw, or otherwise ornamented. The chief attention of the metal artists was directed, from an ornamental point of view, upon the furniture or fitting of the sword, the scabbard, and the sheath.

The sword-guard is called, in Japanese, *Tsuba*; the collar fixing over the tang is called *Fuchi*, and the cap at the end of the handle *Kashira*; the ornament placed under the braid, that was usually bound round the handle, is named *Menuki*. These usual accessories received the most elaborate styles of workmanship. These portions were made of metals, usually iron, and various bronzes, though tsubas sometimes consisted of compressed paper, lacquered wood, or ivory.

There are no jewels used in Japan, as we understand jewellery, but to compensate for this deficiency the natives resort to alloying and preparing metals in such a manner that they can obtain and represent almost any required colour on the small space afforded by a sword-guard three or four inches in diameter. Even on the pommel, an oval less than one and a half inches long, a perfect picture replete

with the minutest details could thus be presented and endowed with life-like fidelity.

To effect the numerous colours found on these objects, the Japanese have recourse to alloys, which are termed, principally, *Shibuichi*, *Shakudō*, *Sentoku*, and *Sawari*. These can be varied by the quantities of the metal ingredients brought into their composition. *Shibuichi* is obtained, as a rule, by three-fourths copper and one-fourth silver, but sometimes other metals are introduced into it. *Shakudō* is principally copper and gold; *Sentoku*, copper and zinc; *Sawari*, copper and tin. This last-named is alloyed by fusion. The various shades and colours found in these alloys are due to the finishing process lavished upon them. The result of this process is termed patina. Japanese patina is not what is usually understood by the term, viz., "the presence of an unequal green film, found chiefly in ancient coins, and often counterfeited." Patina is produced by a pickle, for which there are several formulas, each alloy receiving special treatment. Verdigris, sulphate of copper, common salt, and vinegar form most of these pickling solutions. The alloyed bronzes above mentioned are dipped into these pickles. Then most beautiful effects are produced: sunlight, moonlight, blood-red flowers and pale-blue waters, are only some of the tasks a true metal artist delights to set himself to master.

Besides the aid of bronzes, alloys, and true metals, there are other ways of enhancing this art work. There are many methods of treating the portions to be embellished. On iron and bronze foundations, patterns can be worked out in gold, silver, and other metals. Firstly, by *Intarsia* work, which is a flat inlaying of metal on metal. This is done by excavating the metal base, and inserting other metals into the excavation, then hammering the one into the other. Secondly, by *damascening*, or incrusting. To effect this a groove is prepared by running a small chisel first one side, then the other, and afterwards hammering or burnishing a wire of fine metal into the minute channel.

Thirdly, by *Azziminia*. This is the decoration of one metal with another by *onlaying*. It is achieved by scratching fine lines crossways (like the warp and woof of linen), to form a rough surface, then by placing sheets of leaf metals upon the prepared portions and hammering with a mallet until the one substance adheres to the other.

Then there are other treatments differing entirely from those just described. They are, I believe, purely Japanese. One of these is termed *Mokumé*, or wood-grain, from its resemblance to the markings seen in wood that is cut and planed with the grain. A number of thin plates are arranged one over the other, and soldered together with a solder composed of silver, zinc, and copper, care being taken to arrange these strata of metal in order that a diversity of colours may be obtained. The whole is then placed upon a foundation, previously prepared, with raised spikes or points; the amalgamated plates are then hammered over the foundation, which results in prominences showing on the upper surface of the mass. The prominences are filed off, and circles and curves of many shades are produced resembling wood-grain. Another way of carrying out this work is by drilling conical holes in the upper surface of the mass, or cutting furrows in it of different depths, then hammering the surface together once more until the metals meet and mingle into a perfect even whole. By stirring mixed metals in a liquid state, just when they are on the point of solidifying, they unite, but do not thoroughly mix, and a mottled alloy is the result. This is a favourite process with Japanese art workmen. Besides these methods already described, the incrusting of other materials, such as coral, haliotis, or plates of ear-shell, coloured ivories, tortoiseshell, and so forth, into the foundation was often resorted to for a change. Cutting fine iron with a fret-saw into most fanciful and charming patterns proved a very successful mode of decoration.

Engraving, chasing, etching away by means of acids, as well as lacquering, were much practised, as well as *cloisonné*



and *champlevé* work, for which these Orientals have long been famous. Cloisonné enamel is a species of mosaic, and is extremely durable. Upon a copper foundation a tracing is first made of the intended design, and then a fine brass or copper ribbon is bent into the required form and soldered upon the foundation. The cells, or cloisons, as they are technically termed, are then supplied with enamel pastes of various colours. The cells are most carefully filled, left to dry in the air for a short time, and afterwards baked in a muffle, or oven-shaped furnace. Several repetitions of baking, refilling, rubbing, and polishing complete the process, and when these are finished the surface of the enamel becomes perfectly smooth and hard, and of uniform texture. This kind of work is generally carried out by women, who sit at a table each with some special tinted preparation before them. The object is passed from one to the other, each woman supplying to the cells, with the aid of a wand or scoop, the right-coloured enamel to effect the design. The substances employed are much the same as those used for *faience* or clay wares—ferric oxide for red and brown, manganese for violet, white lead for white, verdigris for green, blue vitriol and cobalt for blue, antimony for yellow, and so forth. These are so combined that, when ground down and mixed into a paste with volatile oil, they will fuse at a comparatively low temperature and become vitreous. The enamels are made up of certain substances coloured by metallic oxides; some shrink more than others during the operation of drying and fusing, and for this reason many beautiful examples of cloisonné become hopelessly spoilt. *Champlevé* is an embedded enamel, much rarer than cloisonné, and in this variety the cells are part of the groundwork itself; they are either carved out or cast in. *Champlevé* work is more translucent than cloisonné; it is always worked upon a gold foundation, with gold ribbons for the cloisons. In all differences of this ornamentation the surface of the work is ground down, levelled, and polished in order to secure a perfectly even appearance.

In *cloisonné* the metal barriers forming the cells, though perfectly unobtrusive and subservient, enhance the work by their presence, as well as being safeguards against any possible blur, or running of the pastes, which are used to follow out the scheme of decoration.

To the treatment of sword furniture already explained may be added: hammer-markings, carving, punching, etching away by means of acids and carbonizing. Hammer-marking, termed in Japanese *Nanakō*, or fish-roe, is much favoured. The markings formed by the blow from the hammer are infinitesimally small, and perfectly regular. *Nanakō* is chosen as a groundwork, taking the place of the "mats" executed by our English metal-workers. It gives a dulness to the object, an effect always pleasing to the Japanese art workman. It also sets off any further enrichment the object is destined to receive. Sometimes freer and bolder blows of the hammer constitute the only embellishment of iron and bronze *tsubas*, or sword-guards. In etching away by means of acids, the intended design previously agreed upon is sketched upon the foundation in some substance that will resist the influence of the acid. All parts intended to remain in their usual condition are covered over in the same manner. The object is then plunged into diluted nitric, sulphuric, or acetic acid, which dissolves and eats away the exposed surface to the depth required. This depth is determined by the time the object remains in the bath. A granulated groundwork is the result, which varies in fineness and texture according to the particular metal or alloy worked upon, as well as the acid selected for the occasion. It will be seen that in this kind of work no tool will be required, only a *Fudé*, or brush, for applying the varnish or lacquer used for the design.

Japanese iron is so pure and fine that it can be carved with a chisel, cut with a fret-saw, punched into patterns, and easily marked with a blow from the hammer. Punches, chisels, and steel-faced mallets are the usual simple tools of the metallurgist. *Tsubas*, *fuchi*, *kashira*, *menuki*, etc., are

sometimes cast when the embellishment is to be in high relief, but they are afterwards softened down with the chasing tools and beautifully finished.

Last, but not least by any means, is that lovely lustrous black known as carburized iron-work. To obtain this, the iron specimen is heated with "a limited supply of air in the presence of water-vapour and of the products of imperfect decomposition of vegetable matter." The dark, rich, glossy patina resists the influence of atmospheric moisture, so detrimental to most metals, and for a century or more a piece of iron thus treated will retain its pristine beauty, as if it had but to-day left the hand of the artificer. This carburized work is, perhaps, the most charming of all in the ample list of metallurgic triumphs.

## THE MUHAMMADAN ÆRA.

BY THE REV. J. D. BATE, M.R.A.S.

ON the 12th day of "Rabi-the-First" Muḥammadans commemorate the "Flight" of their Prophet from Mekka to Medina. This event gave its name to an Æra which is in many respects a curiosity. Interesting as these particulars are, we do not now propose to go into them, but merely to trace out how the mere change of residence alluded to came to be fixed upon as supplying the name. Between the simple historic fact of the Flight and the Æra which takes its name from that event, there is a distinction which even the highest literary authorities continually overlook. Muḥammad did not found the Æra, and the Æra does not date from the Flight: the distinction is a distinction of time. The importance of the question will appear if we observe that even so high an authority as the writer of an article in the latest edition of the best of our general Encyclopædias informs his readers that "the Mahometan æra is *dated from* the flight of Mahomet from Mécca to Medina, which was on the night of Thursday, the 15th of July, 622 A.D., and it *commenced* on the following day." The words which we have italicized embody mistakes which the following considerations will help to dissipate.

In the first place, it has never been doubted that the Muslim æra *takes its name* from the Flight of the Prophet, but the statement that the Æra "dates" from that event is inexact, and has been a fruitful source of error. For it is agreed among all historians who have investigated the matter that the Æra which takes its name from that event dates from the first day of the year in which it occurred. This curious device was the handiwork of Umar, the second Khalifa, and he was led to have recourse to such an anachronism from a desire to avoid disturbing the Arabian year. Even this, however, is not a complete account of the matter; for it seems that Hajiras (or "Emigrations")

Rabia,' and he arrived in Medina on the twelfth of the same month. But the Hegera begins two months before—to wit, from the first day of Muhurram. For that being the first month of the Arabian year, Omar desired not to make any alteration as to that, but anticipated the computation fifty-nine days that he might begin his Æra from the beginning of the year in which this flight of Mahomet took place, which gave name thereto. Till the appointing of this Æra it was usual with the Arabians to compute from the last war they were engaged in." So far Prideaux. At Mekka, in the lifetime of the Prophet, "the Æra of the War of the Elephant" and "the Æra of the Impious War" were those by which computations were made.

It remains to point out that the motive by which Umar is said to have been influenced is the analogy between the persecutions of the Christians and those of the followers of the Prophet. Holding the beliefs he held regarding Muhammad, he might conceivably have thought of making the Muslim æra commence (as in the case of Christians) from the year of the Prophet's nativity, or of his decease, or of his announcement of his prophetic mission. But finding that some of the Arabian Christians had taken to counting the years from the year of Christ 284 (the time from which was dated the last general persecution by Diocletian), and called it "the Æra of the Martyrs," the fervent and zealous Khalifa decided upon adopting the same principle in establishing an Æra for his own religion. He resolved, in imitation of his Christian neighbours, to institute the practice of commencing his calculation from the period of the most memorable persecution the Muslims had suffered; and this was, beyond a doubt, the sustained and bitter persecution which culminated at last in their abandonment of their native city, and seeking a settled home elsewhere. The above dispute between the debtor and the creditor was but the incident which formed the immediate occasion for the application of this principle, and but for this incident there is no ground for supposing that the

Æra known as the "Hajira" would ever have been instituted.

Thus much for the circumstances under which the Æra recognised by Muhammadans was first established ; but the precise date of the Hajira has, after all, proved to be one of the most perplexing questions in Muslim history. Scarcely any two authorities are entirely agreed regarding the point, and the difficulties increase the deeper one goes into the subject. In the first place, they disagree regarding the day of the week on which the Flight occurred. Tabari, Ibn Is-hák, and Wáqidi, all assert that Muhammad arrived in Medina on a Monday ; but then it is discovered that the 12th of Rabi-the-First was not a Monday in that year. Others, again, say that the Flight occurred on a Friday : thus, Ibn Qalbi says that the fugitives left the cave of Jabal Thûr on Monday, the 1st day of Rabi-the-First, and reached Medina on Friday, the 12th of that month. This author is probably correct, as the 1st and 8th of Rabi-the-First in that year have been found to have been Mondays. There is disagreement, also, as to the day of the month, some making the Flight occur on the 1st of Rabi-the-First ; others, the 3rd ; others, the 4th ; others, the 8th ; others, the 9th ; while, according to Wáqidi, some are of opinion that the Prophet arrived in Medina on the 2nd of that month. On one point, however, there seems never to have been any doubt—that the month was Rabi-the-First. The essential point in the controversy is the date of Muhammad's arrival in Medina—a different point entirely from that of his departure from Mekka. From the facts thus brought together it will appear that historians, both Arabian and European, are generally agreed that Muhammad made his Flight from Mekka in the earlier part of Rabi-the-First : the point on which they are not agreed is as to the precise *day* of that Flight which came in after-years to be celebrated under the name of "Al-Hejirah," or more correctly "Al-Hajira."

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

AT a meeting of the East India Association held on Tuesday, March 6, 1900, at the Westminster Town Hall, General Sir Thomas E. Gordon, K.C.I.E., C.B., C.S.I., in the chair, Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., delivered an address on "Persia." The following, among others, were present: Right Hon. Lord Chelmsford, G.C.B.; Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I.; Louisa Lady Ashburton; Sir William Wedderburn, Bart., M.P.; Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart.; Colonel Sir W. Bisset; Sir J. Danvers, K.C.S.I.; General Sir John Watson, K.C.B., V.C.; Sir Dennis Fitzpatrick, K.C.S.I.; Sir Alfred Lyall, G.C.I.E., K.C.B.; Sir Charles J. Lyall, K.C.S.I.; Hon. W. F. B. Massey Mainwaring, M.P.; Hon. C. M. Rivaz, C.S.I.; Mr. T. H. Thornton, D.C.L., C.S.I.; Hussein Kuli Khan, Secretary Persian Legation; General Macmahon; Lieut.-General Lance, C.B.; Colonel Clementi; Colonel A. Cousbey; Colonel J. Davidson; Colonel H. B. Hamilton; Colonel C. H. T. Marshall; Colonel R. Parry Nisbet, C.I.E.; Lieut.-Colonel Surgeon J. Ince, M.D.; Lieut.-Colonel and Mrs. Dudley Sampson; Dr. Theodore Duka; Mr. and Mrs. Aublet; Mrs. and Miss Arathoon; Miss K. Arbuthnot; Mr. T. Barnsley; Mr. C. E. D. Black; Mr. W. A. Buchanan; Mr. B. E. Spencer Broadhurst; Mrs. Bernard Broadhurst; Miss Broadhurst and Miss Florence B. Broadhurst; Mr. A. H. Campbell; Mr. H. Coke; Mr. W. Coldstream; Miss Julia Cole; Mrs. Cook and Mr. H. R. Cook; Mr. J. E. Champney; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Crichton; Mr. A. B. Dawson; Mr. D. Donovan; Mr. J. M. Douglas; Mr. A. R. Gawthrop; Miss Gawthrop; Mr. H. D. Greville; Mr. G. Featherstone Griffin; Mr. A. W. Harris; Mrs. Hotz; Mr. E. Horowitz; Mr. W. Hughes; Colonel

Kilgour; Mr. Kanwar Sain Mathur; Mr. Kelsall; Mr. T. A. Kern; Mr. F. Hall-Kirby; Mr. E. Koop; Mr. J. E. Liddiard, F.R.G.S.; Mr. R. Popham-Lobb; Mr. C. Lyne; Mr. George S. Mackenzie; Mr. C. G. Master; Mr. W. Mason; Mr. Allan McLean; Mr. David McLean; Mr. James Murray; Mr. G. Newell; Mr. J. B. Pennington (retired M.C.S.); Mr. and Mrs. F. Loraine-Petre; Mr. Lesley C. Probyn; Mr. G. B. Rennie; Moulvie Raffi ud din Ahmed; Mr. Alexander Rogers (late B.C.S.); Mr. E. Dennison-Ross; Mr. B. Gurbaksh Singh; Mr. F. Singh; Mr. Stielow; Mr. J. N. Stuart; Miss Tatham; Mr. J. Tiede; Mr. C. M. Thacker; Mr. C. G. Times; Mr. W. Warren; Miss Webster; Mrs. and Miss Welsh; Mr. J. H. L. Wells; Mr. Arnold White; Mr. Cuthbert S. Williams; Mr. W. Martin Wood; Mr. C. W. Arathoon, hon. secretary.

The CHAIRMAN: Sir Lepel Griffin has chosen for his address to-day a subject which I think is very timely and interesting—timely, by reason of certain events which have lately happened having attracted some particular attention to Persia; and interesting in view of the probable visit this summer to London of the Shah, His Imperial Majesty Muzaffer-ed-Din, who is the ruling head of the Persian monarchy—a very ancient monarchy. It arose when Babylon fell, and it has endured through wars, revolution, rebellions, and changes of Ministry from the days of Cyrus the Great of Scripture until the present time. I will ask Sir Lepel Griffin to give his lecture.\*

After some preliminary remarks, SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN said :

I would commence my address by expressing my pleasure at seeing in the chair my old friend Sir Thomas Gordon, whom I specially invited to act as a living witness to correct any errors into which I might fall, for he is, I consider, the man who is best acquainted with the politics, the people, and the trade of Persia, a friend of the late and

\* See our first article.



of the present Shah, and well acquainted with many of his Ministers.

There is no occasion for the East India Association to apologize for inviting an address and discussion on Persia, a country which is connected with India by a long diplomatic history, while the interests and perhaps the fortunes of both have been and will remain nearly related. You may remember that Lord Curzon dedicated his monumental work on "Persia" "to the officials, civil and military, in India whose hands uphold the noblest fabric yet reared by the genius of a conquering nation"; and in this dedication Lord Curzon not only paid what this Association may consider a just tribute to those services, but they will hold that his judgment was right in appreciating the importance which Persia is to India.

After Sir Lepel Griffin delivered his address, the CHAIRMAN said he thought the subject which had been opened up was too big a one for him to deal with in the short time that remained. The irrigation scheme was simply the revival of an old scheme. The irrigation cuts, the great canals, one of them 40 miles long and 40 feet in width, were ready to work when opened. It would require about £150,000 to begin it. The Shah's Government was excessively chary of giving anybody the chance of raising that sum, lest it should introduce colonies of labour, and all the demands and quarrels which the Government of Persia naturally believed would give them a great deal of trouble. It was a practicable scheme, and one out of which financiers could make money.

LORD REAY: If the chairman, with his wide knowledge of the subject, says that he is afraid to touch on it, I need not tell you that I, who am not an expert in Persian matters, shall not detain you except to move a vote of thanks to the lecturer. We all agree that the lecture we have heard to-day is full of interest. It is also one of various suggestions—suggestions so serious and of such import that it would be unwise, I think, for any of us to

express an opinion about them at once. I hope that this lecture will be widely circulated. There are two kinds of lectures: one which is addressed to an audience, and which is of an ephemeral character, which has for the moment given pleasure and excited applause. There are other lectures which are more in the form of essays, carefully thought out. I believe that this lecture entirely belongs to the latter category. It is entirely worthy of the speaker, and worthy of this Association. Obviously the subject of Persia is one of the greatest importance to all of us who are interested in the greatness and the security of our Indian Empire. To those who have long watched the progress of affairs in Persia, the conviction has been strengthened that Persia is not a *quantité négligeable* from our point of view; that we are greatly interested in everything that occurs in Persia—not only in the South, but also in the North. I shall not add one word more on the subject, which obviously is extremely delicate, as all those know who have had to deal with it more or less officially. Therefore, allow me before I sit down to propose a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Lepel Griffin for his admirable and most interesting lecture.

A vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

A vote of thanks to General Gordon for taking the chair was proposed by SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN, seconded by LORD REAY, and carried amidst applause; and the proceedings then terminated.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## JAPANESE ILLUSTRATED LITERATURE AND ART.

OF the many ideas that have been borrowed from Western sources, that of preparing daily papers, magazines, and other general literature for the public is already conspicuous in Japan. Where the two extremes of East and West meet, as in the case of the magazine the *Fuzoku Gahō*, our attention is drawn towards the efforts that have been made to form an interesting addition to literature and art.

Between Japan and European countries at first no copyright existed. Restrictions bearing on this important subject have already been considered, and came into force with other graver jurisprudential conditions in A.D. 1899.

The *Fuzoku Gahō*, for example, an illustrated magazine of Japanese life, is a modern press publication, comparatively speaking, in its infancy. It is a hybrid between ancient and recent work, of which many examples are now issued to the Japanese public. The system upon which it is "got up" shows that although Western ideas have been accepted, in many respects the original manner of making books is still studied. The title-page and frontispiece will be found at the end of the journal, and the pages number, according to our idea, backwards. The text is given in usual Oriental style, running half-way down the page from top to bottom, commencing from the right-hand side. All matter for reading, either explanations of pictures, news, advertisements, and so forth, is printed in Chinese characters, with the exception of the last page, which is in Japanese.

The illustrations show the influence of Western ideas. The *Fuzoku Gahō* is profusely illustrated in various ways—double-paged pictures confined to single subjects, or made up of many sketches, as we find them in our weekly numbers of the *Graphic*, the *Queen*, etc. This system is most frequently resorted to where several classes of the community are engaged in the same occupation, or when the old and new version of existing things are set off against each other by way of contrast. Single-paged pictures in black and white or colours, and also small sketches interspersed in the text, are comprised within the covers of this monthly. The *Fuzoku Gahō* embraces a variety of subjects of historic worth and present interest—ancient manners and customs that are rapidly disappearing, such as the secret forging of swords, the cutting of stone implements, the celebration of old-established festivals, down to the latest incidents in Corea and Formosa, thus insuring many readers by the wide range of subjects it embraces:

Occasionally advertisements of English goods appear in a cloud of Chinese ideographs, for instance, the figure of an English watch, printed on coloured paper to arrest attention; and Japanese articles of manufacture are recommended in the same European method.

Owing to the use of Chinese ideographs, in which most printed matter

is given, the editing of a journal or newspaper in Japan is no light task. Mr. Henry Norman tells us that the staff employed on a "daily" amounts to nearly a hundred and fifty persons.

As the Japanese equivalent for the Chinese characters employed requires to be kept continually in the ears of those who pick out the ideographs for the printer, the press-room is one murmur of sing-song from the lips of the boys whose business it is to hunt out the types from the tall cases that line the walls. The sounds must be uttered or they cannot be recognised among the many thousand types that need be overlooked for the compilation of an ordinary printed book. The lower classes in Japan cannot understand their journals unless they can read them aloud.

Too much credit must not be placed as yet upon daily intelligence. If news that will interest the public is not to be gained through the day's events, it must be forthcoming from the brains of the reporters. The absence of a general telegraphic system, or any other quick way of disseminating news from one town to another, renders reliable information difficult to collect at a given time. Besides, editors must not give too much to the public, and the large staff necessary is partly owing to indiscretions of this kind. There must always be one or more editors to spare. If injudicious liberality of information has enforced the temporary residence of an editor in a place of silence, safety, and police supervision, another must be ready to take up the work.

The pictures of the *Fuzoku Gahō* will interest those who have not been fortunate enough to have paid Japan a visit. The introduction of Western hats, umbrellas, boots, shoes, and other garments which take the fancy of Orientals, will be seen to show up conspicuously in the midst of native surroundings. The magazine gives an insight into Japanese home-life, pastimes and amusements, peculiar street trades, performances, scenes of national interest, and other items of life as it exists in the Far East.

The illustration of two authors writing on the old and new system brings vividly before us the change customs have undergone of late. It is a pity that the perfection of manliness, feminine beauty, and all other human attractions, is so lightly regarded by some of the greatest artists the world has produced. Life, vigour, movement, idealism of line, and all other essentials which lend value to works of art, declare themselves. But the mind tells, through the interpretation of the brush, how little the beauty of Divine modelling of the human form has appealed to the Asiatic. It is not due to defective talent, but simply to the influence of religious and moral training instilled through a thousand generations.

C. M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

## LAND TENURES OF GUJARAT AND WESTERN INDIA.

SIR,

As my name has been brought rather prominently forward by Mr. Baden-Powell in his article on the "Political Tenures of Gujarat and Western India," published in your number of last July, I think it as well to supplement some of the information he has given, and to correct a few

slight errors he has fallen into from inexperience of Bombay revenue matters. Why he should have called the tenures "Political" I do not understand, for they are no more due to political, as distinguished from ordinary, administrative origins than other tenures, all, or nearly all, mention of which has been omitted in the course of his remarks. Such are the Narvādāri in Kaira (Khedā), the Bhāgdāri in Broach (Bharūch), and the Khoti in the Southern Koukan: the former two of these are distinctly *coparcenary*, derived from a common ancestor or ancestors, or partly so, and partly *associate* through adventitious circumstances; and the last estates, held originally by mere farmers of State revenues, have in time become hereditary so as to constitute a permanent tenure.

He says of the Talukdāri, Mevāsi, and Udhadjamabandī estates that they are apparently recorded separately because the Government revenue is assessed differently in each; but the real reason of their distinct recognition as tenures lies in their difference of origin. The first and the last were, in fact, the same in olden days, and held by the same classes of Rajput overlords; and the difference in the methods of their assessment, that of the Udhadjamabandī estates remaining still at the same figures as before the advent of British rule, while those of the Talukdāri estates have varied in the manner stated, has arisen from the simple fact of the former being situated in what was formerly called the Eastern Zillah, north of the Mhye (Māhi river), and the latter in the Western Zillah. In the former village accountants were not appointed, and the rentals remained the same: in the latter they were, and the different method of assessment which has led to their degradation and ruin were adopted. The Mevāsi owe the difference in their treatment to the fear the Mogul and Mahrātha rulers of olden days had of meddling with a race of Kolis, who would have resented it turbulently, as the Rajputs in the more settled parts of the country did not, having become enervated, probably by opium-eating. A full account of how all this came to pass will be found in my "History of the Bombay Land Revenue under the Ahmadabad and Kaira Collectorates," by those who are curious in such matters.

I may here correct an orthographical error in the spelling of the word Māliki, which has probably led Mr. Baden-Powell into a wrong conception of the tenure, as if the word were derived from *Mālik*, an owner. The name is *Maleki*, and is derived from the name of the Mussulman tribe Malek, to which the original grantees belonged. They were in reality mere Jāgirs. The origin and treatment of the Kasbātis are correctly described.

The policy of the Government of Bombay in adhering to the old idea of the proprietary right of the State in all lands is attributed to a desire to possess a *locus standi* from which to secure the hereditary and transferable "occupancy" tenure of the cultivating *rayats*. This is to credit the authorities of former years with far greater political foresight than is their due; for the *rayatvādri* tenure was simply forced upon them by the state of chaos they found existing, and the disruption of all village ties, as the result of the system of farming out the collection of the State dues under the rule of the Mahrathas. The grant of the right of hereditary and

transferable occupancy to the rayats was a pure act of grace on the introduction of the Revenue Survey. The right is of course granted subject to the liability to the payment of the Government assessment, but that does not constitute the State the owner of the land, as Mr. Baden-Powell endeavours to make out. None but an owner can have a right to mortgage or sell his land, as the *rayat* has under the Survey Settlements. The State has deliberately made itself a rent-charger, abandoning the proprietary right. No doubt, under an uncivilized and unscrupulous régime the two terms might practically become synonymous, but under British rule the object is to create proprietors who have the full opportunity by law of benefiting themselves and their descendants by making untaxable improvements in their lands, and not to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. I accordingly repudiate the assertion that the Government remains the owner.

It is correct to say that the early idea that the Tálukdars were temporary lease-holders had a great influence. The word *ta'alluq* (تعلق) might give the idea that the estates were in a state of dependence, but I am more inclined to other senses in which the word may equally well be used, such as "holding together" and "property," or even "perpetual lease" (see Johnson's Persian Dictionary). The term "lease" as applied by us in their case is rightly said to have been merely a settlement of the State revenue for a term of years; the right to such settlement was, however, hereditary, and the insertion of clauses by which the idea of proprietorship was gradually infringed upon was the act of the earlier Collectors, merely for administrative purposes, without any *arrière pensée*, such as actually brought about a change of tenure.

Referring to Mr. Baden-Powell's remarks on the subject of *wántá* (literally divided lands), if he had consulted the old Bombay Regulation III., of 1827, he would have found this and many others included among the tenures which, according to the custom of the country, conferred a prescriptive proprietary title to the lands so designated. From these the *giránia* (mortgaged land), mentioned by Mr. Baden-Powell under Surat, and *vechánia* (sold land) were excluded in the first instance as not conferring proprietary title as they were liable to be repurchased or redeemed, inasmuch as the former, at all events, were meant to be merely temporary alienations by the Patels or other revenue managers during the days of the Mahratha farms; but they were by a subsequent law included among the proprietary tenures. Among them, strange to say, was one entitled *Bathámania* (usurped land—originally, taken forcible possession of); others were *girds* (really blackmail land); and *vol*, of similar origin; *pasdeta* (presented or held for service to villagers—temples, etc.); *aidá* (dowry land); and *hádia* or *hádká*\* (literally bone or blood-money land, given for life sacrificed in defence of village rights), etc. As an inquiry into lands held under these and other prescriptive titles would have entailed prolonged expense for the payment of huge establishments, it was considered advisable to pass a law (in 1853, as far as I recollect) by which

\* Misprinted, if I remember rightly, *barid*.

on the holders agreeing to pay as a quit-rent in lieu of investigation of titles from one-eighth to one-half assessment, all titles were confirmed and new title-deeds were given. Hence came the name of *sanadi salāmi* (quit-rent according to grant), which Mr. Baden-Powell has erroneously assumed to exist in Talukdari villages. The words, by the way, are not *sanad-i-salāmi*, as given by him. He also says :

"In all villages completely dominated by the *darbār*, or Talukdari kindred, we find (as usual) that the old *raiyatdāri* village organization of the cultivators has been completely overborne."

If this means that the *raiyats* originally held proprietary rights which the Talukdars have usurped, I doubt it, for I have frequently asked the farmers who own the land, and they unhesitatingly answer that the *darbār* does, and can even turn them out of their houses and sell them if it desires to do so.

By the term *rahāt-vāntā*, used in describing the tenure of some of the Bhāruch *udhad-gamābandi* estates, Mr. Baden-Powell understands that "they were allowed to be free of revenue on condition of quiet and peace (*rahāt*) being maintained, and perhaps some other service rendered; otherwise they were liable to be called on at any moment to pay full rates." He has been misinformed, as the term merely means an "easy" rental, similar to *salāmi*, or quit-rent, on other alienated lands, which is, I believe, fixed in perpetuity, no such conditions being implied; how they came originally to be let off with easy rentals is lost in the obscurity of time.

In his summary of the history of the Rajput and Koli estates, Mr. Baden-Powell states they are now acknowledged as proprietorships or landed estates, and they are, or can be, surveyed, and all sub-shares and rights recorded. It must be understood that such survey is not a detailed measurement of and classification of soils in fields, such as those on which assessments in *raiyatdāri* villages are based, but a rough survey to ascertain approximately the fair rentals of estates, to afford the Revenue officers data on which to fix the Government demands in place of untrustworthy estimates based on former payments, or what the estates have yielded while under temporary official management. Such a survey is one for the ascertainment of the resources and protection of the Talukdars as well as the State, and may afford a means by which the constantly increasing sapping of the means out of which the State revenues have to be met in consequence of the necessities of ever-expanding families, whom they are bound to support, may be checked; otherwise their fate is inevitable, and they must in time sink to the level of ordinary *rayats*.

In conclusion I would point out that Surat is *anglice* Surat and not Surāt, and according to the proper native accent Sūrāt (phonetically Soorut); Chunwāl is from Chunwālis or 44, and not 41, and the Kaira Talúka mentioned as containing the Maleki estates is Thāsra, not Thansra.

Faithfully yours,

A. ROGERS.

# A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE JAINS IN INDIA.

I think it may be interesting to your readers to have a brief history of the Jains in India. The word *Jain* has been derived from *jin*, which means "a vanquisher." The followers of *Jins* or Tirthankaras (those just men who have made themselves perfect and attained Nirvana, *i.e.*, liberation of the soul from birth and death) are called Jains—*i.e.*, those who believe in the ethics and doctrines of *Jinbani*, or what they (*i.e.*, men who were perfect and have become Tirthankara or Ishwar) have stated to their followers to act upon. This is called *Jainism*, which is really a religion. This is not a sect or caste of Hinduism, but an independent religion. Nor is it a branch of Buddhism, as admitted by the following European authors in their books on Indian religions: W. W. Hunter, Esq., C.S.I., C.I.E., LL.D., late Director of General Statistics to the Government of India ("Imperial Gazetteer of India," vol. vi., pp. 158-162); G. T. Bettany, Esq., M.A., B.C.S. ("The Great Indian Religions," chap. x., pp. 239-245); John Anderson, Esq., M.D. EDIN., Superintendent Indian Museum ("Archæological Collections," pp. 196-200); "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xiii., p. 543; "Sacred Books of the East," vols. xxii. and xlv., by Professor Jacobi.

In the Parliament of Religions and Religious Congresses at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, Virchand Raghoji Gandhie Jain, B.A., barrister-at-law, was invited to attend, and he represented the Jain community in India, and an address was delivered by him on the "Ethics and History of the Jains," which is printed in Neely's "History" on pp. 732-736. Jainism is not a new religion, nor was it founded by Mahavira. He was the last Tirthankara of the twenty-four, the twenty-three having lived and attained Nirvan before his birth. Nor was it founded by Parsva nath; but he was only the twenty-third Tirthankara, who lived and attained Nirvan just before Mahavira.

The names of the twenty-four Tirthankaras are given below in order of their existence :

- |                         |                       |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Aád nath ji.         | 13. Bimal nath ji.    |
| 2. Ajal nath ji.        | 14. Anant nath ji.    |
| 3. Sambhana nath ji.    | 15. Dharam nath ji.   |
| 4. Abhinandna nath ji.  | 16. Sant nath ji.     |
| 5. Sumait nath ji.      | 17. Kunt nath ji.     |
| 6. Padam Probhoo ji.    | 18. Ara nath ji.      |
| 7. Suparsna nath ji.    | 19. Malli nath ji.    |
| 8. Chandra Probhoo ji.  | 20. Munsamrit nath ji |
| 9. Push Pudant nath ji. | 21. Nimi nath ji.     |
| 10. Sitál nath ji.      | 22. Nemi nath ji.     |
| 11. Sri aus nath ji.    | 23. Parswa nath ji.   |
| 12. Baspuj ji.          | 24. Mahavira ji.      |

Strictly and properly speaking, Jainism has no founder, it is eternal; and if it can at all be said to have any founder, it is with reference to some particular time. According to Jainism, time consists of circles, and there



are twenty-four Tirthankaras for every half-circle. Of the twenty-four Tirthankaras for the present half-circle, *Ādā nath* is the first and Mahavira the last. Thus, it is only with reference to the present half-circle that *Ādā nath* can be designated the founder of Jainism; but in no way can Mahavira be regarded so. Up to the last Tirthankara almost the whole population were *Jains*; even the Rajas were nearly all Jains. After the Nirvan of Mahavira—that is, 526 B.C., as admitted by nearly every European author—the Jain religion began to decline. It will appear from a book called “A Journey of Francis Buchanan, Esq., M.D.,” published under the authority of the Honourable the Directors of the East India Company in 1801, that the Jains were the governing Rajas. Even Rama and Seetu were Jains, and they are very highly spoken of in the Jain Shastaras. The above is further corroborated by the fact, as is admitted on all hands, that Jains are the wealthiest class in the whole of India. Although their number has now become reduced to only 1,500,000 in India, still they are the most influential. More than half of the trade of India is in their hands, as noted on pp. 543 and 544 of the “Encyclopædia Britannica,” vol. xiii. Their magnificent series of temples and shrines on *Mount Abu*, one of the seven wonders of India, is perhaps the most striking outward sign of their wealth and importance. Mr. Bhalu nath Chandra, a member of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, in his “Travels of a Hindoo,” p. 74, says about the Jain temples at Bindrabān Muthra, N.W.P.: “But wealth and influence have procured to the Jains the same footing in the stronghold of Vishnuism. They have bestowed upon their temples the attractiveness of a grandeur and affluence that attracts and dazzles the eyes of the multitude. Indeed, the most interesting object within the walls of the holy city, the spot which no pilgrim can leave Bindrabān without seeing, is the magnificent place of Jain worship. Life must have been intolerable in Bindrabān if a brief hour or two could not be spent in the midst of this bewitching scenery. The temple is said to have taken a quarter of a century in building, and to have cost, according to the public estimate, the sum of a crore of rupees. There are many others, too numerous to mention here, in India alone. The Jains are not at all backward in education; they have got the highest number of educated men among them, having regard to their small number as compared with other religions, to which most of the Jains in times gone by were converted by force and tyranny before the British rule. They are barristers, vakils, sessions judges, magistrates, deputy collectors, tahsildars, engineers, and executive engineers, etc. They have always been gaining honours from the benign Government of India, and upon several of them the Government has conferred the title of Maha Raja, Raja, Rai Bahadur, etc. An indication of their honesty is that almost all the Government Treasuries in India have been placed under their charge as treasurers. Honesty is the fruit of Jain religion, and frugality the fruit of honesty, and thus they enjoy their present position. For some years a Sabha called Bharalvershya Jain Maha Sabha was working under the presidentship of Raja Seth Luchhman Dass Jaini, C.I.E., of Muthra, but it has flourished very little this year. It has been recognised by Government, and registered under

\* Act 21 of 1866. It telegraphed a resolution asking His Excellency the Viceroy of India to make over to the committee all the Jain orphans which may be found in any part of India, when they will be brought up and educated as Jains. It was marked with great regret at the last meeting of the Sabha at Muthra in October last that the English-educated Jains were not taking sufficient interest in its workings, and therefore (under the vice-presidency of Seth Amar Chand ji, Sessions Judge) an institution of English-educated Jains, to be called the "Jain Young Men's Association of India," has been established. The names of members are being enrolled; the list up to this time shows 106 members.

• The aims and objects of the association are :

- (a) To try to spread the feelings of unity and sympathy amongst all the English-knowing Jains of India.
- (b) To try to work out social reforms.
- (c) To instil into the minds of members the necessity to acquire a proficiency in their religion, and to perform daily religious practices.
- (d) To propagate the study of religious books and tracts along with English education.
- (e) To try to settle in life the educated Jains, and to secure the help of influential gentlemen for the purpose.

Any further information as to the Jains and their Sabhas in India may be had from the undersigned well-wisher of the Jains,

SULTAN SINGH JAINI, Pleader.

Meerut, N.W.P., India,  
February 17, 1900.

#### THE FAMINE RELIEF FUND FOR INDIA.

A correspondent of the *Times* of March 13 draws the attention of the British public to this fund. He concludes with the following important observations :

"While the State must face its self-appointed task of saving life, it can no more, but rather less than on any previous occasion, undertake those supplementary reforms of relief which were so fully met by the charitable fund of 1896-97. The magnificent benevolence of the British and Indian publics enabled the Relief Committees in that year to supplement a Government expenditure of Rx. 7,272,123 by Rx. 1,549,901, or, say, 21 per cent. The need is now far greater, and it is impossible to believe that, if this is only realized here, the charity of this wealthy country will fail to respond to the call made upon it. It may stimulate this charity to lay before the public once more a brief statement of the objects that can be usefully covered by a Famine Charitable Fund, as revised by the Commission over which Sir James Lyall presided. Firstly, it may supplement the relief given by Government by gifts of clothing and blankets to the destitute, by supplying extra or special food and medical comforts for the aged and infirm and for hospital patients and children, and by adding a little to the Government dole to *purda* women and respectable persons driven to gratuitous relief. Secondly, it may provide for the support of orphans during and after famine. Thirdly, it may undertake the relief of persons or classes to whom the recognised methods of State relief are in-

applicable. These are *purda* women and respectable persons who shrink from the public inquiry inseparable from State relief; artisans and craftsmen, who are unable to come upon Government works; residents in private poor-houses, or the like, who would never come to public poor-houses; persons who would buy grain offered them at rates which they could pay, but would not accept charitable relief. Fourthly, and most important of all, it may assist the restart in life of those left by the famine without resources, who would otherwise lapse into pauperism. Fifthly, it may give relief in areas not officially declared to be affected areas. The first four of these heads were recognised in 1896-97, and the number of persons relieved under each was (1) 1,342,802, (2) 26,957, (3) 832,949, (4) 1,540,464. Testimony, say the Commissioners, is unanimous and overwhelming as to the incalculable good that was done, and as to the universal gratitude it evoked among the people. The need now is far more urgent. Surely the response will not lag behind the need."

For the number on the Relief Works see our Summary of Events.

#### NOTE ABOUT MUKUND BRAHMACHĀRI.\*

SINCE writing about the tradition that Akbar was Mukund Brahmachāri in a former life, I have been to Allahabad and seen the underground temple in the fort, and been shown the brazen image of Mukund. I have also heard the *slok* repeated by the attendant at the shrine, and have learnt that the second word in the fourth line begins with a *b*, and not with a *d*, and is bratahāri, *i.e.*, vratahāri, and means abandoning one's vows or losing the merit of one's asceticism. The story told me by the attendant was that Mukund was a great ascetic, and lived solely upon milk and fruits. The milk, too, he used to drink only after it had been strained through a cloth, presumably to avoid the risk of destroying life. One evening his *chela*, or disciple, gave him his milk as usual, but after he drank it Mukund felt something stick in his throat; so he called to his disciple and asked him if he had strained the milk. The disciple had to confess that he had forgotten to do so. Thereupon Mukund exclaimed that all the merit of his forty years of fasting was gone, and, having first gashed his throat, he performed the *hōma*, and was reduced to ashes. His disciples, two or three in number, followed his example, and the other things happened as told in Ilāh Yār's book. It was certainly interesting to find that the legend still lived, and that the *slok* and its chronogram were remembered. I asked if the legend was preserved in any writing, and was told that it was to be found in the Priyāg-Mahatma, and other Sanscrit MSS. The legend is evidently old, and Shams-al-Ulemā Muhammad Husain Āzād writes in his "Darbāri Akbari," Lahore, 1898, p. 84, that a number of Brahmans produced a document about Mukund before Akbar. Unfortunately, the learned author does not state his authority, and I have been unable to find the story in Badayūni or any other contemporary writer.

H. BEVERIDGE.

Calcutta, January 4, 1900.

\* See "The Garden of Climes," January, 1900, pp. 145-162.

\* Since writing the above, I have secured Jonathan Scott's catalogue of his library, dated 1808. It is interesting because Scott gives an account of the contents of his MSS. The rarity of the catalogue, I think, justifies me in giving the following extract from the same :

"Huddeekat al Akaleem, or Garden of Regions or Climates, in three volumes.—The above work is a delineation, historical and geographic, of the world, as known to the Muhammadans, selected from their most esteemed writers. To the work is added an epitome of Salmon's Geographical Grammar, with a summary of the history of England and discovery of America, composed by myself in Persian at the request of the late Nabob Vizier, Asoph ed Daule, who wished to be informed of our geographical system, etc.

"N. B.—The author of the 'Huddeekat al Akaleem' was Shekh Allah Taur, a native of Bilgram in the Province of Oude, of a most respectable family, but fallen to decay. In the year 1776, being cantoned in the neighbourhood, he was introduced to me as a Persian tutor, and proved himself an able one. Finding him very conversant in history, I requested him to compile a selection from the most esteemed Persian historians of Asia at his leisure hours for my perusal, but more especially of Hindustan. During eight years that he remained in my employment he composed this work, and when I left India, retired with a decent competence acquired in my service, to spend the remainder of his life in his native city.

"These volumes are in the author's own handwriting, and perfectly correct. I have learnt by gentlemen returned from India that the work is much esteemed, and copies eagerly sought after at Lucknow."—H. B.

#### INDIA—THE FATHERLAND OF IRON.

The *Indian and Eastern Engineer* informs us that for purity and abundance the deposits of ore in India rank among the first in the world. Notwithstanding, "the almost complete extinction of a widespread native industry, in both common iron and the very choicest form of steel, has only recently been replaced by the organization of a small manufactory for pig-iron. With over 20,000 miles of railway, and an annual increment of nearly 700 miles, the Indian Government is unable to point to a single steel rail manufactured within their own territory. Over six millions sterling are spent yearly to supply the Indian market with iron and steel"; of this, "one-third of the iron and one-half of the steel come from countries other than the United Kingdom."

#### TRADE WITH THE FAR EAST.

The *Indian and Eastern Engineer* points out that "the construction of the Grand Siberian Railway will develop trade enormously. It will connect Europe with a rapid and cheap route, and will afford the means of developing the resources of the vast territories through which it passes, and

by its connections will practically make Manchuria a province of Russia." The same authority considers that "the annexation of Hawaii will afford a half-way station between America and China, which will be of the utmost importance both from a commercial and a naval point of view." That "along with Cuba and the Philippines, it makes the United States a Pacific naval power." "That if Britain and the United States were co-operating in their policy, and if necessary in their forces, they could dominate the conditions in the Pacific area, and not only develop mutual advantages to both, but also advance the welfare of the immense populations bordering on the Pacific area."

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

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E. J. BRILL; LEYDEN.

1. *Histoire des Princes du Yun Nan, et leurs relations avec la Chine d'après des documents historiques chinois*, traduits pour la première fois, par EMILE ROCHER, Consul de France, etc. Roughly speaking, it may be said that the Shans were in occupation of the greater part of Yun Nan for the first thousand years of our era. They had to fight for their existence with the Tibetans and with China; they carried their arms into Tonquin; had relations with Burma, and even with Magadha in India. M. Rocher does not touch, however, upon the Siamese connection with Yun Nan. It was not until the time of Kublai Khan that this region was definitely annexed by China. It is very likely that some of the documents enumerated by the learned author in his introduction have been "translated for the first time;" and certainly his excellent work, "*La Province Chinoise du Yun Nan*," published in 1879, entitles him to rank amongst the earliest and best authorities, more especially as he himself resided for some years in the province before he gave us the results of his earlier experiences, and has visited it twice since. But the matter which he now sums up in another form has been treated of with quite as much detail in the *China Review* (vol. xix., pp. 67-106, "The Early Laos and China"; vol. xx., pp. 337-346, "The Old Thai Empire")—at least, so far as the period preceding the Chinese conquest is concerned. A few surprising slips are noticeable; for instance (p. 68), the confusion of the Chin or Kin dynasty, inaugurated by the ancestors of the Manchus in 1115, with the Ch'ing or Ts'ing dynasty founded by the latter Manchus in 1644; the confusion of Peking with Karakoram, etc. But these and others like them are insignificant in number and importance compared with the quality and value of the work as a whole, which is especially interesting at this time, when at least two European Powers are bent on "tapping" Yun Nan.

E. H. PARKER.

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CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1898.

2. *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*; vol. iv., South and East Africa, by C. P. LUCAS, of the Colonial Office, London. The volume under review is only one, and the fourth, of a large series of volumes covering the British colonies all over the globe; it has a special interest at the present moment, as this volume describes the country and the history of the region which is now the scene of the war in South Africa. The volume itself has two parts: I. Historical; II. Geographical. It was published in 1898, after the Jameson-Raid, and before there was any indication of the great war about to commence. The writer closes his historical narrative with the following prophetic words: "At the time of writing (May, 1896) the clouds begin to lift; but the last chapter in South African history is not yet ended."

The author divides his history into eight chapters : I. The Cape, 1487-1650 ; II. The Founding of the Dutch Settlement at the Cape, 1652 ; III. The Cape Colony in the Eighteenth Century ; IV. The Missionary Movement and British Immigration ; V. The Wars with the Kafir, or Xosa, Tribes ; VI. The Beginnings of Natal and the Boer Republics ; VII. The Growth of the English Cape Colony and Natal ; VIII. The Last Twenty Years, closing with the Jameson Raid.

Those, who have been interested in the history of this colony since 1837, the year of the Great Trek, will admit that the narrative is lucid, impartial, and most attractive. The author has had access to the Blue-Books, and all antecedent literature on the subject. Censure and praise are withheld, but perhaps in no history of a subject Province are there more instances of want of political wisdom, vacillation of purpose, or weakness than is evidenced in the conduct of the English authorities, and greater stupidity, and want of appreciation of the tendencies and influences of the age, in which they lived, than appears in the policy adopted by the Dutch settlers. The book must be read carefully through, chapter by chapter, and any condemnation of the weighty statements of the author would be useless unless this has been done.

The history of the colony is singular. After the discovery of the sea-route to India by Vasco de Gama in 1497, the Cape was only a port of call to ships going to and returning from India. It was only in 1869 that the opening of the Suez Canal took place, and that necessity ceased. Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English voyagers had made use of this port. In 1659 the Dutch made their first settlement. In 1806 the colony passed into the power of England, and the Dutch nation had fallen from their high estate into one of the petty kingdoms of Europe. In 1837 the Great Trek took place into unknown regions beyond the river Vaal, but in the course of years the English power extended Northward to the Zambesi, and a Western boundary was fixed to the territory of the two republics, as well as a Southern and Eastern. The Boers were hopelessly cut off from the sea-board except through British or Portuguese territory. The discovery of mines of diamonds and of gold led to an influx of Europeans, chiefly English colonists, and the final and inevitable crash came. All this is detailed in the historical part of this volume.

Part II. is reserved to the geographical description of the region, and each British Province passes under review : I. The Cape Colony ; II. Natal ; III. Zululand ; IV. Basútoland ; V. Bechuáaland, Matabeleland, and Mashónaland. The two republics, as being outside the area of British colonies, are excluded from notice in this part.

There are capital indices of proper names. The work is a very complete one, and can be strongly recommended. R. N. Cusr.

3. *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary, Etymologically and Philologically arranged, with Special Reference to Cognate Indo-European Languages*, by the late SIR MONIER-WILLIAMS, M.A., K.C.I.E., late Boden Professor of Sanskrit. New edition, greatly enlarged and improved. The first edition of this

unique and celebrated work appeared in 1872; since then the author had devoted, up to the time of his death, much care and attention to its improvement. The proof-sheets were revised and completed before he died on April 11 last. It now consists of 60,000 Sanskrit words, to about 120,000 in the first edition, and by fitting the new matter into the old, according to the same etymological plan; by the verification of meanings old and new; in their justification by the insertion of references to the literature on the subject and to authorities; in the accentuation of nearly every Sanskrit word to which accents are usually applied; in the revision and re-revision of printed proofs, after the lapse of more than a quarter of a century, the present magnificent work is virtually a new Dictionary. It is the most complete and useful one-volume Sanskrit-English Dictionary ever yet produced—a Dictionary which in its gradual progress keeps pace with the advancing knowledge and scholarship of the age. It does the utmost possible credit to the University Press.

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CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, 1899.

4. *Bābar*, by STANLEY LANE-POOLE ("Rulers of India Series"). Another excellent book from the pen of this prolific writer. The nephew of that distinguished Arabist, Edward William Lane, keeps up the traditions of that honoured and trusted name. He has done, perhaps, more than any other living man to make the age and empire of the Mughals live again before us in this century. The present work is worthy of others that have proceeded from the same pen, and it shows that the author has realized to himself in quite an unusual manner the stirring events of the Asia of four centuries ago. All this must necessarily have been the result of profound thought, of careful discrimination, and very extensive research in many tongues. The description of Northern Persia in the days of Bābar, when contrasted with what we know the land now to be, shows vividly how in Persia in the centuries that have intervened between then and now "the mighty have fallen." One of the leading Muḥammadans of Northern India once asked us, "How are we to account for the Muḥisi of Muḥammadans, for that social and political decay into which they are everywhere and in all countries fallen in these times? Christians," he went on, "once at the feet of the followers of Islām, are nowadays above us; the positions are reversed! How are we to account for it?" The question moved him deeply. The true answer may be found in the biographical narratives of the Mughal potentates. Bābar and Akbar were the saviours of their race and dynasty; but what shall we say of Humāyun and Aurangzib! Bābar is rather a striking instance of religious backsliding. In early life he consistently refrained from violating the injunctions of the Prophet respecting wine and certain kinds of butcher's meat; but as he grew older he gave way to all manner of excesses in these and other particulars—excessive eating, the immoderate use of hashish, arrack, opium, wine, and spirits. At what period of his life he began thus to deteriorate it is impossible to ascertain, but at the age of



thirty-six (1519) he is described as "a steady toper" (whatever that may be!). "The least thing," says Mr. Poole, "serves him as an excuse for drinking. He sets eyes on a lovely view, and has a drinking-party! The crops are uncommonly fine—another bout! He makes an early visit to Kābil's tomb—another cup! He has performed the noon-day prayers—yet another drinking-party! A tribute-offering arrives—he takes his bhang! He has his hair cut—another drinking-bout marks the event! And so the weary story goes on: it is now "bhāng and spirits," and now "spirits and bhang," until one's very stomach turns at the revolting narrative. But the narrative is taken from the diary of Bābar himself; and, as the writer of this volume remarks, "Bābar does not seem in the least ashamed of his excesses; on the contrary, he often winds up a tale of unconscionable revelry with the words, "It was a rare party!" or, "It was a wonderfully amusing and guileless party!" So far from being "ashamed" of these drunken excesses, he seems rather to have gloried in them. There was, moreover, quite a curious mixture of drunkenness and religion in Bābar. He never neglected the Farz-duty of Namāz, but habitually engaged in it—even in the midnight (or "supererogatory") prayers—in a state of senseless intoxication. So senselessly drunk was he that it often happened that he was afterwards quite incredulous when told how he had been behaving himself when "in his cups." After many years of this he comes to see the folly and shamefulness of his conduct. "He remembers with regret the joyous days he spent by the Kābul River, yet he is glad that he has had strength to reform." "Excuse me," he writes, "for wandering into these follies; for God's sake, do not think amiss of me for them!" But it is impossible to enter fully into the dreary story he gives of his excesses; those who care to do so can read the volume for themselves. This great founder of the Mughal Empire was quite a curious mixture of good and evil. His character, which was full of Oriental infirmities and contradictions, may be summed up briefly—brave, impulsive, but not gifted with much foresight. He was, as the author says, "ever running his head into difficulties; action first, the thinking afterwards"—the type of man to win empires, but not to consolidate them and insure their continuance. He was just of the sort of all great Muḥammadan conquerors; they forge ahead in hard and desperate battles, and if the worst comes to the worst they take shelter in the fatalist's cry, "Nothing happens but by Allah's will." This is a useful book; it is well written, has a good index and map, and a likeness of Bābar pressing to his breast a copy of the Qur'ān. B.

A. CONSTABLE AND CO.; LONDON, 1899.

5. *Prisoners their own Warders*, by MAJOR MCNAIR, assisted by W. D. BAYLISS. This work is a record of the Convict Prison at Singapore in the Straits Settlements, established in 1825, discontinued in 1873, together with a cursory history of the convict establishment at Bencoolen, Penang, and Malacca from the year 1797. How to deal with criminals

(whether they be long-term or short-term criminals) is an age-long problem. A benevolent Government is not satisfied with merely punishing the offender: it desires to render his term of imprisonment a period of improvement to him, so that his punishment may act as a deterrent against further crime, and send him forth eventually an improved man, to be no longer a pest to civilized society and a menace to public order and safety; in a word, it aims at making the criminal a reformed character. If the system of prison life has not had this effect upon him, it has in his case proved a failure, and inasmuch as (human nature being what it is) incarceration cannot be ended, it ought to be mended. The difficulty is more felt in the prisons of a civilized community, like that of the homelands, where productive labour carried on in prisons means so much the less for the deserving and non-criminal classes outside. For much of the work done by criminals in the gaols of non-civilized lands is work that would not be done at all if not done by prisoners—in other words, by a species of forced labour. And thus is the labour of convicts in those lands made contributory to the work which has to be done in laying the foundation of a state of human existence which later on will develop into civilization. Thus does the criminal contribute (without intending to do so) his share towards a better condition of existence in the localities where he has to work out his term of penal servitude. Lands like the "Van Diemen's Land" and the "Botany Bay" of the earlier decades of the closing century serve to illustrate this remark, and the account given in the present work will afford the most recent confirmation of it. The great point is to get the criminal to feel interested in his work, and one way of gaining this desirable point is to lead him to see that his work tends to some useful purpose. Of course, there may be types of manhood which never seem responsive to such a motive, nor even to the prospect of foreshortening the term of imprisonment by ticket-of-leave. Failures there will always be in this as in every other department of life. But the authorities of British gaols, in whatever part of the world, may be relied upon to make every effort to bring about the best results, and to do it in the most effective manner and in the briefest space. The condition of incarcerated criminals has wonderfully improved since the publication of the enlightening work of the late Mr. Charles Reade, and much of the improvement of the prisoner's unhappy lot and of the ultimate advantages of our gaols to the law-abiding tax-payer is undoubtedly attributable to the influence of that noble work on the policy of our public men.\* But, in truth, the subject of the proper treatment of Government convicts has for a century past engaged the attention of some of the most kind-hearted and gifted men that have ever been engaged in the public service. The result is that many of the forts, churches, gaols, law-courts, official residences, and other important public buildings now scattered over our Eastern possessions, have been the fruit of convict labour. And it is safe to say that they could never otherwise have been raised, since skilled European labour is not to be had. The result to the convict himself of

\* We allude, of course, to his work entitled "*Never Too Late to Mend.*"

making him feel that he has a personal interest in his toil is that in the gaols of our Government in the Straits he learns an occupation at which he can earn an adequate maintenance, and when his time expires he even prefers to remain in the land of his exile to returning to the land of his birth; while to the cause of civilization the result is that places like Sumatra, Java, and the Malay Peninsula are changed from scenes of savagery and unreclaimed jungle to scenes of honest toil and comfortable existence. All this and much besides is abundantly proved in the most useful volume now before us. B.

6. *The Second Afghan War, 1878-79-80: its Causes, its Conduct, and its Consequences.* By COLONEL H. B. HANNA, formerly of the Punjab Frontier Force, and late commanding at Delhi. Vol. I. The present volume deals with the first branch of the subject—the causes of the war; and the author lays bare, in a concise and clear manner, from despatches and other authentic documents, “the errors of judgment which had brought it about,” and “since those errors, crystallized into a policy, still persisted, and might any day involve India in hostilities with neighbours who, powerless to harm her whilst she confined herself within her natural limits, must become formidable as soon as those limits were overstepped,” hence the importance of the work. It is composed of eighteen chapters, dealing, among other subjects, with our relations with Afghanistan from 1855 to 1869, the negotiations with Russia, Sir Bartle Frere’s memorandum and its consequences, the inauguration of the new policy, the Peshawar conference, the Russian mission, the British mission, the mobilization, the ultimatum, the Russian-Afghan correspondence, the plan of campaign, the Quetta reinforcements, and the Multan, Kuram, and Peshawar Valleys Field Forces. There are also appendices containing the translation of a letter from the Kabul envoy to Sir Lewis Pelly (our Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary), and the proclamation by the Viceroy of November, 1878, and a very copious index. The reader will be convinced that, failing to grasp the great difficulties with which Shere Ali had to contend, the Governments at home blundered and vacillated, leading the several Viceroys to evade our pledges to the Amir, hence misunderstandings and the war. The author, from his personal experience and minute investigations, has come to the following important conclusion:

“Probably there was no British statesman in the ranks of either political party who would have been willing to sign away that freedom—*i.e.*, Great Britain’s ‘freedom to decide, in each complication that might arise, what line of action she would adopt’—and this being the case, the superiority of Lord Lawrence’s Afghan policy to that of his successors becomes apparent. Recognising, on the one hand, that the independence and integrity of Afghanistan were of importance, though not of vital importance to India—her security rested for him on far broader and stronger foundations—and, on the other, that the preservation of the former was the ruling passion of the Afghan people, and the maintenance of both the strongest desire of every Afghan Prince, Lawrence was prepared to give Shere Ali, in liberal measure, the means of defending his kingdom and upholding his

power, unaccompanied by pledges or conditions of any kind, since pledges and conditions were certain to lead to misunderstandings, and to suspicions and disappointments on both sides. Under this policy, the dispute between Persia and Afghanistan would have been settled by themselves, probably in favour of the latter State, certainly at an infinitesimal cost of life and treasure compared to the expenditure of both which was to flow from the British claim to determine the Amir's conduct towards his neighbours; and there could never have crept into Shere Ali's mind the feeling that he had been duped by fair words, out of which all meaning evaporated the moment he tried to ascertain what they were really worth to him; whilst the Indian Government would have been preserved from the temptation to encroach upon his independence on the plea of defending it. Under this policy, the full responsibility for his actions left to the Amir would have proved quite as effectual in withholding him from giving wanton offence to Russia, as the desire to merit British aid against her, and nothing in its principles and aims would have debarred the British Government from bestowing that aid, should the rendering of it at any given moment seem in accord with the best interests of India. Under the policy which Lord Northbrook found in force and had to continue—a policy which is generally supposed to have been identical with that of Lord Lawrence, but which really differed from it fundamentally—it was impossible for that Viceroy altogether to avoid the appearance of taking back with one hand what he gave with the other; and if Nur Mahomed, nevertheless, left Simla still convinced that Afghanistan might rely upon the Indian Government to stand by her against Russia in case of need, that conviction did not rest upon the definite promises now offered to his Sovereign, but on that natural community of interests between India and Afghanistan, in the presence of an ambitious and rapidly-extending neighbour, which had always existed, and must, in his opinion, always continue to exist—a community of interests which the pecuniary liberality recommended by Lord Lawrence would have sufficiently recognised and promoted."

We hope Colonel Hanna will be able to produce soon his second volume, which will no doubt prove as interesting and important as the first.

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J. M. DENT AND Co. ; LONDON, 1899.

- 7. *Natal: the Land and its Story* (a geography and history, with maps), by ROBERT RUSSELL, Superintendent of Education, Natal. Great credit is due to the author for his concise account of the Colony of Natal (the Christmas Land, so called from its discovery on December 25, 1497, by Vasco da Gama), which has been, and is still, full of interest to us, in consequence of the important part it has played in the present war with the South African Republics. The war is not dealt with in its pages, but the volume is replete with valuable information, both historical and otherwise, and is, moreover, based on the personal observation of the author, who spent a long official life in the service of the Colony. The book contains eighteen chapters, which treat amongst other subjects Geology,

Mountains, Rivers, Climate, Productions of the Soil, Plants, People, Animals, etc. It has a good index, and also a useful map by Stanford, which has been drawn in the office of the Superintendent of Schools to accompany the school geography of the Colony.

DAVID DOUGLAS ; EDINBURGH, 1899.

8. *In Western India*, by DR. MURRAY MITCHELL. Although this work commences with an account of the author's school-days, it must not be regarded as an autobiography in the commonly accepted sense of that term. It is quite true that he notes the various points of his personal history as the narrative proceeds—his voyage to India, his marriage, his return visits to Scotland, and other matters of personal interest—yet to set forth a biographical account of himself is not by any means the author's purpose. On the subject of a man's writing and publishing memoirs of himself, Dr. Mitchell would probably share the aversion commonly felt by educated persons. The work is, in fact, a most interesting account of the proceedings of the Church of Scotland Mission in the Bombay Presidency from the year 1838, when the author joined it. When a many-sided man like Dr. Mitchell throws himself so completely into the public movements of his day and generation as *he* has done for more than sixty years, the history of his work is in great measure the history of his *time*. Men have to be estimated, movements come up for consideration, and we have before us a living panorama of a very active and progressive period. Viewed in this way, the present work, though the history of a missionary, may be of interest to the readers of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. For the Review is not a professedly religious periodical. But there are many matters in the volume that have to do with politics, law, ethnology, social customs, and other things, which will render the book very interesting not only to religious persons, but also to the general reader. The work of the Church of Scotland in India has been largely of an educational nature ; yet not by any means exclusively so, as this volume abundantly shows. No inquiry into the great subject of the effect upon India of English ascendancy there can be complete which overlooks the part enacted by the agents of missionary societies. For better, for worse, the societies are all represented there, and the present volume will show that they are there very much for the better. Dr. Mitchell has a pleasing style ; the tone and manner of his writing secure immediate attention and interest, and prepossess the mind of the reader in favour of his narrative. The book is a decided gain to missionary literature. B.

FISHER UNWIN ; LONDON, 1899.

9. *Rajah Brooke*, by SIR SPENCER ST. JOHN, G.C.M.G. The inspiring and profoundly interesting story of Sir James Brooke, Rajah of Sarawak, has by the enterprise of this public-spirited firm been now published in the "Builders of Greater Britain Series." As his story, which began in the second decade of the century, ended with his decease some two-and-thirty years ago, it is one with which the oldest now among us began to be

interested as long ago as we can remember. The story has many times been told, but it loses none of its thrilling interest and fascination in the work now before us. The Rajah is here viewed as "the Englishman as Ruler of an Eastern State," and, indeed, he has rightly been assigned a place in a series of men like Sir Walter Raleigh and Lord Clive. Never was the "knighthood" more appropriately conferred than when the Queen gracefully offered the honour for his acceptance in token of her appreciation of the services he had rendered to the prestige of the Empire among the barbarous islands of the Eastern Archipelago. The life-story of a man like Rajah Brooke necessarily contains many allusions to contemporary history, and to the men and doings of his time. This work is set forth in nine chapters, which are packed with information respecting the administration of those islands. The characteristics of Sir James Brooke—his manliness, his enterprise, his resourcefulness, his unselfishness, his beautiful tenderness, and sympathy—were such as were bound to endear him to the hearts of Asiatics. Such a man secures their confidence and wins their loyalty. Young men who contemplate seeking a career in some portion of Asia could hardly do better than make a careful study of such a man as he, and read, mark, learn, and inwardly digest the story of his inspiring life. The book contains a good index, and an appendix packed with information, and a portrait of the Rajah, whose countenance speaks of that shrewdness, promptitude, effectiveness, and wonderful kindness which were such clear marks of his character. No right-minded Englishman could rise from the perusal of this book without feeling his best impulses stirred, and without realizing afresh how grand is the opportunity which life among Asiatic peoples affords of living to high and useful purpose. B.

FORZANI AND CO., ROME; LUZAC AND CO., LONDON; 1899.

10. *Il Ce-Kiang, studio geografico-economico*, by DR. MARIO CARLI. This is an interesting account in Italian, as well as the latest work on the Chinese province of Che-Kiang. The author prefaces it with a historical introduction on the relations of foreign countries with China, more particularly as regards commerce. At one time one of the most populated and richest, although smallest of the eighteen provinces into which China proper is subdivided, it commenced to decline, and its decadence was accelerated in the middle of last century by a great famine, which was followed by the destructive invasion of the Tai-pings, and again by a terrible pestilence and another famine. The population was reduced from 32,000,000 to 5,500,000, but it has now increased to between 11,000,000 and 12,000,000. There are chapters on the principal rivers, the sea-coast, waterways, products, and an appendix giving the value of the exports and imports for the years 1895, 1896, and 1897. A very clear map accompanies this book.

HENRY FROWDE; LONDON, 1899.

11. *The Bride's Mirror; or Mir-âtu l-Arûs*, of Maulavi Nazir Ahmad, edited, in the Roman character, with a Vocabulary and Notes, by G. E. WARD, M.A., of Wadham College, Oxford, B.C.S. (retired).—

The strict seclusion in which ladies are immured, by the tyranny of custom, among Muhammadan families has long operated as a great hindrance to their intellectual development. In poetry, no doubt, they have often been brilliantly distinguished, because *poeta nascitur, non fit*. And in tradition, too, they have held an honoured place, because, in the intimacy of family life, the wives and daughters of the Apostle and his companions necessarily enjoyed constant opportunities of hearing, directly or through some intermediary, the sayings of the revered Teacher. But in subjects requiring instruction from masters outside the family circle, women were obviously at a great disadvantage. A few, indeed, like the medieval Princess Khaula, who was sister of Saifu dDaula, Chief of Aleppo, a city and state in Syria, and died A.H. 352 (A.D. 963), and like the modern Princess Sikandar Begam, who was ruler of Bhopal, a state in Central India, and died A.D. 1868, might be enabled, by the accident of high position, and the possession of superior mental gifts, to show themselves the equals of men. But such gifts were so exceptional as almost to take their possessors out of the category of women; for Saifu dDaula's poet laureate, Al Mutanabbi, says of Khaula

وَأِنْ تَكُنْ خُلِقْتَ أَنْثَى لَفَدْ خُلِقْتَ \* كَرِيمَةً فَبِرَ أَنْثَى الْعَقْلِ وَالْحَسَبِ

*And, if she have been created female, assuredly she has been created noble, not feminine in reason and understanding.* The vast majority of women passed through life destitute of even the very rudiments of education, though in some families, which attached particular importance to religious instruction, the girls were taught to read books of devotion. The *Bride's Mirror* marks a new departure in the education of native girls in Upper India, being a purely secular work—in fact, a novel—written by a Muhammadan gentleman of good family and liberal views for the instruction and amusement of his little daughters. Its fame having soon spread abroad in his Ward (*Mahalla*), some ladies from neighbouring houses would drop in to hear it read, and others would borrow the manuscript to read to their own families. And being eventually brought under the appreciative notice of Sir William Muir, then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces of India, now Principal of the Edinburgh University, it was awarded one of the valuable prizes recently instituted by that enlightened and sympathetic Administrator for the encouragement of original native literature. It had, indeed, a strong claim to such a prize, being, as its author states, “absolutely the first original work of its kind in the language.” It is a novel descriptive of home life in families of the middle class among the Muhammadans of Upper India. It traces the careers of two girls, Akbari Khānam and Asghari Khānam, daughters of Dūrandesh Khān, who seems to have earned a comfortable income from some employment on the hills. The elder girl, Akbari, is married to a young man in her own rank of life, named Muḥammad — Aqil, and the younger, Asghari, to his younger brother, Muḥammad Kāmil. At the commencement of their married lives, as the author points out (p. 53), the apparent advantages were all on the side of the elder sister. “Akbari was married at sixteen years of age, while

Asghari at the time of her marriage was not even quite thirteen. When Akbari was married, her bridegroom, Muḥammad - Āqil, was already employed on a salary of ten rupees a month ; while Asghari's bridegroom, Muḥammad Kāmil, was still at school. In comparison with Muḥammad - Āqil, Muḥammad Kāmil had less knowledge, and less intelligence too. Akbari for two whole years remained free from the worry of children, while God made Asghari a mother in the second year of her marriage, at such a tender age. Akbari never had occasion to go outside the city, while Asghari remained travelling for years. In no way, then, was Asghari's condition good in comparison with Akbari's condition ; but Asghari had been well trained from her youth upwards, and day by day prosperity increased in her house : so that no one knows even the name of Akbari ; while the mansion of the 'sensible daughter-in-law'—a nickname given to Asghari—"in the 'Lady's Market' stands so high that it holds converse with the sky, and from the name of the lady Asghari that Ward is known as the 'Lady's Market.'" The object of the story is to show how these changes in the fortunes of the two sisters were gradually produced by the differences in their training and characters. It must not be supposed that Asghari's married life was unchequered by misfortune ; on the contrary, she was afflicted with the loss of a son, Muḥammad - Ādil, at the age of four, and of a daughter, Baṭūl, at the age of seven ; and the book ends with a lengthy letter (pp. 176-184) from her father, Dūrandesh Khān, exhorting her to patience and fortitude under her bereavement. This letter is very curious, because its exhortations are founded partly upon a dreary pessimism, and partly upon the immemorial fatalism of the East. "What certainty is there of this, that we shall live till our children grow up, or that they will live till we grow old?", which seems to recall Juvenal's melancholy description of old age :

"Ut vigeant sensus animi, ducenda tamen sunt  
Funera natorum."

Again, "Whoever is born in the world, it is the immutable decree of God that he should die," which sounds like an echo of the sentiment expressed by the Arab poet 'Abd Allāh Ibn Az Ziba'rā al Ḳurashī as Sahmī as Saḥābī more than twelve centuries before :

فَإِنْ يَكُنِ الْمَوْتُ أَفْنَاهُمْ \* فَلِلْمَوْتِ مَا تَلِدُ الْوَالِدَةُ

*Then, if death have annihilated them, what the mother bears is for death !* But of comfort, of consolation, of the hope of reunion with the departed child, there is not a trace. Indeed, the letter seems to lay down the cheerless doctrine that the closest relationship is for ever dissolved by death. "The world is not our home ; we have to go and live in another place ; no one belongs to us, nor we to anyone ; if we be father of any one, it is only for a few days ; and if we be son of any one, it also is only for a few days. If we see anyone die, what matter for regret is it?" How different is this tone of philosophical detachment from the touching defence offered by the founder of the Muhammadan faith for his own display of emotion, over the death-bed of his infant son, Ibrāhīm : "Verily, the eye



sheds tears, and the heart grieves; but we say not aught but what may please our Lord; and verily we, by thy departure, O Ibrāhīm, are indeed grieved!"\* The letter certainly makes an inartistic ending for the story, being out of harmony with its simple and natural tone.

The present edition of the *Bride's Mirror* is printed in the Roman character *in usum tironum*, being intended by Mr. Ward as a "text-book in Hindustani for English ladies who desire to study that language." It is furnished with a complete vocabulary, and with copious grammatical and exegetical notes. In order to give beginners a fair start, Mr. Ward considerably appends an English translation of the author's preface and introduction; and, for the profit and pleasure of advanced students, an elaborate note on the system of transliteration, including an interesting dissertation on the prosodical quantity of syllables in Hindustani, is provided. The book is a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the people and their language. The story raises the veil hiding the inner life of respectable native families from the gaze of foreign observers, and shows the people as they really are in their own homes; and the fact that its author belongs to a Delhi family is a guarantee for the purity and elegance of its diction. The vocabulary extends over nearly 300 columns, and any student who may learn to read this story with facility will have acquired a stock of words and idiomatic phrases amply sufficient for all ordinary colloquial and literary purposes.

There is a trifling misprint, "Who could I send?" for "Whom," in p. 26, note I, otherwise the book is singularly free from typographical blemishes.

M. S. HOWELL.

G. HAESSEL; LEIPZIG.

12. *The Expedition of 1898 to Turfan*, part i., by D. KLEMENTZ and DR. RADLOFF. Encouraged by the important results which his courageous wife's discovery of Tunyukuk's monument secured, Mr. D. Klementz at once placed his services at the disposal of the Russian Government for the purpose of examining the old Ouigour capitals of Astana, Idikut-shari, Karahodjo, and Turfan, which, like the Burmese capitals of Sagaing, Ava, Amarapura, and Mandalay, are practically different "phases" of the same place. Turfan, according to the distinguished Russian savant, Dr. Bretschneider, means 'residence' in Mongol, and probably also in Turkish. The word only came into use as the name of a seat of government about the middle of the fourteenth century, when the Mongols were being driven out of China; it does not once occur in Mongol history. The word Hodjo (to which the Mongols add the prefix "Kara") appears in the histories of the Cathayan and Nüchên dynasties which preceded in North China that of the Genghizides, in each case in connection with the Ouigours, who paid tribute to Peking in all three cases.

\* The text of this tradition is given in the *Ṣaḥīḥ* of Al Bukhārī (Krehl's edition vol. i., p. 328), where يَهْرَن is a misprint for يَهْرَن; and in other works. One version adds, "O Ibrāhīm, if 'twere not that it"—meaning the Divine revelation of the life to come—"is a true command and a faithful promise, and that the last of us shall overtake the first of us, we should grieve for thee more violently than this!"

For a detailed account of Mr. Klementz's discoveries, and for a connected history of mediæval Turfan, I must refer those interested to an extended notice in the next *China Review*. It will suffice to state here that Dr. Radloff has translated a number of old Turkish and Ouigour documents, unearthed by the energetic explorer who conducted the expedition, and Mr. Klementz gives us numerous photographs and plates in order to illustrate what he has achieved. In their zeal for Asiatic archæology and history, the Russian and French Governments and learned societies are distinctly ahead of ours, which for the present must take a back seat.

E. H. PARKER.

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KEGAN PAUL AND CO.; LONDON, 1899.

13. *British Empire Series*, vol. i. This, the first volume of the series, deals with India, Ceylon, the Straits Settlements, British North Borneo, and Hong-Kong; and it contains a couple of excellent maps, the one exhibiting India, Burmah, and the trans-Himalayan portion of the Chinese Empire, and the other the islands of the Eastern Archipelago. The volume includes twenty-three lectures which were delivered at the South Place Institute, Finsbury, on Sunday afternoons during the years 1895 to 1898. The lectures were organized for the purpose of affording trustworthy information concerning the various colonies of our Empire in different parts of the world: four other volumes dealing with "British Africa," "British America," etc., will follow. The lecturers (who are all of them well-known persons in the world of literature) have been selected regardless of race or creed, and one of them is a lady, Mrs. Ernest Hart, already known to the public as the author of some useful works. The volume includes lectures on all the divisions of India, as well the Native States as the territories under European rule. All the lecturers go into more or less of detail (stating facts and supplying figures) concerning the different races which inhabit the various divisions treated of—their origins, their numbers, their languages, their occupations, their religions, etc. The essays do not err in respect of length, occupying, on an average, some five-and-twenty pages, nor are they any of them tedious. Besides essays on the several geographical and political divisions of the country, we have also essays on the condition of women-folk among the different races of the community, on the various industries of the people, on the administration of justice, on the history and treatment of famines, and on other matters of public importance. The papers on the Straits Settlements and the other portions of the Empire dealt with take up in a similar manner the public questions connected therewith, showing the general advance of our Asiatic colonies and dependencies since the times when they respectively passed into the possession of the Crown. There are also papers on ancient India and on the India of pre-Mutiny times. And upon the whole the volume may be said to include the history of India and the neighbouring colonies from the earliest times to the present.

The essays are well written, well edited, and well printed. They are not of the "dry-as-dust" description; they are more in the style of the article of the popular review—in the manner of the popular lecture prepared for a miscellaneous London audience. The work is invaluable as a repertory of trustworthy and up-to-date information regarding the lands of which it treats. The writers are persons who may each be regarded as an authority in the department on which he writes. Men like Sir Raymond West, Lord Wenlock, and Sir Andrew Clarke (not to exhaust the list) are men whose reputation as administrators and as penmen is already made, and who would have much to lose by inaccuracy as to facts and unsoundness in reasoning. The work is pleasant reading, and interesting withal. It is an admirable work for statesmen and politicians, and is well fitted to be placed in the hands of young men about to seek their life-sphere in the higher walks of our country's service in the Far East. The absence of an index of any sort or kind will detract from the usefulness of the book as a work of reference (for it is as such that it will be mainly used); but it is already a thick volume—about 550 pages all told—and this doubtless led to the omission. But if, even now, a good index could be added, it would enhance greatly the usefulness of a most valuable work. B.

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KELLY AND WALSH; SHANGHAI.

14. *Map of China and the Surrounding Regions*, by E. BRETSCHNEIDER. Second edition, thoroughly revised, sold by Iliin, St. Petersburg. The *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for 1896 (p. 195) published a report upon this excellent English map, which can, as before, be obtained at Stanford's. Dr. Bretschneider's splendid labours in the Sinological field have since obtained for him the well-merited honour of election to be a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society, and also the gold medal of the Russian Geographical Society. The revised edition is coloured, and is thus brighter to the eye and easier for consultation than before. The Russian, German, and British direct "spheres" in the north are marked off; but apparently the engraver's plates were cut before the corresponding French and English spheres in the south were delimited. The defective parts noticed in the first edition about the Burmese and Tonquinese frontiers have been remedied; and the recent railways have been added so far as they were completed when the map was ready for publication. I have had the first edition in daily use for nearly four years, and have found it extraordinarily accurate and vividly illustrative. What is badly wanted now is a reduced English map *on the same scale* of the Manchurian and Tibeto-Mongolian regions, for the full-sized Russian maps, though as perfect as possible, are useless to those who cannot spell out a few words of Russian. No one is more competent than Dr. Bretschneider to undertake this duty, and no one in Europe possesses in a higher degree the general public confidence.

E. H. PARKER.

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E. LEROUX ; PARIS.

15. *Les Mémoires Historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, traduits et annotés par EDOUARD CHAVANNES, vol. iii., part ii., chaps. xxiii.-xxx. The first volume of this admirable series was ably noticed by the late Mgr. Harlez in an earlier number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*. It dealt with the author's explanatory introduction to the great work of the Chinese historian, and carried the text of early history down to the Emperors of the Chou Dynasty. The second volume, even more interesting to the general reader so far as the translation from Chinese texts is concerned, brings us to the reign of the Han Emperor King Ti, including those exciting periods when China practically discovered Corea, Annam, Tibet, and Western Asia. The first part of the third volume consists of a number of dry genealogical and dynastic tables, which, though of course indispensable for reference, are not exactly fitted for the average man's consumption.\* The fourth volume (*i.e.*, the second part of the third) treats of Rites, Music, Astronomy, Finance, Religion, and so on, and forms a sort of basis on the lines of which nearly all subsequent histories follow. The gigantic work of translating word for word, annotating, and explaining the first real Chinese history is thus proceeding apace, and it is devoutly to be wished that the courageous and self-sacrificing author who has undertaken this enormous task, and whose health has already once broken down under the strain, may be spared to carry it to completion. It is exceedingly unlikely that anyone else will ever undertake a rival translation, so that M. Chavannes may rest quite secure of a future exclusive niche in the Temple of Fame; but it may be hoped that others will emulate his example, and similarly translate word for word the *other* twenty-four dynastic histories, each in turn: scarcely one of these has had more than a chapter or two given to the European public, but all of them bristle with the most interesting and surprising pieces of information, studded about, without clue or index, in a mass of turgid and often irrelevant matter. It is impossible to speak too highly of M. Chavannes' work; the only thing to do is to lay stress on the fact that anyone who can read French has now the whole of early Chinese history before him, and can form his own opinion upon it without having to depend upon experts in Chinese, who are rather apt to overrate their own importance.

E. H. PARKER.

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 LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON, 1899.

16. The *History of the Blessed Virgin Mary* and the *History of the Likeness of Christ which the Jews of Tiberias made to mock at*; the Syriac texts edited, with English translations, by WALLIS BUDGE, D.LIT. This work consists of vols. iv. and v. of Luzac's "Semitic Text and Translation Series." The former of the two volumes contains the Syriac text, and the latter the translation. The texts, Dr. Budge tells us in his preface, were edited from two modern MSS. in his own possession. The MS. from which the "History of the Virgin" is extracted was copied for him by the deacon at Alkōsh in 1890, from a MS. of the

thirteenth or fourteenth century; and the other MS., containing the "History of the Likeness of Christ which the Jews of Tiberias made to mock at in the days of the Emperor Zeno" (and which is entitled "Histories of the Apostles and Saints and Martyrs"), was copied for him in 1892 by a man who lived in Tel Kēf, a village situated two or three hours' ride from Mosul. To the text of the former of the two histories he has appended a large number of variant readings taken from a MS. preserved in the library of the Royal Asiatic Society. The Syriac is very beautifully printed, and there is at the end of the text a careful table of corrections.

By the Syrian translators the books were styled "Histories," but they manifestly belong to the very large section of Syriac literature which contains the Apocrypha of the New Testament. They take us back to the times when many of the myths connected with the Virgin and Child originated and gained currency and credence. Thus, we read of Jesus "turning children into goats," also of His "releasing a man from a serpent which had been coiled round him three years," and many such-like fables, a perusal of which tends, as much as anything well could, to establish the superiority of the books of the Canon to anything discoverable in the Apocryphal books. Those who are in any degree acquainted with the history of doctrine and dogma in the second century of the Christian era (in which century so many of the myths and errors originated that have tended to obscure the Gospel narrative and bring it into contempt) will be in a position to appraise at their proper value the myths recorded in the documents here put into English dress. As Dr. Budge well says: "A perusal of the work will convince the reader that the object of the writer throughout has been to magnify the importance of the Virgin Mary and to describe her miraculous power; in short, it represents the popular views which were held by devout but unlettered people concerning the earthly life of the Virgin and Child." Incidentally, of course, such a work affords confirmation of the narrative of the Nativity as recorded in the Canonical books of the Bible which we possess. Although such confirmation is not at all needed in these days, yet anyone who accepts those books as containing the bases of his religious belief is always rejoiced at any indication which modern research brings to light that the literature of the earlier centuries is not found to be antagonistic to the historicity of the Christian faith, but distinctly tends to confirm it. Thus will the present work be helpful to those who are interested in what is technically known as "Apocryphal" lore. Not only in the first volume, but also in the second, there are throughout important footnotes, chiefly of the nature of emendations, parallel readings, and alternative renderings. B.

MACMILLAN AND CO.; LONDON.

17. *Malay Magic: being an Introduction to the Folk-lore and Popular Religion of the Malay Peninsula*, by WALTER WILLIAM SKEAT, C.S., of the Federated Malay States, with a Preface by CHARLES OTTO BLAGDEN, M.R.A.S., and formerly of the C.S., Straits Settlements. This work of nearly

700 pages will be of much interest to psychologists, and important not only to those who have the control and education of the natives of the Malay Peninsula, but also in placing in a permanent form many of the beliefs and notions which are rapidly passing away by the introduction of Western civilization and learning. The originals are placed in an appendix, by which the author's translation may be verified, and a copious index will guide the reader to every detail which the volume contains.

Mr. Blagden, in the preface, truly observes that "an understanding of the ideas and modes of thought of an alien people in a relatively low stage of civilization facilitates very considerably the task of governing them, and in the Malay Peninsula that task has now devolved mainly upon Englishmen"; hence the importance of this work.

The author has been at pains to corroborate and illustrate his own accounts by the independent observations of others, and records the charms and other magic formulæ which are actually in use, and which he has himself observed. Moreover, he has endeavoured, in his translations, to keep to literal accuracy of rendering.

The volume is composed of six chapters, and among other interesting subjects there are those on the Creation of the World; Man and his Place in the Universe; his Relation to the Supernatural World; the Malay Pantheon; Magic Rites connected with the Natural Kingdom, such as weather and bird charms, beasts, vegetation and mineral charms; also the sea, rivers, and streams, and fire and its production. The concluding chapter relates to the Magic Rites affecting the Life of Man, such as birth, spirits, and ceremonies, betrothal and marriage, funerals, medicine, war and weapons, and many other particulars affecting human life.

HORACE MARSHALL AND SON; LONDON.

18. *Nigeria: Our Latest Protectorate.* By CHARLES HENRY ROBINSON, M.A., Canon Missioner of Ripon, and Lecturer in Hausa in the University of Cambridge. With map and illustrations. A remarkable racy volume of a very interesting people, numbering 25,000,000, now added to the population of the British Empire. The author traces the history of the people, and considers them as distinct from those of Ashanti, Benin, and the hinterland of Sierra Leone, as is the cultured Bengali from the Aboriginal races to be found in some of the mountain districts in India, and comparatively having every right to be regarded as a civilized nation. He narrates his experience in the country, its habits and customs, the excellent work of the Royal Niger Company, his missionary enterprise, the results of the investigation as to the origin of malarial fever, the writings and traditions of the natives, and the results which are expected to follow the recent Anglo-French treaty.

The following description of the crocodile will illustrate the author's style and humour. He says: "Another creature, which forms quite a distinctive feature of West African river scenery, is the *crocodile*, or alligator. Quantities of them are to be seen on the Niger and the smaller rivers in Nigeria. Except in the event of the traveller's canoe upsetting,

or of his being rash enough to bathe or to approach the river in the dark, no danger is to be anticipated from their presence. They are usually to be seen lying half asleep on the mud banks. On the approach of a canoe, the crocodile winks one of its eyes to ascertain whether the traveller is meditating an attack, and on being satisfied on this point, relapses into its former somnolent condition. If we are to accept the latest accounts given by naturalists, the crocodile ought to be regarded as one of the most useful of animals; and the ancient Egyptians were not quite so foolish as is usually thought when they showed their affection for the crocodile by embalming it. The *British Medical Journal*, in discussing the advisability of stocking the Thames with crocodiles, says: 'That much-maligned reptile, the crocodile, is, in fact, a friend of man, though he tries—generally with success—to hide a sentiment of which, perhaps, he is ashamed as a weakness. He is an active sanitarian, his special line being the purification of rivers and lakes. With such a certificate of character from them, perhaps some of our river conservancies may be stimulated to secure the services of a few vigorous crocodiles. With these in our rivers, the difficult problem of water-purification might be finally solved.'

On the question of religious beliefs, Mr. Robinson is of opinion that before the close of the present century heathenism will be practically extinct on the continent of Africa. The whole population will be either nominally Christian or nominally Mohammedan. Chapter XIII. contains a striking forecast of the religious future of Africa, and in doing so gives a summary of the present condition, and the immediate prospects of Islam throughout the Sudan generally. This interesting volume is accompanied with an excellent map of Nigeria, and many very beautiful illustrations of Hausas, their villages, their rivers, their 'canoes, articles of dress, and various utensils and implements.

J. C. NIMMO; LONDON, 1900.

19. *Babylonians and Assyrians*, by the REV. A. H. SAYCE. This work, from the pen of the distinguished Professor of Assyriology at Oxford, on the life and customs of these ancient peoples, is now published in "The Semitic Series." The published works of Professor Sayce are so well known, as also is his great fitness for the enterprise for which he is best known among students of Biblical antiquities, that he needs no word of commendation at this time of day. His name is familiar to us all, and he has made us all his debtors. The present work—a work in upwards of 270 pages—is a very informing work. It throws some welcome light on quite a variety of subjects—not only on the subject of ancient brick-making (which, by the way, appears to be a lost art among us moderns), but also on the early history of banking, of the postal system, and sundry other industries. When the time comes when each several trade shall have its published "history," such volumes as the present will be found to be useful quarries from which authentic information may be culled. The work contains also much curious and recondite information respecting the social and political manners and customs of the Accads and other

early races whose very existence is apt to be regarded as problematical, if not altogether mythical. And upon the whole the general effect of the work is to justify the confidence of the Jewish believer in the authenticity and veracity of the Scriptures of the Old Testament Canon. The work is well and carefully written. The style of the author carries one involuntarily back into the dim antiquity of the races and countries of which he writes, and makes the men of that remote age live over again in our imagination while we read. The work is very vividly written, and is not by any means so dry as works on antiquarian subjects are usually felt to be. It affords evidence that some of the things that are generally accounted "primæval" are only such in the sense that we know not anything about them, that the term "præhistoric" means, not before there was anything to write, but merely anterior to such knowledge as we possess. Much of the credit of the discovery of this important fact is due to the untiring and fruitful labours of Professor Sayce himself. Evidence in support of what we have thus said will appear from the bill-of-fare set forth in the contents-page. In treating of the manners and customs of the ancient Babylonians and Assyrians, he takes up such subjects as the Family, Education, Slavery and Free Labour, Wages and Prices, Houses and Land, the Money-lender, Government and the Army, the Law, Trades, Epistolary Correspondence, Weights and Measures, Religion, and other matters; and he seems to talk as familiarly of these details of those far-remote times as one might of similar details of our own day and generation. The book has certainly helped the subject forward, and placed our knowledge of it on a higher level than it was before, and the distinguished author has placed all Orientalists under an additional obligation to him. B.

## ORIENTAL PRESS; SHANGHAI.

20. *Le Haut Yang-tsze*, by REV. S. CHEVALIER, S.J. Also the *Atlas du Haut Yang-tsze*, by the same author. The Russians and the French leave us hopelessly behind in the matter of Oriental research, especially in the fields of history and cartography. The above magnificent publications are a continuation of the "*Navigation à Vapeur sur le Haut Yang-tsze*," issued by the reverend and learned author in the early part of last year, and already noticed in the *China Review*. The works now under notice consist (1) of a fascicule of sixty quarto pages, giving a personal narrative of a steamer voyage from Shanghai to Ichang (calling at intermediate ports), and a junk voyage from Ichang to Chungking; and (2) of thirty-eight sheets (*i.e.*, double folio) on the scale of  $\frac{1}{25000}$ , showing the whole of the Yang-tsze River, including, of course, the gorges between Ichang and Chungking. Each chart indicates both Paris and Greenwich longitudes, and gives all names in both French and English forms. English being now incontestably the leading language for commerce, the French, as the Russians, are now wisely publishing as many treatises as possible in such form as to be easily available to Englishmen and Americans, and, for the matter of that, also to Germans, Italians, etc. As I have been over every



inch of the ground covered by these thirty-eight charts, I naturally look back with wistful interest to my travels and native surroundings of twenty years ago, and regard every rock, rapid, eddy, or sand-bank as an old acquaintance. Père Chevalier being both a Chinese scholar and an astronomer of European distinction, it of course follows that his present labours entirely supersede from a scientific point of view those of Blakiston and the British Admiralty, undertaken at times and under conditions less favourable to perfect accuracy; armed with these charts alone, a light-draught steamer or gunboat could "go anywhere and do anything." The splendid miscellaneous work done by the Jesuit Fathers at Shanghai during the past ten years has been frequently commented upon with gratitude and admiration, and these most recent labours of Père Chevalier are a fitting sequel to the invaluable researches of such noble collaborators as Descheverens, Heude, David, Zottoli, Boucher, and many others, whose illustrious names now stand out quite on a par with those of their distinguished colleagues of 200 years ago, such as Schaal, Verbiest, Gerbillon, Visdelou, Ricci, Premare, etc. It is inconceivable that any British naval officer should be allowed to take his vessel higher than Ichang without being provided with Père Chevalier's charts, which may be procured from Kelly and Walsh, Shanghai; if he is, then Lord Charles Beresford should be at once started on the hue and cry. There are yet due the second parts of the narrative and the mapping, which will take us from Chungking to P'ing-shan on the Yün Nan frontier; it is to be devoutly hoped that the author will be vouchsafed health and strength to bring them to a speedy completion.

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C. ARTHUR PEARSON, LIMITED; LONDON.

21. *Siberia and Central Asia*, by JOHN W. BOOKWALTER. Second edition, with a map. This handsome and exceedingly well-got-up volume is the outcome of a trip by the author through Siberia and Central Asia. He undertook the journey to see and judge for himself with respect to the various questions involved in what is called the "Eastern Question." Exceptional privileges having been granted to him, his observations are minute and important, not only to the politician, but also to the commercial and travelling public. The 500 pages of letterpress are adorned with nearly 300 well-executed illustrations from photographs taken by the author himself. There is also a very copious index, and a clear and distinct map, not overcrowded by names of towns, villages, rivers, and mountains, showing the present vast extent of Russia in Asia and adjacent countries. The author considers that by-and-by a trip from Moscow to Vladivostock may be made with the greatest comfort in eight or nine days, and that it is not improbable within the next ten years a continuous trip may be effected from Paris to Peking, a distance of over 8,000 miles; and if the route does not prove to be the most comfortable and interesting in the world, it will not be the fault of the Russian Government.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO., LIMITED, LONDON ; BOSTON :  
SMALL, MAYNARD AND CO., 1899.

22. *America in Hawaii: a History of United States Influence in the Hawaiian Islands*, by EDMUND JAMES CARPENTER. This is a history of the Archipelago from the time of its discovery by Captain Cook in January, 1778, down to August, 1898, when the American flag was raised at Honolulu by Admiral Miller, and the sovereignty of the United States proclaimed. The author has succeeded in tracing the growth of American influence and sentiment in these islands from their origin to their culmination in annexation. He acknowledges his indebtedness to the "History of the Hawaiian or Sandwich Islands," by James Jackson Jarves (Boston, 1843); "A Brief History of the Hawaiian People," by Professor W. D. Alexander, of Honolulu. Among other very interesting information there are chapters on the Primitive State of the Inhabitants, the Arrival of the Missionaries, Foreign Aggressions, and the Sugar Industry. The concluding chapters deal with the diplomatic and political phases of the Hawaiian Question, derived from official and other authentic sources.

SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO. ; LONDON.

23. *Glimpses of Old Bombay and Western India*, by JAMES DOUGLAS, J.P., late Sheriff of Bombay. The author has rendered great service by publishing in a permanent form, in a very handsome volume, his researches on the social aspects of Bombay during a century back; the banks and its merchants; its clubs; its ancient and historical places, fast disappearing by improvements and otherwise. He has contrived in a pleasant manner to place it on record far more enduring than stone and lime, liable to be removed by the voracious appetite and taste of the builder. Mr. Douglas's work will be read with much interest, and we anticipate that his investigations will encourage the rising generation to follow up his researches, which to him have been a labour of love for many years; at all events, his stories of olden time will both refresh the memories of old Indians and add much to the historical knowledge of Bombay and Western India.

SANDS AND CO. ; LONDON.

24. *Picturesque Kashmir*, by ARTHUR NEVE. The author of this interesting work presents his readers with a mass of miscellaneous information which he gathered during an eighteen years' residence in Kashmir, as medical missionary of the Church Missionary Society, and in which capacity he was brought into contact with all classes, from His Highness the Maharajah downwards. The theme of the book, however, is concerned rather with the wild grandeur of nature than with the description of the people.

The traveller nowadays has no difficulty in getting from India to Kashmir, for he dashes through the deep valley of the Jhelam in a tonga

(hill-cart) at the rate of eight miles an hour, and thus does in two days what his predecessors required a fortnight to do. The rapidity of the transition may perhaps make the scenery appear in a general way more striking, but there is no leisure to linger over the details of its beauty. The author, with his keen appreciation of the beauties of nature, makes the book abound with picturesque descriptions. We quote from page 8 : " It is not yet sunrise, and the distant peaks look pale blue against the lemon-yellow eastern sky ; the nearer hills are deep indigo, with here and there lighter tints, where wreaths of smoke rise from the numerous hamlets hidden away in the jungle ; in the plain are fields of ripe corn partly cut. Swiftly ascending the low hills, one soon reaches a different atmosphere ; the stately *Pinus longifolius* covers the slopes, and maidenhair ferns cling to the rocks. Before noon the traveller is at Murree, and he may be enveloped in clouds, and feel the damp chill of the mists which roll through the dark forests of oak, horse-chestnut, deodar, and cypress. From the ridge one gets a glimpse of the plains far below, where toilers are sweltering in the sultry noon, and then in front comes the expected view of the mountain ranges. The snowy line of the Pir Panjal stands up like a wall far away to the east, overlooking the billow-like masses of the outer hills. In early summer snow covers the summits as well as the hollows, where a few small glaciers linger. The range is remarkably even in height, none of the peaks exceeding 16,000 feet, while few are below 14,000 feet. At intervals there are great rock masses which stand out on the Punch side like huge bastions."

Srinagar, the "City of Sun," he calls one of the most picturesque cities of the world. Situated on the banks of a broad river, and dominated by the Takht-i-Suleiman Hill, its situation is certainly most striking.

The author tells us all about Kashmir's beautiful lakes with floating gardens, its limpid springs adorned with marble tanks, its lovely pleasure gardens, such as the Nishat Bagh with its park of splendid planes ; Shalimar and its fine summer-houses, where Jehangir and Nur Jahan are said to have gone for rest from the cares of State ; and the Nasim Bagh sloping to the water edge of the Dhal Lake, and of which Jehangir declared that "the beauty of the reflections and the colouring of the water by reason of the flowers and water-lilies exceeded anything he had read of in the descriptions of paradise." Thence the famous saying : " Agar Firdus ba-ru-i-zamin ast, hamin ast u hamin ast !"

We read about the specimens of ancient architecture to be found in Kashmir—the temples of Martand, Payech, etc.—dating as early as 220 B.C. ; the beautiful plateaus of Sonamarg and Gulmarg—"Meadow of Roses" ; the sacred cave of Amarnath, over 13,000 feet above the sea, to which great pilgrimages take place every year, when thousands of Jogis and Sadus congregate from all parts of India. The great Himalayan god is represented by a block of ice projecting from the back of the cave. The author also describes the land of the Lamas. But we must commend our readers to peruse for themselves this fascinating book, and to admire its beautiful illustrations in platinographs by Mr. G. W. Millais.

SIMPKIN, MARSHALL AND CO. ; LONDON.

(Printed at the M.D.C.S.P.C.K. Press, Madras.)

25. *Judaism and Islām*, by ABRAHAM GEIGER. This work is a translation of a prize essay originally written by the learned Geiger, a Rabbi of Wiesbaden, and first published in 1833. It was translated from the German of Geiger by a member of the Ladies' League in aid of the Delhi Mission of the Gospel Propagation Society. The translation was undertaken by Miss F. M. Young, of Bangalore, at the request of the Rev. G. A. Lefroy of the Cambridge Mission in Delhi, who thought that an English translation of Geiger's work would be of use in connexion with missionary work among Muhammadans. The effect of the work is to prove what has so often been proved before—that the author of the Qur'ān was indebted for much of his information to the Scriptures of the Jews. The result is a handy little volume of about 170 pages of good print. Throughout the work there is a great deal of Hebrew and Arabic at the foot of the pages. The Qur'ān is very largely quoted, and the translation of the quotations into English forms the main portion of the work. The whole of the subject-matter is so arranged as to prove the point which Dr. Geiger set out to prove, and in the result we have what will be found to be a very helpful work to English and American missionaries all over the world whose sphere of labour is among the followers of the Prophet of Arabia.—B.

26. *The Transvaal Boers: a Historical Sketch*, by AFRICANUS. Second edition, revised and enlarged, with map of South Africa. We are pleased to observe that a second edition of this concise and admirable sketch has been called for. It contains an excellent introduction, in which the author truly says: "The average reader who has not had occasion to specialize will not, I think, be able to find a summary of Transvaal history in any one book, and I hope this publication will fill a gap." "The changes of Ministry in England, the ignorance or carelessness of home politicians, and the apathy of the home electorate, have from time to time thrown South African affairs into a crucible. The Liberal record is rather worse than the Conservative, and to say that is to say a good deal; but I have no party object in writing this book." "There are some signs that this state of things is coming to an end, and that we intend to keep our word in future." "I am quite certain that the average British citizen has not the least idea of the effect produced on our colonies and elsewhere by the oscillation of our electoral machinery." The author writes with personal knowledge of South Africa and its people, and the public can find no better sketch than this impartial and concise historical record.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO. ; LONDON.

27. *The Moorish Empire: a Historical Epitome*, by BUDGETT MEAKIN, some years editor of the *Times of Morocco*, author of "The Moors," "The Land of the Moors," etc., with 115 illustrations. This work, consisting of more than 570 pages, with well-executed illustrations of subjects ancient and modern, with copious index, chart, and maps, is an exhaustive history

of the Moorish Empire in its various phases, from the earliest historic times to the present day. The author has divided his book into three parts—the first treating of internal development; the second, external relations of the empire; and the third literature, reviewing shortly the numerous works that have appeared both in history and in fiction, its journalism, such as it is, works recommended to be read, and an appendix of the classical authorities on Morocco. In short, the author has spared no labour and research to produce a standard work upon a region of the world comparatively little known, even in these days of expeditions and explorations. The spirit in which the author has performed his task is evinced by his concluding remarks. He says: "To trace the threads of the existing Moorish fabric back into the staple of the past; to notice the converging gossamers which in due time united, forming the *weft* and *woof* of the nation; to observe the strengthening strands of racial tendencies extended on the loom of the Moroccan hills and plains; to mark the interlacing of those strands as to and fro the shuttle plied—of outside influences, foreign interests, and the desire for mutual protection; to mark with admiration how each tender filament, so fine as sometimes to be imperceptible without the aid of science, went to form the pattern which the great Creator had designed—all this was full of interest: the very labour of the task repaid itself."

The author considers that the political future and development of Morocco depends, like Tunis, Tripoli, and Egypt, not upon "native movements, but upon foreign interests." In Morocco he considers that, "notwithstanding actual independence, the present state of affairs has induced a condition practically analogous. The fate of the Moorish Empire depends on the fate of Europe as truly as if it were reduced already to a provincial level . . . the factors which control its future are to be sought outside the country, not in it. So long as Morocco is left alone, its people will murmur and seethe; but they will neither destroy themselves, nor willingly submit to others."

The chapter on Foreign Rights and Privileges, the outcome of treaties, is of great importance, as they bear upon security of person and liberty in transactions; jurisdiction and irresponsibility of consuls; rights to places of business, churches, and graveyards; individual responsibility; admission of strangers under an allied flag; transportation of stores and merchandise; the exportation of unsold goods; and various other subjects affecting the merchant, traveller, or foreign resident. We most cordially and strongly invite the attention of our readers to this most interesting, valuable, and important work.

28. *The Origin and Growth of Village Communities in India*, by B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E. This is a praiseworthy and on the whole successful attempt to lay before English readers a succinct account of the origin and growth of village communities in India, as well, in order to render these intelligible, as a description of the very varied tenures under which the villages and estates under their control and management are held, with their relations to the State. To enter fully into the details of

the matters discussed by the author would necessitate the extension of this article almost to the size of the book itself. For an account of the state of village matters before 1870, and a general view of the agricultural races of India, the peculiarities of the latter affording in most cases a clue to the constitution of the communities themselves, we must accordingly refer our readers to Mr. Baden-Powell's volume, and will in this place confine our attention to Chapter V., which describes the Indian village as it is, and points out the distinction between what the author entitles the *severalty* and the *joint* villages.

The *severalty* village, with the sub-heading of *raiyatvāri*, is defined to be one in which the ownership is in the form of independent holdings, and there is no acceptance of a joint responsibility for the revenue and expenses, and no joint ownership of the village site or any adjacent waste area. It is also said to be managed by a hereditary headman, but to this, although such is the general rule, it should be noted that there are occasional exceptions, as in the Southern Talúkas of the Surat (Súrat) Collectorate, where in the early days of our rule it was a settled policy, with a view to lessen the mischievous influence of certain Desais, originally mere farmers of the revenue who had practically usurped the ownership of the villages, to appoint stipendiary Patels or headmen, the custom being continued to the present day. The original villages were, as Mr. Baden-Powell says, constituted at a time when the people lived in tribes and clans, so that the first organized villages were settled by little sections of clans, when, it may be remarked, this was not accomplished by a single influential leader, whose descendants subsequently apportioned the lands amongst themselves according to their customs. As time went on, fresh villages would be started by smaller offshoots from the parent villages, sometimes as mere hamlets (*purá* or *pará*, whence the frequent termination of names of towns in *pur*, etc.), from the latter, and in the first instance under their jurisdiction, subsequently to split off under defined boundaries, and become separate units. These boundaries, as noted at the foot of page 61, are matters of the greatest importance in village life, and disputes with regard to them in former days frequently led to feuds and bloodshed. In Kolarian, and probably in Dravidian and other tribes, village lands were cultivated in common, and the proceeds shared as long as the degrees of consanguinity of the villagers remained sufficiently close to admit of a family understanding in the community, but as the number increased and intermarriage with outsiders tended to widen and loosen those ties, the principle of joint ownership was gradually lost sight of and fell into disuse, leaving only a trace in some instances in the right of individuals descended from the original founders' families to hold lands on more favourable terms than their fellow-cultivators, as in the case of *Japti kherus* (permanent tillers) in Gujarát, and of *Dhárákaris* and others in the Khoti villages in the Konkan.

The description thus given of *severalty* villages naturally applies also to many that have become *joint* owing to the force of circumstances, as, for instance, in the case of the *Khoti* villages in the Southern Konkan. The

original *Khotis* were merely farmers or grantees of the right to levy revenue on the part of the State; these, being men of influence and wealth, probably, became, *more Indico, quasi* proprietors, and divided the village lands into shares for revenue purposes, leaving only the more substantial original tenants with rights of permanent occupancy adverse to their own, and liable to no heavier payments in kind or cash than the farmers themselves paid.

The constitution of *joint* villages is said, no doubt correctly in the majority of instances, to be due to difference of peculiarities among the races to which their original foundation can be traced. The joint owners may share the estate in various ways. The first great distinction is that in one large class the present holders are a body descended from one man, or a number of near connections going back to one original ancestor, who at some time or other obtained the lordship or superiority, having obtained their present position through the principle of the Hindu joint family, according to which on the death of the single lord or joint lords all the male agnates succeeded together according to their place in the table of descent. In these cases, in reality, a much expanded family dominates the village, and (in some cases with the adventitious admission of strangers, as in the *Bhāgdāri* villages in the Bharūch Collectorate which are held by men of different castes) now constitutes the community. In a second class the villages represent the fission of a whole clan or tribe, and in a third they may have come together by voluntary association; the latter of these cases, however, must be rare, and can only have arisen under the circumstance of the utter disruption of village ties brought about by such a proceeding as that of the *Mahrāshas* in farming out the revenues of villages or *Talūkahs* to Court favourites, or the highest bidders in the market.

The method under which an ancestrally shared village is continued in the form of a continued joint inheritance is well exemplified by a diagram at the foot of page 77, where the subdivision of an imaginary one of an area of 2,400 acres is traced down to an infinitesimal share in a third subdivision of a division. Subdivisions beyond a point such as this would descend to such a level as to render necessary the substitution for almost a nominal share of some privilege to be enjoyed by the holder in the shape of a favourable rent like those of the "permanent tillers" and *Dhārākars* mentioned above. As long as the holding of an individual constitutes a share, however minute, the fractional payment of revenue and village expenses corresponds with the fraction of the land owned. But it often happens that in the course of time, owing to some cause or other, as, for instance, the revaluation of assessments by a Revenue Survey and Settlement, the shares cease to be exactly correct. The only alternatives for the sharers in apportioning the State demands they must severally meet are, then, a redistribution of lands in accordance with the revised valuation, or the acceptance by individual sharers as the proportionate payment on their shares of the total revised assessment on their portions of land. The latter alternative has, fortunately in the way of saving trouble to the Revenue administration, been adopted by the greater

number, if not all, of the shareholders in the joint *Narvāddār* villages in the *Kaira* (*Khera*) Collectorate in the Bombay Presidency.\*

It is possible, as Mr. Baden-Powell remarks, that in joint villages the estate may be actually undivided, though such a case must be rare, and possibly exists in some of the *Tālukdāri* or *Mevāsi* villages in Ahmadabad. In such cases, as he points out, every co-sharer has possession of a portion of land that he cultivates or holds as a landlord for his own benefit, and the rent of the rest of the cultivated and the profits from the uncultivated land are held in common for the payment of revenue charges and expenses, anything beyond this being divided according to their nominal shares among the whole coparceny.

In speaking of the *Tālukdāri* and *Mevāsi* villages in Ahmadabad, Mr. Baden-Powell has hardly sufficiently noticed the gradual deterioration in status of these once well-to-do landholders in consequence of the heads of the families having to provide maintenance (under the denomination of *Jirdi*) for the constantly increasing number of their relatives and the latter's families. The members of these families, being aware that something must according to custom be found for them out of the ancestral property, avoid even cultivating their own lands until they are driven to it from sheer necessity, and for the most part live a life of idleness, preferring to feed on next to nothing so as to retain the nominal dignity of being considered shareholders. Legislation under the *Tālúkdāri* Acts referred to has for the time being saved them from irretrievable ruin, but if something is not done to supply the blank in the incomes of the holders in chief caused by this perpetual drain, a blank that can never be filled by occasional lapses to the main estates, the estates must gradually diminish in value until the whole are held by men in the position of ordinary cultivating *rayats*.

Enough has been said of the intensely interesting subjects dealt with in the book under review to show that it will well repay close study by those who desire to acquire a knowledge of the conditions of land-holding in India.

A. R.

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\* They retain at the same time their joint responsibility for the payment of the whole rental.



## OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Problem of South African Unity*, by W. BASIL WORSFOLD (George Allen, 156, Charing Cross Road, London). This is a concise and excellent statement of the principles which ought to guide our statesmen in consolidating British rule and supremacy in South Africa, with the ultimate object of confederating the several British colonies. It also contains very important notes on such subjects as the rapid increase of the Batu population, the native franchise in the Cape and Natal colonies, the Glen Grey Act of 1894, the control of the natives and their education, the agricultural and other capacities of the Transvaal, the policy of Sir Bartle Frere, and the respective elements of population, native, Dutch, British, and European. It is an important contribution towards solving the problem of South African unity.

*The Order of St. John of Jerusalem: its History and Work in Peace and War*, A.D. 1023-1900. A lecture by MAJOR A. C. YATE, I.S.C. (printed by the *Bath Chronicle* office). A very graphic and interesting lecture by a very competent authority. Its object is to promote more widely the operations of the St. John Ambulance Association and Brigade Institutions. Major Yate, when in India, succeeded in forming classes—one for ladies and the other for officers—at Dalhousie. The work is so beneficial that similar classes are being established in other centres. "First aid" and "nursing" instruction, in order to save life, is important, not only among the natives of India, but also among Europeans. The aim of the St. John Ambulance Association by popularizing "first aid" knowledge, and by the services of its own trained Ambulance Brigade, helps to reduce the mischief of accidents to a minimum. We trust the work of the institutions will be widely taken in hand throughout the whole of India. Bombay would form an excellent head centre of the associations.

*Mahbūb-ul-Albāb*—محبوب الالباب, by KHAN BAHADUR MOULVI KHUDĀ BAKHSH KHĀN-SAHIB (printed in Haidarābād, Deccan, and dedicated to His Highness the Nizām). This is a volume of 858 pages in the Persian language, giving the titles, authors, and description of all the Persian and Arabic books in the Haidarābād Library. It is arranged in alphabetical order. Presented by Mr. S. Khudā Bakhsh, M.A. Oxon.

*Gazetteer of the Bombay Presidency*, vol. ix., Part II. Gujarāt population—Musalmāns and Pārsis. Under Government orders (Government Central Press, Bombay). This volume consists of two parts—the one relating to the Musalmāns, contributed by Khān Bahādur Fazālullah Lutfullah Faridi, Assistant Collector of Customs, Bombay; and the other, or second part, relating to the Pārsis, the joint contribution of the late Mr. Kharsedji Nasarvanji Seervai, J.P., a former Collector of Income Tax, and Khān Bahādur Bamanji Behramji Patel, Bombay. It contains also illustrations and a copious and useful index.

*The Upanishads : Chhândogya*, vol. iv., Part II., by V. C. SESHACHARRI, B.A., B.L. (G. A. Natesan and Co., Esplanade, Madras). The encouragement which the writer has received by publishing the first three volumes has prompted him to produce the present, which will be found as interesting as the previous volumes. It is well printed, and affords much valuable information.

*Ramayana—The Epic of Rama, Prince of India, condensed into English Verse*, by ROMESH DUTT, C.I.E. "The Temple Classics," edited by Israel Gollancy (J. A. Dent and Co., Aldine House, London, W.C.). A conveniently small volume, which will make this celebrated epic better known to the English reader. There is also a valuable epilogue by the well-known author.

*Who's Who*, 1900. *An Annual Biographical Dictionary*. Fifty-second year of issue (Adam and Charles Black, Soho Square, London). A volume of upwards of 1,000 pages, containing correct information up to date, including many biographies of persons who came into prominence during last year. It forms a valuable acquisition to every library, and a necessary compendium to public men.

*The Englishwoman's Year-Book and Directory*, 1900. Second year of new issue, edited by EMILY JANES, Secretary to the National Union of Women Workers of Great Britain and Ireland. Twentieth year (Adam and Charles Black, London). A most useful compilation by many helpers, carefully verified, extending over a large area, such as education, employments of women, and professions; industrial, medicine, science, literature, art, music, sports, pastimes, and social life; public work, philanthropy, temperance, homes and charitable institutions, and religious work. The volume also contains, in alphabetical order, a list of the various homes and charitable institutions relating to women, girls, and children.

*The Derbyshire Campaign Series*, Nos. 2 and 5—"The 95th (the Derbyshire) Regiment in Central India"; "The 2nd Battalion Derbyshire Regiment in Tirah." The former by GENERAL SIR JULIUS RAINES, with an interesting introduction by COLONEL H. D. HUTCHINSON, I.S.C., Director of Military Education in India; the latter by CAPTAIN A. K. SLESSOR, with an introduction by BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR R. C. HART, V.C., K.C.B., late commanding 1st Brigade Tirah Field Force. These interesting volumes relate the doings and experiences of the Derbyshires. The introduction to the latter, but for his decease, would have been written by Colonel Sir Robert Warburton, whose "lifelong experience of the frontier tribes, and the unbounded personal influence which his relationship with some of their chiefs no doubt assisted him to exert among them, would have added an immense interest and authority to his explanation and discussion of the cause which led up to their revolt against the British rule." Nevertheless, the two works are full of valuable information of the heroic deeds of our army which have brought about peace and order in India. They contain maps and other illustrations, with valuable appendices.

*Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa, including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa*, by DAVID LIVINGSTONE, with portrait and full-page illustrations (Ward, Lock and Co., London). A new edition of Dr. Livingstone's celebrated work, which at the present time will be perused with renewed and intense interest.

*The Boer War: its Causes and its Interests to Canadians, with a Glossary of Cape Dutch and Kafir Terms*, by E. B. BIGGAR. Fourth edition (Biggar, Samuel and Co., Toronto and Montreal). A well-written short sketch of the Boers and the war, by a Canadian, to his fellow-countrymen, on his return to Canada, after spending five years in South Africa. He shows the great interest which Canadians ought to take in the consolidation of South Africa under British rule. There is appended a table of distances. The glossary of Cape Dutch and Kafir terms will be found very useful to the English reader.

*Britain and the Boers. Who is responsible for the War in South Africa?* by LEWIS APPLETON, F.R.H.S. (Simpkin, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., London). An exceedingly useful work for reference, containing the despatches and other documents in chronological order from August 3, 1881, to October 10, 1899, a review of the correspondence, a history of the controversy, and quotations, giving the opinions of our eminent public men from October 11 to December 1, 1899.

*True Stories of South Africa*, by A SOLDIER (Thomas Burleigh, London). Well-written and chatty stories of the war against the Basutos and other districts in South Africa, including "A Night with the Outposts," "A Narrow Escape," "Women, Soldiers, and Pumpkins," "The Biter Bit," and other interesting particulars in the life and experience of a soldier in time of war.

*Special Map of South Africa to illustrate the Military Operations, 1900* (W. and A. K. Johnston, Edinburgh and London). A large and distinctly coloured map, showing the British colonies, the late Orange Free State, and the Transvaal, with letter-press denoting the various districts, their respective distances, and a diary of the war up to date.

*Pocket Guide to Paris. Conty's Practical Guides* (A. Nion, 30, Gerrard Street, Soho, London, W.). In view of the Paris Exhibition, this guide will be found exceedingly useful to English and American visitors. Besides numerous illustrations of streets, buildings, etc., and a guide to the whole city, it gives in a handy and concise form practical hints as to hotels, how to economize time, cost of living, and other useful information.

We acknowledge with thanks the reception of the following :

*Report of the Director of Public Instruction in the Bombay Presidency for the Year 1898-99* (Government Central Press, Bombay);—*The Argosy*, Nos. 1, 2, 3, 1900 (George Allen, London);—*Tuberculosis, the*

*Journal of the National Association for the Prevention of Consumption and other Forms of Tuberculosis*, vol. i., No. 2 (published by the Association, 20, Hanover Square, W.);—*The Indian Review*, vol. i., 1900, Nos. 1 and 2 (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The National Magazine*, New Series, a monthly review, vol. xiii., No. 10, October, 1899 (The Muhammadan Orphans' Press, Calcutta);—*Journal of the Buddhist Text and Anthropological Society*, edited by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., vol. vi., part iv., 1898 (Baptist Mission Press, Luzac and Co., Calcutta);—*The Periodical*, Nos. ix., x., xi. (Henry Frowde, Oxford University Press Warehouse, Amen Corner, London, E.C.);—*Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1897, United States Museum, part i. (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1899);—From George Newnes, Limited, London: *The Strand Magazine* for January, February, and March—*The Captain* for January, February, and March—*The Wide World Magazine* for January, February, and March—*The Sunday Strand Magazine* for January, February, and March—*Tit-Bits*, weekly—*The Royal Atlas*, parts 16-18—*The Arabian Nights*, parts 13-15—*The King of Illustrated Papers*, weekly—*Unbeaten Tracts in Japan*, by Mrs. Bishop, parts 3, 4;—*The Koloniale Zeitschrift*, No. 1, January, 1900, edited by Dr. Hans Wagner (Leipzig, fortnightly);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing "Hebraica"), vol. xvi., No. 2 (The University of Chicago Press, Luzac and Co.);—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*La Revue Générale Belge* (Brussels);—*Rivista Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (Isbister and Co., London);—*The National Review* (E. Arnold);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (A. Constable and Co., London);—*The North American Review*, January, February, and March (New York);—*The Madras Review* (Thompson and Co., Minerva Press, Madras);—*Le Tour du Monde* (Hachette, London and Paris);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—*Revue Tunisienne*, organe de l'Institut de Carthage, (Tunis);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Sphinx*, vol. iii., parts 2, 3;—*Bibliothèque Egyptologique* (Williams and Norgate, Upsala and London).

For want of space we regret we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue: *Sacred Books of the East, Satapatha Brâhmana*, vol. xlv., part v., Books XI., XII., XIII., XIV. Julius Eggeling, edited by Max Müller (Henry Frowde, Oxford Clarendon Press);—*In Moorish Captivity: an Account of the "Tourmaline" Expedition to Sus*, 1897-98, by H. M. Grey (Edward Arnold, London);—*Innermost Asia: Travel and Sport in the Pamirs*, by Ralph P. Cobbold (late 60th Rifles), with maps and illustrations—*The Mysteries of Chronology*, with proposal for a new English era, to be called the Victorian, by F. F. Arbuthnot

(William Heinemann, London, 1900);—*The Romance of Australian Exploring*, by G. Firth Scott, with maps and illustrations (S. Low, Marston and Co., London, 1899);—*The Practical Study of Languages*, a guide for teachers and learners, by Henry Sweet, M.A., PH.D., LL.D., with tables and illustrative quotations (J. M. Dent and Co., London, 1899);—*Impressions of South Africa*, by James Bryce, third edition, revised—*South Africa of To-Day*, by Captain F. Younghusband, C.I.E., with illustrations;—*Southern Arabia*, by Theodore Bent and Mrs. Theodore Bent (Smith, Elder and Co., London, 1900);—*The Races of Man: an Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography*, by J. Deniker, SC.D. (Paris), with 176 illustrations and two maps, The Contemporary Science Series (Walter Scott, Limited, London, 1900);—*The Story of the Australian Bushrangers*, by George E. Boxall (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, London, 1899);—*The Chahār Maqāla* ("four discourses") of Nidhāmi-i-'Arūdi-i-Šamarqandī, translated by E. G. Browne, M.A., M.B. (Luzac and Co., London, 1900).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

**INDIA : GENERAL.**—The Viceroy asked all the provincial Governments in India to convene public meetings in aid of the Famine Fund, and on February 24 presided at a meeting held in the Calcutta Town Hall to form a Famine Relief Fund. His Excellency read a long list of liberal subscriptions promised, headed by a donation of £6,000 from Her Majesty the Queen-Empress. Subscriptions to nearly 7 lacs of rupees were subscribed by Calcutta alone; amongst them are the following: The Viceroy, Rs. 10,000; Lady Curzon, Rs. 10,000; Sir Jotendro Mohan Tagore, Rs. 10,000; the Maharaja of Mymensingh, Rs. 5,000; Raja Ranjit Singh, Rs. 2,000, etc. H.H. the Maharaja Holkar has given a grant of 5 lacs of rupees. The Maharaja of Jeypore a donation of 15 lacs.

The Mansion House Famine Fund amounted on March 23 to £144,000.

The numbers on relief at the beginning of the year were: Bombay, 523,000; Panjāb, 111,000; Central Provinces, 1,173,000; Berar, 199,000; Ajmir, 111,000; Rajputana, 199,000; Central India, 37,000; Bombay States, 330,000; Baroda, 61,000; North-West Provinces, 4,000; Panjāb Native States, 1,000; total, 2,753,000. On March 23, the number is as follows: Bombay, 1,291,000; Panjāb, 242,000; Central Provinces, 1,494,000; Berar, 329,000; Ajmir Marwara, 110,000; Rajputana States, 447,000; Central India States, 119,000; Bombay Native States, 474,000; Baroda, 59,000; North-West Provinces, 3,000; Panjāb Native States, 7,000; Central Province Native States, 47,000; Haiderabad, 182,000; Madras, 6,000; total, 4,810,000.

The plague is fast increasing in Bengal, where there were 4,725 deaths from the disease in the third week in March.

On March 2 Lord Curzon went on a tour to Assam, where he met with a very cordial reception. During his visit, and in reply to an address at Ganhati, he said: "The fact that not a single word of complaint has been expressed in any address regarding the late appalling earthquake, and the havoc which it caused, has stamped the people as a courageous race." He added that the present system of carrying out the railway construction programme was inelastic and faulty, and that he was endeavouring to improve it. He regretted that he was unable to grant Assam a permanent seat on the Legislative Imperial Council. He thanked the people for their loyalty. His visit has given the utmost pleasure to all classes of the Province.

The Indian Tea Association has just published returns showing the outturn of the crop of 1899. This amounted to 174,856,000 lb. There was a marked increase in Assam, Cachar, Sylhet, and the Dooars, but a decrease in Darjeeling district.

The Maharaja of Darbhanga gave a grand fête in Calcutta in February last, when Lord and Lady Curzon, and over a thousand guests were present. His Highness has subscribed Rs. 12,000 to the Transvaal War Fund for the relief of the widows, orphans, and wounded. Amongst other

subscribers are two Ward Raj Estates—Hutwa and Burdwan—Rs. 10,000 each; Tikari, Rs. 7,500; the Nawab Asadullah of Dacca, the Maharaja Monindra Chandra Nandi of Kassimbazar, and the Maharao Umaid Singh (ruling chief of Kotah), Rs. 5,000 each.

The Viceroy has presented the Cross of the Bath to Colonel the Maharaj Adhiraj Sir Pratab Singh, of Patiala, for services rendered in the Mohmand Expedition of 1897, and in Tirah.

The Indian Mines Bill, by which it was sought to impose vexatious restrictions on labour, thus handicapping the coal and the gold industries, has been postponed for a year, in order that further information may be obtained.

The Copyright Press Bill has been postponed for further consideration, in consequence of numerous objections from all sides.

The total gold in reserve held in India is now about 8 crores of rupees.

Mr. John Power Wallis, barrister-at-law, has been appointed Advocate-General at Madras in lieu of Mr. Arnold White, who has become Chief Justice.

The Russian Government has appointed M. de Klemm, an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Consul-General at Bombay.

The report of the Indo-European Telegraph Department for 1898-99 shows a net profit of Rs. 6,97,303 on the year's working, which gives a return of 6·03 per cent. on the capital invested, against that of 6·57 of the preceding year.

The net receipts last year of the Indian Post Office increased by Rs. 3,91,000, while the charges only rose by Rs. 67,000. The net financial surplus was Rs. 22,21,000, as compared with 18½ lacs in the previous year.

The Commander-in-Chief, General Sir William Lockhart, died in Calcutta on March 18.

The Indian Budget statement for the year 1900-1901 was presented at the Viceroy's Council on March 21. The accounts for 1898-99 closed with a surplus of £2,641,000. The surplus for 1899-1900, in spite of a famine expenditure of £2,055,000, amounted to £2,553,000. It is estimated that next year there will be a surplus of £160,000, notwithstanding a famine expenditure of £3,335,000, and an increase of £746,000 in the military estimates.

India has met all demands for famine relief and railway construction without borrowing, and has passed to a gold standard through ordinary trade operations without adding to her indebtedness.

The total trade for all India for the ten months ending January 31, 1900, was greater than for the same period in 1899, which was considered an abnormal year.

The fifteenth Indian National Congress was held at Lucknow from December 27 to December 30 last. Nearly a thousand delegates were present, including over four hundred Muhammadans. There were 5,000 visitors. The Congress unanimously passed a resolution in favour of the separation of judicial and executive functions. It protested against the Panjāb Land Alienation Bill, on the ground that it was calculated

to diminish agricultural credit and impoverish the ryots. It expressed dissatisfaction with the currency measures of the Government, which, it declared, would have the result of depreciating the value of the savings of the masses, enhancing rents and indebtedness, and injuriously affecting manufacturers. A resolution was also adopted earnestly hoping that every effort would be made to stem the tide of alleged reactionary measures. Undiminished confidence was expressed in Sir William Wedderburn and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. The next Congress will meet at Lahore.

INDIA: FRONTIER.—Fort Jamrud will not be made over to the Khaibar Rifles, but will continue to be garrisoned by regular troops from Peshawar.

NATIVE STATES.—The Nizam of Haiderabad has offered his resources for the defence of the Empire. The Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior has asked permission to send troops and transport to South Africa, as also most of the reigning Princes and nobles of India. Among the former may be noted the Guikwar of Baroda, the Maharajas of Mysore, Jeypore, Jodhpur, Patiala, Ulwar, and Kashmir, the Begum of Bhopal, the Nawabs of Rampur and Bawalpur, and the Rajas of Nabha, Jhind, Faridkhot, etc. The Government has accepted horses for service from most of the above-mentioned States. Her Majesty the Queen-Empress has expressed through the Viceroy her warm appreciation of the loyalty thus exhibited.

BURMA.—The first session of the Burma Legislative Council this year was held on January 4 last, when the Hon. Mr. Bayne introduced the Burma Vaccination Law Amendment Bill, and the Hon. Mr. Richards the Rangoon Waterworks Act Amendment Bill.

The Bill creating changes in the judicial system of Lower Burma is now under consideration by the British Parliament. See our article on the subject.

The surplus revenue last year amounted to 293 lacs of rupees, having risen from 235 lacs, the surplus of the previous year. Deducting the cost of the garrison, which amounts to 38 lacs, there is a net surplus of 255, which represents Burma's contribution to the Imperial Exchequer. Burma promises, at this rate, to become the most prosperous province of the Indian Empire.

A serious outrage was committed by the Was tribe on the British members of the Burmo-Chinese Boundary Commission, east of the Salween. The attack took place at midnight, February 17. The assailants were repulsed, but Major Kiddle, R.A.M.C., and Mr. Sutherland, political officer, were killed, and Mr. Litton, British Consul at Szu-mão, wounded. The Boundary Commissioners, with a large force of British and Chinese troops, while exacting reparation for this outrage, met with a strong resistance. Sixty Was were killed, and the Chinese troops burned 2,000 houses.

An exploring-party of 75 Ghurka police, under Mr. Hertz and Captain Taylor, was attacked on February 13. Captains Taylor and Holloway, and four Ghurkas, were wounded.

CEYLON.—The tea crop for export during this year has been estimated at 138,000,000 lb., which is apportioned as follows: Russia, 6,000,000 lb.



Australia, 16,000,000 lb.; America, 5,500,000 lb.; other countries, 2,500,000 lb. Total for foreign countries, 30,000,000 lb., leaving for the United Kingdom, 108,000,000 lb.

The colony is ahead of India in the matter of bacteriology. On January 31 last the Governor formally opened the Bacteriological Institution at Colombo, which has been organized and fitted up through the liberality of Mr. de Soysa, the Ceylon millionaire.

**BALUCHISTAN.**—The trade with Persia by the Nushki route is rapidly developing. Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes, late Consul at Kerman, in Persia, and Captain Webb Ware, the political officer at Nushki, have been strenuously co-operating during the last few years with a view to organizing a through trade route between these two towns, running on to Quetta. Postal stations have already been established along this route, and a telegraph is now under construction, the wire having been carried from Quetta to Panj-pai, within 50 miles of Nushki. Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes despatched an experimental caravan laden with Persian goods to Quetta. The experiment is watched with great interest.

**PERSIA.**—H.I.M. the Shah, who intends to visit Europe and the Paris Exhibition this year, has been formally invited to pay a visit to England.

The Russian Bank, at the request of the Government of the Shah, has advanced the sum of 22½ million roubles at 5 per cent. to enable it to redeem the £500,000 loan of 1892, and to pay off the floating debt and salaries, and provide the Treasury with a balance.

It is reported that a Russo-Persian Company, which has been in existence some years past, has now obtained the concession for the Karakilissa-Tabriz-Teheran Railway.

Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes has been appointed Military Attaché to Sir H. Mortimer Durand, the British Minister at Teheran, and Major Chenevix Trench is going to Seistan as British Agent and Consular Representative in his place.

**AFGHANISTAN.**—The whole of the country is absolutely peaceful. The Amir is enjoying good health, and in public durbar has stated that he is ready to place his troops at the disposal of the British Government to defend the British Empire.

Rassaldar-Major Nawaz Khan, 15th Bengal Lancers, has been appointed British Agent at Kabul in the place of Nawab Ghafur Khan, retired.

**RUSSIA IN ASIA.**—The Trans-Baikal section of the Siberian Railway, extending over a distance of 1,034 kilometres, was opened for traffic on February 4 last, thereby establishing uninterrupted steam communication from Western Europe through Asia to the Pacific Coast. The construction of the railway through Manchuria is proceeding rapidly; more than 800 kilometres of line, out of the 2,500 required to connect the Trans-Baikal with Dalny and Port Arthur, have been laid, and traffic has been provisionally opened between Port Arthur and Mukden. As an inducement for emigration from Russia to the Far East, the Russian Government has fixed the fares on the Siberian Railway at a merely nominal figure, the fare from Kieff to Khabarovsk being as low as £2 10s. Thousands are taking advantage of this, and will leave for the Usuri region this spring.

**TURKEY IN ASIA.**—The 'Alim Jebedullah, who had been exiled to Tayif for heading a deputation which waited upon the British Ambassador in November last to express the sympathy of Muhammadans with England, after undergoing very harsh treatment, has been sent to Jiddah.

The Russian Government continues to press for the repatriation of Armenian refugees, which is strongly opposed by the Sultan.

German post-offices have been inaugurated at Smyrna, Beirut, and Jerusalem.

Baghdad, and some other towns in the same province, where military disturbances, pillage, etc., have been caused by the non-payment of the troops, have been temporarily tranquillized by the payment of a fortnight's pay.

The preliminary convention embodying the substance of the *Iradé* on the Konieh-Basra railway was signed on December 23 last.

**BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.**—Mr. Hugh Charles Clifford, late British Minister at Pahang, has taken up his appointment as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of the territories under the jurisdiction of the Chartered Company.

A force of Sikhs, under Captain Harrington, started from Gaya, and, after seven days' march, fought two engagements with Mat Salleh, who had induced the Taga tribe to support him. He was defeated and killed. The Tagas have all submitted, and the rebel power in the interior has been completely broken up.

The Company have contracted for the construction of a railway, 60 miles in length, to connect the harbour of Gaya with Brunel Bay (where coal exists in large quantities), and the line now under construction with the interior.

**PHILIPPINES.**—In January Colonel Bullard made a successful move southward, and captured Santa Tomaz. The report of the Philippines Commission regarding the establishment of civil government in the islands has been submitted to the American Congress by the President. It unreservedly favours an administration analogous to that of a territory in the United States.

**CHINA.**—Li Hung Chang entered upon his new appointment as Viceroy of Liang-Kwang in January last.

Pirates, emboldened by successes, have been attempting to blackmail foreign firms in Canton under a threat of blowing up their offices with dynamite.

An edict was signed in January by the Emperor Kwang Su, appointing as Emperor in his place Put Sing, a nine-year-old son of Prince Tuano. The edict is regarded as the natural result of the *coup d'état* of 1898, giving increased power to the Dowager Empress. It is noteworthy that the selection of a posthumous heir, in the absence of male issue of the Sovereign, in conformity with the national usage, has a precedent in the adoption of a successor to Hsien Feng in 1854, who was subsequently set aside at the birth of the Emperor Tung Chi.

An edict has been issued commanding Li Hung Chang to desecrate and destroy the tombs of the ancestors of Kang Yu-Wei, the reformer.

The anti-foreign attitude of the Government is becoming more pronounced. Several Chinese have been impeached on account of their relations with foreign enterprises. Sir Claude MacDonald has been taking active steps to release several who have been arrested and imprisoned on that account.

The Shanghai American Association is of opinion that the attitude of the Dowager Empress towards the reformers will defeat the "open-door" policy in China, and that rebellion and anarchy are apprehended, and recommends prompt action on the part of the foreign Powers in China.

JAPAN.—A significant sign of the part which Japan intends to play in Chinese politics in the future is that the Japanese Government has definitely offered to establish a military academy at Peking for the education of Chinese cadets by Japanese officers. The Chinese Government has not yet definitely replied whether the offer will be accepted, but it is believed that there is a disposition in Government circles to favourably entertain the proposal.

EGYPT.—The Khedive has signed the decree renewing the prolongation of the Mixed Tribunals for five years from February 1 last.

The financial accounts for 1899 show a surplus of £1,190,000 sterling. Comprised in the expenditure is an item of £272,000, representing the annual saving from the conversion of the Privileged Debt. Of the surplus, £778,000 is paid to the general reserve fund at the Caisse de la Dette, leaving £412,000 at the disposal of Government.

SUDAN.—The first through train from Cairo to Khartum reached the latter place on January 10.

Osman Digna, who was hiding in the hills near Tokar, was captured in January by a party sent out from Suakin.

Major Peake has met, south of Jebel Ain, on the White Nile, a reconnoitring-party from Uganda, under Captain Gage. He also met a party of Belgians, under Major Henry and Lieutenant Monquedec, with Senegalese tirailleurs from Shambe. All proceeded to Omdurman. The French have evacuated Meshra-er-Rek and Fort Desaix. Major Peake reports from the White Nile that the third block of the *sudd* barriers was opened in February.

Sir Francis Wingate and Sir Rennell Rodd are going to Kassala to delimit the Erythrea-Sudan frontier.

Cases of insubordination occurred in two Sudanese battalions stationed at Omdurman. A court of inquiry has condemned seven Egyptian officers to dismissal from the service; one to be reduced in rank, and to be subsequently discharged with ignominy; two to be placed on the unattached list; and two to be reprimanded and placed at the bottom of the roll of officers. On March 15 His Highness the Khedive personally addressed and reprimanded the cashiered officers, and said that should any similar conduct occur again, it would meet with much heavier punishment.

EAST AFRICA.—Owing to the partial strike among the subordinate employes engaged on the construction of the Uganda Railway, the running of trains has been temporarily suspended.

CENTRAL AFRICA.—The Uganda Railway telegraph line reached the

Nile at Ripon Falls on February 18, thus establishing telegraphic communication between London and the sources of the Nile.

A force, under Mr. Sharpe, the Administrator of British Central Africa, and Captain Margesson and Lieutenant Barclay, proceeded last October against Kazembe, one of the last Arab chiefs remaining in Northern Rhodesia, and who had been terrorizing the natives under his power and stopping British traders. Overtures were made to him on nearing his town, but in every case they were insolently rejected. On the arrival of the force, the town was found deserted, Kazembe having fled across the Tapala marshes into the Congo Free State.

**SOUTH AFRICA.**—The situation in South Africa when our last issue went to press was as follows :

**NATAL.**—General Sir G. White, with his forces, was besieged by the Boers at Ladysmith. General Sir Redvers Buller was advancing *viâ* Colenso to his relief. At Mafeking, on the north-west, Colonel Baden-Powell was holding out against a superior number of the enemy, who held possession of the country between that place and Kimberley. At the latter place Colonel Kekewich was also besieged, and his communications cut off. A force under Lord Methuen was advancing to his relief, and had fought battles at Belmont, Graspan, Modder River, and Magersfontein respectively, the losses on our side being great.

On December 15 General Sir Redvers Buller, having made an unsuccessful attempt to advance to the relief of Ladysmith, retired to Chieveley Camp, with a loss of eleven guns and 1,097 officers and men killed, wounded, and prisoners.

On December 23 Lord Roberts left England to take the chief command of British forces in South Africa.

General Buller crossed the Tugela and captured Spion Kop on January 23. The position had to be abandoned the next night, as it was found to be untenable, and he withdrew across the river.

On February 5 he again crossed the Tugela and attacked the Vaal Krantz range, but three days later was compelled to retire to the south side of the river.

On February 20 he attacked and occupied Colenso, and gradually drove the enemy back, taking position after position, when on February 28 Ladysmith was relieved, the enemy retiring with great precipitation to the north and west. The main force of Boers took up positions on the Biggarsberg and at Glencoe.

On Lord Roberts advancing at Magersfontein, the Boers under General Cronje, though strongly entrenched, saw that their position was in jeopardy. On General French with a force of cavalry and field artillery outflanking them, they retreated, one body going east towards Bloemfontein and the remainder northwards. The former under General Cronje, numbering 4,600, were overtaken and surrounded in the bed of the Modder River at Paardeberg. After suffering several days' bombardment and making an heroic resistance, the whole force surrendered on February 27. In the meantime General French had relieved Kimberley.

Lord Roberts followed up this success by marching on Bloemfontein, and after several engagements he entered the capital without opposition on March 13, President Steyn and the main Boer forces fleeing to the north.

Overtures for peace were received from the Presidents of the South African Republic and of the Orange Free State on March 6 by Lord Salisbury, based on the independence of the Republics, to which a reply was given to the effect that Her Majesty's Government was not prepared to assent to the independence of either of the Republics.

In the north of Cape Colony the Boer commandos which were in possession of Colesberg, Dordrecht, Lady Grey, and Barkly East, all fell back, and crossed the Orange River, before Generals Clements, Brabant, and Gatacre, and dispersed in the direction of Basutoland.

General Pole-Carew with a Brigade of Guards went by train from Bloemfontein as far as Springfontein, the railway being intact to Norvals Pont. They have now returned to Bloemfontein. Regular train service with the Cape was opened on March 19 viâ Bethulie.

MAFEKING is still besieged.

CAPE COLONY.—The imports in 1899 amounted to £19,207,549, against £16,682,438 in the previous year. The exports were £23,333,600, as compared with £25,318,701 in 1898.

NIGERIA.—On taking over the administration at Lokoja on January 4, the Queen's proclamation was read by the High Commissioner, Brigadier-General Lugard, who took oath of office and administered the same to Mr. W. Wallace, the Senior Resident; Mr. Mark Kerr, Colonial Secretary; and Mr. Alistair Davidson, Attorney-General. The proclamation was interpreted to the assembled natives.

The new territories will be divided, for administrative purposes, into districts with Residents, and subdivisions with Assistant-Residents. Borgu will be under a Military Governor.

Captain Lang, C.M.G., and other British Commissioners have been selected to meet French Commissioners at Chaouron for the purpose of settling the boundary from the 9th parallel of longitude and the river Ocpara up to the Niger, besides fixing the position of two *enclaves* on the Niger to be leased to France.

Captain Carroll, of the Norfolk Regiment, and 150 men of the West African Frontier Force, while escorting the telegraph construction staff north-east of Lokoja, were attacked on January, 9 by 2,000 Mitchi and Bassa tribesmen. Captain Eaton, of the East Kent Regiment, was severely wounded. The tribesmen left eighty dead on the field. A punitive expedition, composed of 500 men with guns, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Lowry Cole, has defeated the tribesmen, inflicting heavy loss.

LAGOS.—Frederick G. Osborne, Esquire, has been appointed by Her Majesty to be an unofficial member of the Legislative Council of the colony.

The prospects of the colony are bright. By the arrangement made with France, by which certain territory between Lagos and the Niger is recog-

nised as within the British sphere, while British rights over Sokoto are admitted, the pacification of a large tract of country is secured, and a large increase is expected in the cultivation of economic products. In 1889 the total export and import trade was £839,504; in 1898 it was £1,775,192, while the revenue rose from £57,633 to £196,444.

CANADA.—The grain yield of the North-West Territories during the past year amounted to 12,000,000 bushels.

The main estimates for the public service of the Dominion during the fiscal year beginning July 1 have been laid on the table of the House of Commons at Ottawa. They amount to \$49,068,391, of which \$20,475,350 is authorized by statute and \$28,593,641 is to be voted. This total is \$2,781,841 greater than the main estimate of last year, and \$2,048,482 less than the total estimates of 1900, which included two large supplementary votes.

The British Columbian Government has been defeated on the second reading of the Redistribution Bill by a vote of 19 to 18. The Government was dismissed by the Lieutenant-Governor, who invited Mr. J. Martin to form a Government.

A large part of the business section of Dawson City, Klondyke, was burned on January 10. The loss is estimated at \$500,000.

At Ottawa on March 16 the Senate adopted a resolution proposed by Sir Mackenzie Bowell setting forth that "serious delays having occurred in the prosecution of the Pacific cable undertaking through the hostility of the Eastern Extension Company, which is now demanding concessions from Australia that if granted will imperil its success, this House is of opinion that any further delay in proceeding with the construction of the cable will be inimical to the interests of the Empire, and strongly deprecates granting further concessions to the Eastern Extension or any other companies."

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The Bill re-enacting the *modus vivendi* was passed unanimously on February 20 and the Legislature prorogued. The Bond and Morris factions were unable to unite in forming a Ministry, and the lack of suitable men prevented the formation of a Cabinet from the Bond party alone. The Governor therefore desired Sir James Winter to continue in office temporarily until a solution should be arrived at. The Premier promised to do so, but on March 8 the Bond and Morris factions effected a union and secured a majority in the Legislature, and on March 15 the Cabinet was formed as follows: Mr. Bond, Premier; Mr. Cowan, Finance Portfolio; Mr. Lorwood, Justice; Mr. Murphy, Fisheries; Mr. Harvey, Colonial Secretary; Mr. Dawe, Mines; Mr. Woodford, Public Works. Mr. Knowling, the Leader of the Upper House, Mr. Morris, and Mr. Furlong are Ministers without portfolios.

AUSTRALASIA.—The gold yield of the seven Australasian colonies in 1899 has been estimated at 4,462,488 oz.

NEW SOUTH WALES.—The gold yield for December last amounted to 50,058 oz. Exclusive of 10,719 oz. sent to the Victorian Mint, the yield for last year was 509,418 oz., valued at £1,936,985.

A conference of Premiers, convened by Mr. Lyne in January, decided

to send a delegate from each federating colony to England to explain the Commonwealth Bill to the Imperial Government. The delegates are now in London. See our article on the Bill.

The Hon. Henry Copeland has been appointed Agent-General for the colony in London.

VICTORIA.—The Victorian and New South Wales Governments have agreed to accept the Eastern Extension Telegraph Company's proposals to lay a direct cable between the Cape and Australia, and considerably to reduce the present charges, on condition that the company is allowed to open its own offices in the principal cities for the receipt and despatch of messages.

Mr. Chamberlain has endorsed a protest from the Pacific Cable Board against the above concessions, and the Premiers of Victoria and New South Wales are considering the subject.

The value of the Victorian butter exported last year was £1,404,364, or double the value of that exported in the previous year. The yield of gold last year was 862,411 oz.

QUEENSLAND.—The revenue for the first eight months of last year amounted to £3,043,500, as compared with £2,708,500 for the same period of 1898. The expenditure was £2,605,300, as compared with £2,310,400 during the same period of 1898. The revenue exceeded the expenditure by £438,300. The yield of gold for 1899 was 947,626 oz.

WEST AUSTRALIA.—The total revenue for the year 1899 amounted to £2,633,081, against £2,604,942 during 1898. The yield of gold for 1899 was 1,643,871 oz.

NEW ZEALAND.—Statistical returns show that the population on December 31, 1899, was 796,389, including 39,854 Maoris. The value of the imports for 1899 is £8,739,633, and that of exports £11,938,335, including dairy produce £701,742, and gold £1,513,173.

SAMOA.—After the United States Senate had ratified the new Samoan treaty, the German flag was hoisted at Apia on March 1, the ceremony being attended by the officials of the treaty Powers and by Mataafa and Tamasese. A public reconciliation subsequently took place between the two chiefs. Dr. Solf, President of the Municipality, is Governor, and Herr Knipping acts as Chief Judge and Vice-Governor. The Supreme Court, the Municipal Council and Magistracy, and the Consular Courts have been abolished. Existing laws remain in force. The natives are awaiting news from Germany regarding the future form of Government.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of:—The Hon. Naoroji N. Wadia, C.I.E., a prominent citizen of Bombay;—Vice-Admiral S. S. Lowther Crofton (China 1841);—Major-General Sir F. R. Pollock, K.C.S.I. (Panjāb 1848, Frontier expeditions, Seistan Mission, etc.);—General H. Hopkinson, C.S.I., Bengal Staff Corps (Koladyne Hill expedition 1847-48, Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Burma 1852, Bhūtān 1865);—Major S. M. Mason, 4th Lancers (Burma 1888-89);—Major-General A. H. King, C.B. (Crimea);—Major-General W. K. Fooks (Sutlej 1846, Multān and Gujerāt 1848-49, Kohat Pass 1850, Mutiny);—The Rt. Hon.

Harry Escombe, ex-Premier of Natal ;—Colonel R. O. F. Steward (Crimea) ;  
 —Colonel F. V. G. Bird, R.M.L.I. (Zulu war 1879) ;—Major-General G. Hutchinson, C.B., C.S.I (Sutlej 1846, Mutiny) ;—Captain C. F. Newland, R.N. (Borneo expedition 1846) ;—Major-General E. A. Saunders, formerly Madras Staff Corps (Central India 1858-59) ;—Colonel W. H. Watson, R.A. (Crimea) ;—Major-General A. R. McMahon (second Burmese war) ;—Colonel E. de Laval Tarleton, late R.A. (Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel W. Handyside, late R.A. (Crimea) ;—Sir Gregory Paul, Advocate-General, Calcutta ;—Mr. E. L. Layard, formerly Ceylon Civil Service ;—Lieutenant-Colonel T. N. Young, formerly Cheshire Regiment (Peshawar Frontier 1853) ;—Surgeon-Major A. Grant, Bengal Army, retired ;—Commander G. K. Moore, R.N. (Zulu war 1877-79) ;—Captain H. G. Leigh (Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85) ;—Colonel H. O. Selby, R.E. (Afghan war 1879-80) ;—Major-General H. E. T. Williams (Burma 1852, Mutiny campaign) ;—Deputy Surgeon-General D. Cullen (Crimea, Mutiny) ;—Captain G. O'Brien Theodore Carew, C.I.E., late Indian Navy (Mutiny) ;—Captain P. H. Price-Dent, Devonshire Regiment (Chitral relief and Tirah expeditions) ;—Vice-Admiral R. Duckworth-King (Black Sea, China) ;—Rear-Admiral S. C. Darwin (Malay Peninsula, Abyssinia) ;—General Boyd, Bombay Staff Corps ;—Major-General H. T. Duncan, C.S.I., late I.S.C. ;—Mr. Thomas Shelford, C.M.G., member of the Legislative Council, Straits Settlements ;—Dr. R. Collum, the late Hon. East India Company's Service (Sind) ;—Colonel Sir Trevor Wheler, late Indian Staff Corps (Sutlej 1846, Burma 1852-53, Mutiny campaign, Central India, Eusofzai expedition 1863, Bhutān 1865-66) ;—General J. E. Thackwell, C.B. (Sind, Crimea) ;—Colonel T. T. Carter-Campbell, R.E. (Sikkim, Umbeyla, Abyssinia) ;—Sir A. C. Weldon, for some years in the Madras Army ;—Colonel M. F. Stokes (Burma 1886-89) ;—The Marquis of Lothian ;—Vice-Admiral W. H. Haswell (St. Jean d'Acre, West Coast of Africa, etc.) ;—Captain A. S. Wingate, killed in South Africa (Chitral Relief Force, Tochi Field Force and Tirah campaign) ;—Lord Ava, of wounds in South Africa ;—Lieutenant-Colonel R. F. Darvall (Afghan war 1879-80) ;—Mr. F. C. Crump, C.S., Haiderabad Residency ;—Lieutenant-General W. H. Whitlock (Burmese war 1852-53, Mutiny campaign) ;—Baron von Ernshtausen ;—Lieutenant-Colonel A. Boulger, V.C. (Mutiny, Egypt 1882) ;—Major-General A. H. Heath, late R.A. (Panjāb 1848-49, Delhi 1857) ;—Mr. N. R. Ranina, author and journalist ;—The Rev. Dr. Chalmers, of Chemulpo, Korea, a learned authority on China ;—General J. M. Perceval, C.B. (Kaffir war 1852-53) ;—Major A. O. White (Zulu war 1879) ;—Major-General Sir C. Louis, R.M. (Syria, Baltic) ;—Lieutenant W. St. Aubyn Wake, D.S.O. (Benin and Siam expeditions) ;—Mr. C. Paget Carmichael, C.S.I., late Bengal Civil Service ;—Major-General G. G. Cunliffe, late Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny) ;—Colonel J. G. Cockburn, late Royal Worcester Regiment (Hazara, Black Mountain, and Lushai expeditions) ;—Colonel E. W. Cuming (Crimea) ;—Major A. W. Cockburn, late R.E. (Burma 1886-87) ;—Admiral E. H. Somerset, F.R.G.S. (Baltic 1854-55) ;—General G. C. Clarke, C.B. (Crimea) ;—Captain R. E. Foley (Hazara and Manipūr expeditions) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel Ambrose H. Bircham, late



King's Royal Rifle Corps (Zulu campaign 1879); Captain H. J. Wallace (Sutlej campaign 1845-46); Vice-Admiral George Wodehouse (Navarino, Baltic);—Lieutenant-Colonel G. B. Paton (Perak expedition 1875-76);—Major-General C. M. Cotton;—Admiral T. H. Mason (China);—Rev. W. H. Green, head of the Theological Department of Princetown University, U.S.A., and a Professor of Biblical and Oriental literature;—General H. A. Carleton, R.A. (Indian Mutiny campaign);—Major-General A. R. Fraser, late 3rd Madras Light Infantry;—Major-General E. N. Norton, Madras Staff Corps (Goomsoor campaign 1847);—Captain H. G. Majendie, Rifle Brigade, in South Africa (Burma 1888-89, Sudan 1898);—Captain R. J. Vernon, King's Royal Rifle Corps, in South Africa (Manipūr expedition 1891);—Captain H. M. Blair, Seaforth Highlanders, in South Africa (Chitral Relief expedition);—Lieutenant-Colonel W. Aldworth, D.S.O., in South Africa (Burma 1885, Isazai expedition 1892, Chitral Relief Force 1895, Tirah 1897-98);—Captain E. J. Dewar, King's Royal Rifle Corps (Manipūr expedition);—Major-General G. W. C. Plowden, late I.S.C. (Indian Mutiny campaigns);—Lieutenant-Colonel M. E. H. O. Welch, I.C.S.;—Lieutenant-Colonel T. A. Freeman, late East Surrey Regiment (Sudan 1885);—Mr. A. B. Sutherland, political officer to the Burmo-Chinese Boundary Commission (killed near the Salween);—Major C. R. Day, Oxford Light Infantry, in South Africa (Malabar 1885);—Captain T. H. Berney, West Yorkshire Regiment, in South Africa (Ashanti expedition 1895-96);—General E. J. Lawder, late Madras Staff Corps (Indian Mutiny campaign 1858-59);—Major E. L. Guilding, Essex Regiment (Sudan 1884);—Brevet-Lieutenant-Colonel C. G. H. Sitwell, D.S.O., in South Africa (Afghanistan, Egypt 1882, Uganda Protectorate);—Captain the Hon. R. H. L. J. de Montmorency, 21st Empress of India's Lancers, in South Africa (Sudan 1898);—Captain R. H. E. Holt, R.A.M.C., in South Africa (North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Captain S. L. V. Crealock, Somerset Regiment, in South Africa (Burma 1885-87);—Lieutenant V. F. A. Keith-Falconer, Somerset Regiment, in South Africa (North-West Frontier 1897-98);—Lieutenant H. N. Field, Devon Regiment, in South Africa (North-West Frontier 1897-98);—General Bukshi Gunda Singh, C.S.I., Commander-in-Chief of the Patiala Army (Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Lady Seshadri Iyer, wife of the Dewan of Mysore;—Colonel O. C. Hannay, late Argyll Highlanders, in South Africa (Zulu campaign 1879);—Colonel W. H. Davis, late Inniskilling Fusiliers (Eusofzai expedition, Mutiny);—Captain C. W. C. Cass, 1st Shropshire Regiment (Sudan expedition 1885);—General Sir William Lockhart, Commander-in-Chief in India (Bhutān 1864-66, Abyssinia 1867-68, North-West Frontier 1868, Sumatra 1875-77, Afghanistan 1879-80, Burma 1885-87, Miranzai 1891, Isazai 1892, Waziristān 1894-95, and Tirah 1897);—Sir Edmund Fane, British Minister to Denmark;—Admiral Sir Henry Fairfax (Africa, Australia);—Captain John Wilson, North Staffordshire Regiment (Dongola expedition 1886).

*March 23rd, 1900.*

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JULY, 1900.

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THE POLITICAL SERVICE ON THE NORTH-  
WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA, 1838-1899.\*

BY A SOLDIER AND STUDENT OF THE FRONTIER.

IN the hour of need England expects every man to do his duty; and every true man does it, as the history of the Anglo-Saxon all the world over can tell. When duty calls, political officer, civil engineer, doctor, every man of English blood, must fight for himself and his country. All honour to those who have fulfilled his duty when the call came! The name Chitral is, and long will be, a monument of duty so

\* Works consulted (among many others)

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2. "The Chitral Campaign," by H C Thomson London, 1895.
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6. "Life of Field Marshal Sir George Pollock, Bart., G.C.B., G.C.S.I., Constable of the Tower," by Charles Rathbone Low. London, 1873.
7. "Memoirs of Major-General Sir William Nott, G.C.B.," by J. H. Stocqueler. London, 1854.
8. "An Official Account of the Chitral Expedition, 1895," compiled by Captain W. R. Robertson. Calcutta, 1898
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fulfilled. Capacity to lead and courage to fight are qualities which the Almighty has been pleased to confer impartially on His creatures, not alone on those whom the Government commissions or enlists, and designates "the combatant forces of the Crown" or "the army." Nevertheless, that army is a jealous army, and inasmuch as it is the rule and custom of the service that only combatant officers shall command Her Majesty's troops, those officers hold firmly by their rights. The political officer has military rank and title, and the medical officer also, but the army holds that such rank and title confers no power of command over troops. As long as there is a cornet or ensign—or sub-lieutenant, in these *fin-de-siècle* days—to take command, political, medical, or other departmental officers are not called upon to assume combatant functions. Such is the opinion and custom of the army.

In the old days of the Panjab, certainly, James Abbott, Herbert Edwardes, Reynell Taylor, and Harry Lumsden, though serving in a civil capacity, took command of bodies of troops, mostly irregular levies. Colonel Macleod led frontier expeditions, while John Nicholson in 1857 laid aside the work of a Deputy Commissioner to assume the command of the "movable column," with the rank of Brigadier-General. Again, in 1858 we find Major Becher, the Deputy Commissioner of Hazara, co-operating with Sir Sydney Cotton against Sitana, in command of a force of Panjab irregular troops. Eldred Pottinger and James Outram were soldiers or "politicals" as occasion demanded. John Colpoys Haughton, the hero of Charikar, and father of John Haughton of Tirah fame, performed valuable service as a soldier-civilian from 1844 to his retirement in 1873. Major D'Arcy Todd quitted Herat, where he showed himself endowed with a higher sense of his nation's honour than did the Viceroy, who disavowed and tried to disgrace him, and going back to military duty proved himself the good soldier and sterling fellow he was, and died in command of his troop of horse artillery at the Battle of Ferozshah.

Henry Rawlinson was as gallant in action as he was firm and able in diplomacy. These officers, however, were all soldier-politicals and soldiers to the backbone, as their deeds and achievements proved. Harry Lumsden was a soldier whom chance occasionally employed as a civilian. However, what was needful, and therefore customary, in the forties and fifties is no longer so in the nineties. The political officer no longer takes command of troops. On the contrary, when it is found necessary to combine military and political control in one and the same person, that person is now always the senior military officer. In 1842 (if no earlier instance can be quoted) when the Macnaghten-Burnes-Elphinstone fiasco had electrified both Government and nation, the chief military and political power in Afghanistan was vested in General Sir George Pollock. This was done by Lord Auckland before he handed over the government to Lord Ellenborough at Calcutta on February 28, 1842; for on February 14, 1842, Sir Robert Sale, writing from Jalalabad, states that he had received the previous day from Peshawar, the intelligence that "full military and political powers in Afghanistan had been vested in" Sir George Pollock. The tone of Lord Ellenborough's earlier letters from India shows that he, too, grasped the evils that had arisen from the subordination of the military to the political power at Kabul. Sir William Macnaghten, over whose name the bitter memory of the Kabul disaster of 1841 hangs like a pall, was directly or indirectly the cause of the command at Kabul being entrusted at the end of 1840, not to the capable though plain-spoken General Nott, but to the enfeebled body and mind of General Elphinstone. The two ablest political officers under Sir William Macnaghten's orders, Eldred Pottinger and Henry Rawlinson, were the very men whom he mistrusted, writing of the one as "alarmist," and rejecting the sound counsel of the other. When General Pollock was sent to relieve Sale, Eldred Pottinger was a prisoner; and the political officer who had been befooled by the Ghilzai chiefs, and

who had used all his influence with General Sale to induce him to surrender Jalalabad to the traitor and murderer, Muhammad Akbar Khan, was the last man to be entrusted with high authority. With Major Rawlinson the case was different. He had lived in amity, and yet held his own with the blunt old soldier (Nott) who commanded at Kandahar. Each had learnt to respect the other, and each was a true, loyal, and able servant of his Queen and country. Whether it was Lord Auckland or Lord Ellenborough who directed Nott to assume the chief political powers on the Kandahar side matters but little. It may seem hard on Major Rawlinson, but it was the step in the right direction. The Kabul disaster had aroused the Government of India to a sense of the folly and danger of political interference in military operations. If any doubt remained in the mind of Lord Ellenborough as to the wisdom of modifying the powers of political officers deputed to accompany troops in the field, it must have been removed by a letter or memorandum written to him on March 30, 1842, by the Duke of Wellington. His opinion and advice as that of the greatest of British Generals, and one, too, who knew India and Oriental warfare, must carry weight, and we therefore quote it *in extenso*:

“But I should not perform my duty to my satisfaction, either to you or towards the public, if I did not point out to you an evil, the existence of which has been the cause of much of the disaster which has occurred, and of the existing state of affairs:

“I mean the great military powers which it has been the practice of all the Governments of India to extend to the Political Residents with the several native Powers, and even what are called the Agents of the Governor-General, whether resident within the British territories or beyond the frontier.

“It is reasonable enough that, where the Sovereign pays a subsidy to the British Government for the service of a body of British troops stationed within his territory, the

diplomatic agent of the British Government should have a control over the operations of the troops, and that these should not be involved in military operations for the service of the subsidizing Sovereign without the knowledge, and even the requisition, of the Resident. But there should be limits to these powers given to Political Agents. They should be required not to make such requisitions without previous conference and concert with the commanding officer of the troops ; a perfect knowledge on his part of what it is desired that he should do ; his satisfaction that the means at his disposition are sufficient to attain the object in view, and that he will be supported as he ought to be by all the power of the State, civil as well as military, in order to provide for his supplies, for his communications, and the security of his return to his original position with honour.

“ These communications between political agents and commanding officers were the common practice in old times. Nay, it is the practice in Europe. When I commanded the Army of Occupation, as it was called, in France, I was in constant, almost daily, correspondence with a conference of diplomatic agents at Paris, who kept me informed of all that passed ; and I could receive and act upon no communication of importance from the French Government excepting through the channel of this conference.

“ But the position filled by Sir William Macnaghten was by no means similar to that of the Residents at the Courts of the native States in India which paid subsidies for the service of troops, or to that of the Conference of Ministers at Paris after the Peace of 1815.

“ He directed all the operations of the troops, not immediately by communication from himself to the General Commanding-in-Chief, or to the commanding officer of a detachment from the army, but by order of his inferior political agent or deputy posted with such detachment.

“ Thus, when orders were sent from Cabul to General Sale to march from Jellalabad to Cabul, to support the

troops at Cabul, they were not sent by General Elphinstone, commanding the troops at Cabul, to General Sale, commanding the troops at Jellalabad, but by Sir William Macnaghten, the Resident at the Court of Shah Shoojah, to Captain Macgregor, his deputy, with General Sale's division at Jellalabad.

"In the same manner General Nott, who commanded a corps of five thousand men at Candahar. He had with him a Political Agent named Rawlinson, employed by Sir William Macnaghten in correspondence with natives of all classes and parties at Herat, in and out of Candahar.

"I have lately had before me, sent from Bombay, a correspondence between the commanding officer of the troops, General Nott, and this gentleman, in which the latter requires the former to march out of Candahar and to attack a body of rebels assembling at a place called Dehla, at the distance of some miles from Candahar. This operation must have been preceded by others to force the Dooranis resident in Candahar to quit the place, or to destroy them if they should refuse. And, after all, the risk of the operation was aggravated by that of the loss of the place while it should be in the course of being carried on. General Nott stood firm, and did not attend to this requisition.

"But the reason for which I have drawn your attention so particularly to the existing system is that it is a novelty and an abuse of modern times, arising out of jealousy of the power of military officers. But the consequence of its existence is that the general and superior officers of the army—who, after all, must command and be responsible for the operations of the troops in action against the enemy—will undertake nothing, be responsible for nothing, except to obey the orders which the Political Agent or his deputies think proper to give them. A consideration of this state of things will show clearly the cause of the losses in Afghanistan in the last five months of 1841, and particularly of the want of energy and enterprise at Cabul during the period which elapsed from the commencement

of the insurrection of the Ghilzies in October, 1841, to January, 1842.”\*

Though the Duke of Wellington mentions names, and among them, with an accent of disapproval, the name of one of the finest soldier-diplomats India and Persia have known, we must remember that he is criticising and condemning not persons, but a principle. It was the system that was at fault. The men themselves were mostly good men and true. Even Dr. P. B. Lord, of whom more later, died like a brave man as he was, to the last pursuing his rôle of guiding, or *misguiding*, the military commander to accompany whom he had been deputed. Had the great Duke known that Sir William Macnaghten was wont, on the slightest reverse, to cast blame on and disparage his officers and troops, whose support alone enabled him to maintain himself and his puppet Shah Shuja at Kabul, and who died almost to a man, the victims of his ineptitude, his (the Duke's) emphatic protest would have taken the form of an indignant remonstrance or a strongly-worded vindication. Even now, when sixty years have gone by, it angers the spirit to read the contemptuous comments quoted by Kaye, which this confident civilian, snugly ensconced in Kabul, flings with his facile but fallacious pen at the brave officers and men whom a Government had so unhappily placed at his beck and call. When we read how those troops fought and won when led by such men as Nott, Sale, Dennie, Monteith, Griffiths, Wymer, Broadfoot, and others; when we recall the defence of Ghazni, Jalalabad, and Kalat-i-Ghilzai, and the struggle to the death of the brave Gurkha regiment at Charikar, we may well resent the strictures of the “Envoy and Minister,” though he was, as Mr. C. R. Low says, “a brilliant scholar who carried off all the prizes at the Calcutta University”—in other words, a pioneer of the “Competition-wala.” In November, 1841, what was

\* From “The Indian Administration of Lord Ellenborough, in his Correspondence with the Duke of Wellington,” edited by Lord Colchester in 1874.



needed at Kabul was a man (a prototype of the John Nicholson at Delhi, who was ready to call on the army to depose Archdale Wilson), who, carrying the army with him, would have set Macnaghten, Elphinstone, and Shelton aside, and nominated a man of action to the command. John Nicholson was then a young subaltern besieged in Ghazni. His day had not yet come. The burden of ineptitude in the senior grades hung like a upas-tree over the devoted troops, and doomed them to destruction. Yet there was many a good and brave officer there, soldier and political, ready to do and dare to save that army. They wanted one or two men like George Broadfoot and Augustus Abbott—the men who made Sir Robert Sale at Jalalabad—to take the lead. It was Broadfoot who led, at first unsupported, the opposition to the abandonment of Jalalabad. It was Abbott's insistence that impelled Sir Robert Sale to sanction the sortie of April 7, which raised the siege and conferred on the garrison the proud distinction of relieving themselves, and reaping the first-fruits of revenge for the dastardly massacre of their comrades.

Sir John Kaye pays a just tribute to the soldier-politicals of the first Afghan War. The truth is that the good political is also, as a rule, a good soldier, and presumably the good soldier has been found to make a good political. This may explain why fifty or sixty years ago, when a man proved himself a competent soldier, the Government of India very frequently appointed him to some important political post. Thus, Sir William Nott was appointed Resident at Lucknow in 1842, and when invalided was succeeded there in 1843 by Sir George Pollock. Major George Broadfoot, of Jalalabad fame, became the Agent to the Governor-General on the North-West Frontier; and Major Lewis Brown, the stanch defender of Káhun, became Resident at Baroda. We may appropriately conclude this imperfect list of Indian soldier-diplomats with the names of John Malcolm, Henry Lawrence, John Jacob and Robert Sandeman, names which speak for themselves.

Several notable cases have occurred of medical officers rising to some distinction in the political service. Of the enlightened and scholarly medico-political, the Indian service has produced no better example than the late Surgeon-General Bellew, who accompanied Major Harry Lymsden to Kandahar in 1858; Sir R. Pollock to Sistan in 1872; Sir Douglas Forsyth to Kāshgar in 1873, and who played an important part at Kabul in the second Afghan War. Of the militant medico-political school, of the type which Mr. Thorburn in his latest work christens "the firebrand," we may instance Dr. Lord, whom Sir Henry Durand in his history of the first Afghan War represents as "making the north-eastern frontier of Afghanistan the scene of petty aggressive operations, calculated in his opinion to prove alike the necessity of his mission and his ability to fulfil its objects," and whom Sir John Kaye also paints in no very favourable light. Stocqueler, in his "Memorials of Afghanistan," treats Dr. Lord more leniently; but his narrative incidentally shows that Dr. Lord scattered the troops at his disposal at Bamian, involved them in dangerous positions, from which Brigadier Dennie had to be sent to extricate them, and finally, by the inaccuracy of his information, so seriously misled the Brigadier that he suddenly found himself opposed to Dost Mahomed's whole force, instead of, as he was led to expect, a few hundred men. Dennie's pluck and prompt attack saved the situation and won the day. In the last scene in which Dr. Lord figures, we find him, curiously enough, taking upon himself to advise an officer commanding in the field as to the movement of the troops. That the advice led to disaster, and to the death, among others, of Dr. Lord, was a matter of accident that could not be foreseen. The case is curious, as an instance how in those days political officers, even those who had had the education of surgeons, not soldiers, allowed themselves, and were allowed, to influence the conduct of military operations. Thus, again, when Sir Robert Sale led a force into the Kohistan in

September, 1840, Kaye adds : " Sir A. Burnes accompanied it, and *directed the movements.*" (The italics are ours.) At Colonel E. G. Barrow's lecture in July, 1899, at Simla on Stonewall Jackson, the Director of Military Education in India made "the danger of civilian interference and control where military operations are concerned" the subject of special remark.

Some eighteen months ago there appeared a volume, written by one who, like Dr. Lord, had been educated for the medical profession, and subsequently selected by the Government of India for political employ, which has the air of arrogating to the writer something more than mere political powers, and which throws serious blame on the conduct of a young soldier who lost his life in what most people regard as a brave and conscientious effort to do his duty. The book to which reference is made is "Chitral: the Story of a Minor Siege," by Sir G. S. Robertson, K.C.S.I. The impression which that book seems to suggest is that during the crisis in Chitral from January to April, 1895, both the military command and the political control were vested in the author. To grasp this thoroughly the book itself must be read. The elaborate account of affecting interviews with officers early in January, 1895, at Gilgit, and the painstaking explanation of the reasons why Colonel Kelly was not then in command of the troops there (*vide* chapter viii.) seem hardly essential to the narrative. The troops in the Gilgit Agency at that time would appear to have constituted three independent commands, viz., the 32nd Pioneers, under Colonel Kelly; the Kashmir Imperial Service Troops, under Captain Campbell; and the detachment (200 rifles) of the 14th Sikhs under Captain Ross. The two last-named contingents were placed at the British Agent's disposal, but not under his command, by the Government of India, for purposes of escort and for the maintenance of peace. When Sir George Robertson therefore speaks (in chapter viii.) of Captain Campbell as his "senior soldier assistant" and "respon-

sible military adviser," and (in the conclusion) of Captain Townshend as his "military assistant," he erroneously represents the position held by those officers. In time of need a civilian or a political officer may call upon troops to act, but the command of those troops rests with the senior combatant officer present. On this point the late Commander-in-Chief in India very recently issued strict orders to the army under his command.\* In the heyday of the political service, *i.e.*, about the commencement of the first Afghan War, great political functionaries were given military assistants and secretaries. Thus, for instance, Lieutenants D'Arcy Todd and Edward Conolly were respectively appointed, in a notification of the Government of India, Military Secretary and Military Assistant to the Envoy and Minister at the Court of Shah Shuja'-ul-Mulk. In these days, too, Embassies and Legations have Military Attachés. There is, however, a wide difference between the Envoy and Minister who was sent, supported by an army commanded at first by the Commander-in-Chief in India, and afterwards by the Commander-in-Chief in Bombay, to set the Shah of Afghanistan on his throne, and a Political Agent who was ordered to take a few hundred men from the Gilgit district and pay a visit to the petty chieftdom of Chitral.

There are, in addition to that of Sir George Robertson, five published narratives of the Chitral crisis of 1895, and, of these, two—the one the official account compiled in the Quartermaster-General's Department, the other that of the brothers Younghusband—are to be accepted as reliable.

\* "A case having lately come to the notice of the Commander-in-Chief in India in which the officer commanding a force requisitioned by the civil power failed to realize that he alone was responsible for conducting the operations, and for judging in what manner the troops could best effect the object which had been indicated by the civil officer, Sir William Lockhart in an army order has directed the attention of all commanding officers, and especially officers commanding at frontier stations, that such an irregularity is not to be repeated, army regulations laying down, as he says, in distinct terms, what the course of procedure in such circumstances should be."—*Civil and Military Gazette*, 1899.

To avoid lengthy quotations, we ascertain from these two sources that (1) Surgeon-Major Robertson was ordered by the Government of India to proceed to Chitral early in January to report on the position of affairs there; (2) that he was authorized to take from the troops in the Gilgit district whatever escort he deemed advisable, and to call for reinforcements from the Kashmir regiments if necessary; (3) that Captain C. F. Campbell was then Inspecting Officer of Kashmir Troops, and commanded the British Agent's escort; (4) that he (Campbell) was in command of the troops at Chitral until March 3, when he was wounded, and that from that date to the close of the siege Captain C. V. F. Townshend commanded the escort, and was Commandant of the Chitral Fort. In the Appendix is Captain Townshend's report, submitted in his official capacity. On January 22, 1895, the Government of India sent Colonel Kelly telegraphic orders to assume command at Gilgit. When he reached Chitral, in April, he assumed command there from Captain Townshend. If the official account requires any endorsement, we have it from the Younghusbands. They write (p. 99): "Captain Colin Campbell, of the Central India Horse, and for the time Inspecting Officer of the Kashmir's Imperial Service Troops, was in command of the troops now (March '3) at Chitral"; and (p. 114): "The work of the defence practically devolved upon three officers only—Captain Townshend, Lieutenant Gurdon, and Lieutenant Harley. Surgeon-Major Robertson was engaged in his political duties," etc. The rank and title of Surgeon-Major, which is invariably used in the official and the Younghusbands' accounts, finds no place in Sir G. Robertson's volume. Of course, in these days the designation of surgeon is not part of a medical officer's title; but it might be supposed that the rank of "Lieutenant-Colonel, I.M.S.," which is his by virtue of the royal warrant of a year or two ago, would have found a place on the title-page. Indeed, it is not easy to understand how a rank and title conferred by Her Majesty can be thus omitted, and, as it would seem, ignored.

The lengthy pages of narrative, interspersed with criticism, which Sir George Robertson has devoted to Captain Ross's determined effort to carry aid to Lieutenants Fowler and Edwardes, and indirectly to Chitral, constitute a Gordian knot which only careful study can unravel. The charges are in many ways vague, intangible, and involved in abstruse phraseology ; but of the impression they generally convey, and are meant to convey, there is no doubt. There is no unction in them for the departed spirit of the brave Captain Ross. Now, in not one of the other five accounts which we have, viz., the official, the Younghusbands', Beynon's, Thomson's, and Newman's, do we find a single word against Captain Ross. The story of what occurred is briefly this : On February 26 Captain Baird, whom the official account styles "the British Agent's Staff Officer," wrote to Lieutenant Moberly at Mastuj, and requested that "sixty boxes of Snider ammunition, escorted by a trustworthy Kashmir officer and forty sepoy, should be sent to Chitral" (Robertson, p. 103). This party left Mastuj on March 1, and found the road blocked at Buni (Younghusband, p. 22). The Subadar wrote and informed Moberly. He at once wrote to Captain Ross, who, with his detachment of the 14th Sikhs, had arrived at Laspur, asking him to make a double march into Mastuj. Ross did so. The same day Lieutenants Fowler and Edwardes and twenty sappers arrived at Mastuj. Both Edwardes and Fowler were under orders from Surgeon-Major Robertson to proceed to Chitral (Robertson, p. 103). Ross at once moved on to Buni, and Edwardes and Fowler followed him there. They found all quiet at Buni. Ross returned to Mastuj, while Edwardes and Fowler and the ammunition went on towards Chitral. It must be remarked that communication with Chitral was now cut off, and that Ross therefore had nothing to guide him beyond the knowledge that the British Agent wanted Lieutenants Edwardes and Fowler and the ammunition party at Chitral. It was his duty, therefore, to support and enable them, if possible, to reach that place. On the

evening of March 6 news reached Ross that the party under Edwardes and Fowler expected to be attacked at Reshun. He (Ross) wrote that night to Ghizr for reinforcements, and started next morning for Reshun with ninety-five rifles of the 14th Sikhs, nine days' supplies, and 140 rounds per man. At Buni he left a native officer and thirty-three men to secure his line of retreat, and went on himself in command of the remaining sixty-two rifles, with three days' cooked rations. He thus acted with promptitude and took every reasonable precaution. How he was surrounded at Koragh, and finally killed with most of his men in bravely trying to fight his way out, is now matter of history. The verdict of most soldiers on this affair is that Ross tried to do his duty and died gallantly in the effort. Sir George Robertson's moralizations on the subject do not carry conviction to the mind. He says: "It is a little difficult to understand the precise view Ross took." That view, on the contrary, is very clearly stated in a letter which Captain Ross wrote at the time, and which was later published in the *Times*. In that letter he says plainly: "I fancy Robertson will be blockaded in Chitral. In that case I . . . will have to organize a column to reopen the communications." What further views he held are shown by his acts. After quoting from Captain Ross's letter in the *Times*, Sir G. Robertson goes on to say (p. 106): "Thus he (Ross) seemed to recognise the gravity of the situation, and evidently understood its salient feature, that the Chitralis had declared against us; but no man appreciates the various factors which influence responsible action until that knowledge has been forced upon him. Slight instinctive antipathies, little personal peculiarities of temper or disposition, even a passing qualm of ill-health, may, in an inexperienced man, unaccustomed to weigh the opinions of others, produce incalculable effects." Sir George Robertson must himself explain the meaning of all this vague innuendo. It is perfectly certain, as has been shown, that the ammunition escort and the party under Edwardes and Fowler were sent

for to Chitral by the British Agent himself. The official account (p. 14) says: "On March 17 the Assistant British Agent, Gilgit, telegraphed that he was anxious about a small party of 100 men of the 14th Sikhs under Captain Ross, and twenty sappers with Lieutenant Fowler, R.E., which had recently left Mastuj for Chitral, *presumably under Surgeon-Major Robertson's orders.*" On p. 115 Sir G. Robertson writes: "Many Chitralis are of opinion that if Ross had pressed forward with determination he might have got through to Edwardes at Reshun, though it is very doubtful, or if he had rushed back at once with all his men he would certainly have got out." This is the mere opinion of Chitralis, against which we have the specific evidence of Lieutenant Jones (the only British survivor and eye-witness of all that happened) that it would have been useless to attempt to go on, and that the attempt to retire failed (Younghusband, p. 25). Lieutenant Jones states, that "men appeared on all the mountain tops and ridges, and stones were rolled down all the shoots." He adds later on: "I estimate the enemy's numbers at about 1,000." Sir G. Robertson's contention that Captain Ross could, by promptly advancing or retiring, have saved himself and his party, appears to fall to the ground. As for the reports which Sir G. Robertson thinks it worth while to repeat (with the qualifying proviso of "it is said" attached to them), that (1) Moberly remonstrated in writing against Captain Ross's movement to the aid of Edwardes and Fowler, and that Captain Ross simply handed the letter back to him (p. 108), and (2) that Captain Ross declined to believe the word of a local village headman, the only thing we can say is that such hearsay reports are not satisfying. By his own admission (p. 103) Surgeon-Major Robertson had conferred political powers on Lieutenant Moberly at Mastuj, with the acknowledged purpose of making him a check on Captain Ross. The reason for this act is to seek, and the right to so act is questionable. It smacks somewhat of that political interference with military



movements which the Great Duke condemned so strongly. Captain Ross was certainly justified, as the senior officer there, in acting on his own judgment, and it has yet to be proved that that misled him. He had his duty clearly defined. Reshun was known to be a place capable of next to no defence, and if Edwardes and Fowler were to be saved, no time was to be lost. If Lieutenant Moberly did urge Captain Ross to delay his advance to Reshun, he was counselling inaction at a moment when immediate action seemed imperative. As for the word of a Chitrali, judging by what Sir G. Robertson and others have told us of the character of that people, Captain Ross would appear to have shown a just appreciation of its value. The fault which soldier-critics have found with Captain Ross's conduct of the advance to the relief of Reshun—and the criticism appears well founded, though it finds no place in Sir G. Robertson's pages—is that, when marching through so dangerous a defile as that of Koragh, he did not more carefully reconnoitre his front and flanks. The idea, however, cannot but suggest itself: "What *kudos* Ross would have won had he but reached and relieved Reshun! Nothing succeeds like success, and the most fatal error is failure.

Although success was on the side of Surgeon-Major Robertson in the gallant defence of Chitral, in which he bore an honourable share, we cannot say that it is altogether on the side of Sir George in his "Story of a Minor Siege." What the British public looked for from him was a graphic, straightforward narrative, with an accurate and intelligent account of the political events which led to the crisis of 1895 in Chitral. He has had his opportunity, and not known how to take it. The style which he has adopted fails to please. It is a style which does not carry conviction, which savours of thinly-disguised pretension, and which disturbs the reader's sense of good taste by elaborate and somewhat flippant attempts at humour which have the misfortune to be too suggestive of familiarity. It would

scarcely console Captain Ross to know that he was described as "poor Ross, an officer gallant almost to the verge of eccentricity," and as one who showed "astounding gallantry"! It is just the epithet that kills the compliment. "Astounding" and "eccentric," coupled with gallantry, are dubious terms. Nor is Sir George Robertson happier in writing of Lieutenant Harley as "a light-hearted young Irishman of gregarious instincts"; of Brigadier-General Waterfield as "a well-known Indian officer, affectionately nicknamed the 'Bear' by native soldiers"; and of Brigadier-General W. F. Gatacre as "a man whose exploits may some day become fabulous, and who, after making a record, sets himself to break it as a point of honour." It is more than doubtful if any one of these gentlemen thus presented to the public will be pleased at the mode of presentation. The Brigadiers may be pardoned if they call it a liberty. Such is the tone in which the medico-political officer of to-day writes of his combatant brethren, both of superior and inferior rank. It is so much pleasanter to read it as genuine soldiers (the Younghusbands) put it (p. 98): "The names of . . . and General Waterfield stand high on the historic roll of successful Generals, whilst Colonel Kelly's brilliant feat of arms has made him famous for ever. But perhaps the deed of all others which appeals most to the soldier's heart was the desperate and successful sortie from Chitral made by the brave and gallant Harley and his Sikhs on April 17, 1895." The spirit that a book breathes forth is that of the soul that inspired it, although there must be something in the air of Gilgit and Chitral that makes men forget *De mortuis*, etc. Major Daniell, of the Guides, and Captain Ross, of the 14th Sikhs, both died there, leading their few men on against hundreds or thousands, a trifle quixotic, maybe, but fearless, and faithful to duty. *Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori*. Even posthumous criticism cannot rob a soldier of that honour. To one or two political officers whose name and fame are closely associated with Hunza-Nagur and Chitral

we would recall a line of Sophocles, which mayhap since their school-days has not recurred to them :

*ἀνθρώπε, μὴ δρᾷ τοὺς τεθνήκοτας κακῶς.*

Slight contraventions, however, of the canons of good feeling are of little moment compared with the great principle involved in even the suspicion of a tendency to revive the "political" abuses of the first Afghan War, with their concomitant tale of disaster. When the Government of India gave the British Agent at Gilgit control over a considerable body of troops, it seemingly overlooked—for three weeks—the fact that a military officer of rank, Colonel Kelly, was at Chilas. The soldier who, a few weeks later, was instructed to relieve Chitral, and did so, was the man who should have been directed to withdraw Lieutenant Gurdon and Shuja'-ul-Mulk to Mastuj. The rôle of the Political Agent was to give the officer commanding the troops such assistance and information as he could. Given, however, as Surgeon-Major Robertson was, a free hand, it is not surprising that the semblance of military power resolved itself in his mind into something more solid, which has given colouring to his volume on "Chitral." That it was an illusion, we know—still, one that should be formally discountenanced. When Sir William Macnaghten posed as the King-maker of Kabul, we know with what gusto, seasoned by irritable injustice and capricious ingratitude, he savoured the satisfaction of manœuvring fifteen or twenty thousand troops on the chess-board of his ambitions. So, too, in his lesser sphere, Dr. P. B. Lord made soldiers his playthings (it was no sport for them!) amid the passes of the Hindu Kush. So, too, five years ago, Surgeon-Major Robertson played out his game among the princelets of the remotest corner of our North-West Frontier. Mr. S. S. Thorburn is a candid critic. Two years ago he exposed to the sympathetic ridicule of a Simla audience the "backward" policy as put on the stage at Peshawar. In "Transgression" he holds up to public view the forward firebrand of the frontier, whose ardour defies bureaucratic cold water. The flame of a little

frontier war is easy to kindle, and in its dying embers may be divined by eager and ambitious eyes the gleam of stars and orders, and of the letters (C.S.I., C.I.E., etc., with the "K" in yet brighter relief) that betoken them. Is the "political" more than mortal that he should steel his heart against the allurements of notoriety?

Soldier and "political" alike are ever ready to set their lives in the balance against fortune, fame, and duty. Were it not so, the warning to Governments were wasted—not to place their officers in positions of perilous isolation. When the Mehtar, Nizam-ul-Mulk, was murdered, Lieutenant Gurdon was at Chitral with an escort of *eight* men. He held his ground, like a brave man. He should have been withdrawn, with Shuja'-ul-Mulk, to Mastuj. Amir-ul-Mulk, Sher Afzal, and Umra Khan might have been left for three or four months to regulate their own affairs. Their lives were of no value. Mastuj, reinforced, would have held out easily till spring, when, with the Laorai and Shandur Passes open, the Government would have speedily re-established the *pax Britannica*. True, we should have lost the picturesque details of a most gallant defence and relief, as told by the Younghusbands, Lieutenant Beynon, Mr. Thomson, and Sir George Robertson himself; but lakhs and some noble lives would have been saved. There are times when the letters "K.C.S.I.," conferred on a meritorious subject, cost the Government a little fortune.

It furnishes food for some serious reflection and wonder to notice that, despite the warning of Chitral and many another, the Government of India is about to inaugurate a new system for the control of the border tribes which bears on the face of it the stamp of a perilous experiment. British officers in command of tribal levies or militia are to be isolated among tribesmen against whose treachery we have next to no guarantee or security. The remote fear of consequences is often powerless to prevent outrage. It is not in the quarter of Chitral (though the events of 1895, and the recent friction between the Khan of Nawagai and

Nawab of Dir, are omens not to be overlooked), or the Khyber, that danger is most to be apprehended. Our hold on Chitral is, or soon will be, very strong; while the loyalty and fidelity of the Khyber Rifles has been tested—too well tested, as August, 1897, can bear witness. It is in the Tochi and the Gomal and at Wana, in the heart and on the outskirts of Waziristan, that danger looms large. In 1899 scarce a fortnight, or even a week, passed that the Waziris did not commit some outrage. Yet the Government of India proposes to isolate its British officers in command of Waziri militia corps. We fear that the proposed light frontier railways, and the strong garrisons at Kohat, Dera Ismail Khan, Bannu, and Fort Sandeman, will avail these isolated officers little if the spirit moves the Waziri to play the traitor and murderer. As well might our missions at Herat in 1840, at Kandahar in 1857-58, at Kabul in 1879, have cried for aid to India as the solitary militia commandant at Wana or Tochi hope for rescue should his men prove false. We can but hope that the experiment will be most cautiously made, and that a good Providence may watch over the brave fellows who will go forth to do the work and bidding of the Government. When we look back on the frontier annals of the past sixty years, we find it a dark record of merciless treachery, brightened by rare rays of humanity, or, more probably, self-interest. We recall the fate of Burnes and Macnaghten, of Conolly and Stoddart, of the victims of Ghazni and Charikar, the awful butchery of Khurd-Kabul and Jagdalak, the cold-blooded murder of Dr. Forbes at Chakanşur, the sad memory of Lieutenant MacLean, the fierce fight in which Cavagnari and his companions fell, the dastardly onslaught of Maizar, and the cowardly, pitiless slaughter of Sikhs at the caves of Koragh. Against this—and it is but a fraction of the atrocities committed—what have we to set? The calculated preservation of the Kabul hostages in 1842, the release of Lieutenants Fowler and Edwardes, and the restoration alive of a sergeant and private in Tirah. The

officers who accept appointments in the Waziri Militia on the conditions proposed by the Government carry their lives in their hands.\* Nothing new, most certainly. We can but wish their hands the power to keep their heads. If it be indeed true that in the event of the invasion of India by our great opponent in the East these tribesmen will fight loyally side by side with us, then this policy of controlling our frontier by a "local militia" will not have been tried in vain. If, on the other hand, they turn against us, it will brand itself as a failure. Much depends on the officers, military and political, who are sent among them. To secure to the Government the loyal adhesion of these tribesmen is an achievement of which any political officer may be proud, and is what duty demands of him.

However, the time is drawing nigh when the familiar term "North-West Frontier Policy" will be not so much a synonym for our relations with Pathan and Baluch clans and decadent despotisms, as the expression of India's position vis-à-vis to Russia. Six decades of strife and struggle with uncivilized but stubborn and hardy races have advanced our frontier until it marches from the Pamirs to the Indian Ocean, with Afghanistan in the north and Persia in the south. Behind these two declining monarchies looms Russia, biding her time. It is with her that India has to reckon. A piecemeal policy has served us indifferently well till now; but when India meets and marches with Russia, it must be with a united front. It is more than forty years since some of the soundest brains in India (John

\* These corps are under the Foreign Office, not under the Commander-in-Chief in India. Locally they are under the orders and control of the chief police or political authority. Notwithstanding this, it is desirable that they should be inspected at least once a year by a competent military officer. Laxity at times creeps in with which a soldier best knows how to deal. Till very recently the Panjab Frontier force and the local corps of Rajputana, Central India, the Nizam's Territory, were not under the orders of the Commander-in-Chief in India. This is so no longer, but *en revanche*, seemingly, a new batch of frontier levies under political control is being raised. Frontier corps, if any, should be under the Commander-in-Chief. Under the existing régime it often falls to the lot of a civilian to inspect corps commanded by officers of the regular army.

Jacob, James Outram, Herbert Edwardes, and Harry Lumsden) counselled the formation of one Trans-Indus Province from Peshawar to the sea. In 1878 Lord Lytton had achieved it but for the outbreak of war with the Amir of Afghanistan. Once again since then the subject has been seriously considered, but nothing came of it. Russia, on the other hand, has now welded Turkestan, Transcaspia and Semirechensk into one Governor-Generalship, in this as in other things setting us an example. Her power consolidated in the Caucasus and Central Asia, linked by railways on the one side with the heart of the Empire, on the other with Siberia (or soon to be so), stands ready to act, to extend her railways across Persia to the port she covets on the Persian Gulf, or into Afghanistan, and to follow up her railways with her troops. India pleads economy and rests unready. Russia turns a deaf ear to economy, and, octopus-like, stretches her insatiable feelers to the Pacific, the Peiho, the Pamirs, and the Persian Gulf. The interests of India in Southern and Eastern Persia and in Turkish Arabia are vital, and those interests are endangered by Russian projects. The officers of the Indian Political Service have an onerous duty to perform in safeguarding those interests. If they do so successfully, they will add a fresh laurel to the many their service has already won. As the army and the political department in India have worked side by side, though not always in perfect unison, during the century now drawing to a close, for the consolidation of the Empire, so in the century that is dawning they must co-operate in unison, and each in its own sphere, for the stability and defence of that Empire. There must, above all, be no injudicious and ill-timed interference of political with military authority. It is the recognised right of the Government to dictate to the army when, under what conditions, and to what end war shall be taken; but when the army has taken the field, it is for the military commander to decide in what way those conditions are to be fulfilled and that end attained. Civil Commissioners have ever been a thorn in the side of Generals. They were Marl-

borough's curse in Holland, as the Juntas were that of Wellington in Spain. A political officer in India, endowed with undue power, only differs from a Junta or a Dutch Commissioner in nationality. As the wars of the Peninsula and the Crimea bear witness to the evils of Court and Cabinet interference, so the first Afghan War is a monument of Governmental and political mismanagement. It is no secret that the ill-success of several recent expeditions on the North-West Frontier was due, not to faulty generalship, but to meddling and muddling by those who held and pulled the wires. In 1852 Sir Colin Campbell, having led a small expedition to the foot of the Malakand Pass, declined, in spite of the insistence of the Commissioner of Peshawar, to cross that pass with a force which he considered insufficient for the object which the Commissioner had in view. When Lord Dalhousie subsequently cast reflections on Sir Colin's decision and motives, the latter resigned his command. It would be well if more general officers followed Sir Colin's example when they find themselves hampered by political interference or wire-pulling, and not supported by the supreme Government. To take another leaf out of the book of our great rival in Asia, did we ever hear of the Kaufmanns, Tcherniaieffs, Skobeloffs, Komaroffs, Vrevskys, and Kuropatkins being saddled with political officers? It would have been better had our Generals had an equally free hand. However, the days of "political" predominance are past. As Sir G. Pollock in 1842 so Sir F. Roberts and Sir Donald Stewart in 1879-80, and Sir W. Lockhart in 1897-98 combined in their own persons the military command and the chief political power. The status and duty of a political officer who accompanies an army in the field are now sufficiently well understood and defined. He is the staff officer of the General in command for (1) communication and negotiation with the people of the country; (2) the provision of and payment for everything supplied by that people; and (3) obtaining information. As political information is not unfrequently misleading (to wit, at Bamian in 1840,



Hykulzai in 1842, and Maiwand in 1880), the General in command will do well to use and rely upon his own sources of information, viz., his intelligence officers and reconnoitring-parties. Had General Burrows trusted the reports brought in by his cavalry on the eve of the Battle of Maiwand, he would have better understood the work that lay before him on the morrow, and, presumably, made a better disposition of his troops. This, however, is a point of detail. The essential principle to be observed is the *subordination* of the political authority to the General or other officer commanding a body of troops on active service. The recognition of this principle constitutes a debt of gratitude which the army in India has earned by the hard-won and often bitter experiences of the nineteenth century. If fully recognised, it will be a favourable augury for the issue of the vitally onerous task which lies before that army in the century about to commence. The year 1900 may be marked either as the jubilee or the centenary of the North-West Frontier. In that year the Government of India awoke to the danger of a possible, though then imaginary, Russo-French invasion of India, and sent John Malcolm to the Court of the Shah of Persia. Early in 1850 Sir Colin Campbell led the first trans-frontier expedition against the Afridis. The years 1800 and 1900 are years of mark in the history of that frontier.

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NOTE.—The year 1900 is further marked as the centenary of the birth of Thomas Waghorn, the pioneer of the Overland Route. Like many another man of foresight and perseverance, he had to contend with indifference and opposition in high places. His reward is that his name is now honoured and celebrated, while those of his thwarters have passed into oblivion. The close of the nineteenth century has brought forth a number of books dealing with the Anglo-Russian question in Asia, but not all of them by any means can be accepted as a reliable guide. "The Making of a Frontier," by Colonel A. Durand, is the work of an officer who knows what he writes about, and writes about it well. "The Heart of Asia" has some merits as a résumé of early history, but as an authority on the past quarter of a century or a guide for the future it cannot be accepted. The statements and comments contained in it relative to the Russo-Afghan Frontier Delimitation of 1884-86 alone stamp it as not reliable. See Memoir of Mr. Waghorn, in our issue of October, 1898, pp. 386-395.

## AFGHANISTAN: THE KEY TO INDIA.\*

BY ARCHIBALD R. COLQUHOUN.

THE British nation has just come successfully through a struggle which, although few of us doubted its ultimate issue, has, nevertheless, caused us grave anxiety and absorbed a very large part of our time and thoughts. Just as the tension in South Africa is relaxed comes news of an alarming nature from the Far East, and attention is once more focussed on that part of the world. It is difficult, in such stirring times, among so many conflicting interests, to give time and attention to a subject which is not actually thrust upon us, upon which the Press is almost silent, and about which it is difficult, if not impossible, to obtain accurate information. It is for this reason, among others, that I wish to bring under the notice of your readers one of these little-ventilated questions—one of the most vital importance to the Empire—which is being almost entirely overlooked in the tremendous problems which are agitating the world elsewhere. It must be borne in mind that this question, which treats of the slow but steady movement of Russia towards India, is no new one, nor is it a cry of Wolf! The possibility of such a movement has been frequently discussed, and frequently pooh-poohed. But the time has gone past for treating the matter so contemptuously.

At the present moment Russia is firmly established at Kushk, on the Afghan frontier, at the very gates of Herat, whilst the British outposts are more than 400 miles distant—namely, at Chaman. This fact alone should surely arouse some apprehension.

It is acknowledged by her own writers that Russia's steady advance, aptly compared by Rawlinson to the laying of parallels in the siege of a fortress, has for its object the

\* For the discussion on this paper, see the "Proceedings of the East India Association" elsewhere in this Review.—ED.

occupation of Herat and Western Afghanistan, and later of Kandahar and Southern Afghanistan—the gradual absorption, indeed, of the greater part of Afghanistan, and by this means the securing of easy access to, and commanding positions on, the Indian frontier. This is no isolated policy, but is part of a world scheme, and is connected indirectly with the war in South Africa, for the extremity of Britain is the opportunity of Russia, and in its results with the troubles in the Far East, where the action of Russia has been mainly responsible for the paralysis of the Chinese Government and the consequent disturbances. The position of Russia in Central Asia has during the last two decades undergone a fundamental change; the situation with regard to Afghanistan and the Indian frontier question especially is altogether different now from what it was some twenty years ago. At that time the country between Krasnovodsk and Afghanistan was not only in itself difficult to traverse, but was occupied by hostile peoples. All this has been altered, however, owing to the development of railways, and Russia, instead of having as her base of operations merely the far-distant Orenburg and the Caucasus, can now, thanks to her Transcaspian Railway, make use of Merv, Samarkand, and the terminal posts (Kushk and Margelan) as her starting-points, for a further forward movement; while, at the same time, the branch lines, already completed, have not been without their influence in civilizing and controlling the independent tribes—an influence which will be gradually extended by means of other lines of rail even now planned for future construction.

The physical features and political advantages of the Herat Valley, and the characteristics of the surrounding country in Afghanistan and Baluchistan, require some explanation. The advantages of the former to an invader lie in its great fertility, rendering it capable of supplying the wants of a large body of troops, in its plentiful supply of grain, and therefore of fodder, etc., and in the number of

important roads which it dominates, thus giving the command of the chief passes into India. The town of Herat itself is potentially, if not actually under present conditions, a great commercial centre, not only as regards the trading routes into the Caucasus, Turkistan and Asia Minor generally, but also those leading to Afghanistan, Persia, Baluchistan and India; and is most favourably placed at the junction of the principal roads of Afghanistan—namely, those to Balkh, Kabul, Farrah and Kandahar. Herat is on the line of least resistance, so far as an invasion of India is concerned, and, in fact, through this district and through Baluchistan lie the easiest and, indeed, the only practicable routes for a large body of troops. Russia would certainly find the Herat Valley an admirable base from which to further extend her influence into the country. Not the least of the advantages which would accrue to her through its occupation would be the increase of prestige which such a proceeding would secure to her throughout Central Asia, which would of necessity bring about a corresponding decline in British influence.

With regard to Afghanistan generally the population (about 4,000,000) is for the most part composed of warlike independent tribes, each ruled by a Khan nominated by the Ameer, who is himself Khan of the chief tribe, the Duranis. These tribes, aided by the mountainous nature of the country, carry on petty warfare amongst themselves, and, as a consequence, a continual state of anarchy prevails. With British help, the Ameer has for the present succeeded in enforcing some sort of order throughout his territories; but mutinies and feuds are still of frequent occurrence, the tribes resorting to their favourite—guerilla—warfare, and defying, in their mountain fastnesses, the attempts made to subjugate them.

Although fortresses, in the generally accepted sense of the term, are non-existent, almost every town and village is in itself strong for defence, Herat, Kandahar, Farrah, Ghazni, and many other places possessing natural positions

of great strength. The Ameer's attitude, a matter of grave importance in the event of hostilities between Britain and Russia, is problematical. According to Vambéry, he is perfectly indifferent to both Powers, his own words on the subject being: "What matters it whether it be white dog or black dog; they are both dogs!" He is nervous concerning the aims of Russia, wishes to know what Britain means to do, and complains of the indecision of our Government. The Russians claim him as Russophil, but, on the whole, it may be taken that he regards Russia with the greater amount of fear. But the life of the Ameer is uncertain, and what will happen on the occasion of his death no one can foretell, except that internal dissensions will certainly arise, and that Russia will utilize the opportunity.

Baluchistan, lying to the south of the Suleiman range, is a plateau with an average height of about 5,000 feet. Being for the most part desert land, and bounded on west, south, and east by mountains, the country would present considerable, but not insuperable, difficulties to an invader having designs on India; for a railway, as the Soudan has shown, can be made in such a country, and large forces, with the aid of a railway, could be despatched by this route. The area of Baluchistan is a little over 6,000 square geographical miles, the total population amounting to 500,000, and consisting of various tribes, each under a hereditary ruler known as a "sirdar." These tribes acknowledge as their supreme chief the Khan of Kelat, the country being under the protection of, and in effect being ruled by, the British, who have the right of placing garrisons at any desired point, and who maintain an agent permanently at Kelat. The native available fighting material amounts to some 60,000 men, but the Khans have always found it impossible to get together more than 12,000 of these, armed in the most primitive fashion.

By some Russian writers it is considered that England, having regard to the difficulties confronting her, would not at the present time regard with so much alarm as formerly

a possible Russian occupation of the Herat valley. But Britain, it is to be hoped, has not lost sight of the fact that, though Herat itself may not be the absolute key to the plains of the Indus, as it was once called, it nevertheless remains the key to Afghanistan, which is itself the key to India.

In carrying out a further advance into Afghanistan, and thence into India, Russia will take as her bases the military districts of the Trans-Caspian and of Turkestan, which are now easy of access not only to each other, but to forces despatched from European Russia. From these bases the two practicable routes for large bodies of troops are: the one passing by way of Herat, opening the way to Kandahar; and that passing through the Turkestan district through Bokhara by way of Mazar-i-Sherif and Bamian towards Kabul. The former of these two routes is certainly the more feasible, for, passing through comparatively easy country and populous districts, the means for transport are ready to hand, while supplies of every kind are abundant. The second route indicated, on the other hand, lacks most of these advantages, and, where it crosses the Hindoo Kush, presents almost insuperable difficulties for wheeled vehicles of any kind, pack-horses being practically the only means of transport. There exists also a route direct from Herat to Kabul, by way of the Hari-Rud; but this is, for the present at least, an improbable route, passing through mountainous regions inhabited by independent and warlike tribes, and so far little explored.

Once in possession of Herat, Russia's further movements, when politically the opportunity arose, would depend to a large extent upon transport possibilities, and upon the capacity for supplies of the Trans-Caspian and Herat districts, and of Persian Khorasan. With regard to the Trans-Caspian region, large quantities of barley and wheat are produced, and would probably be adequate to the support of very large numbers of men, whilst transport off the railway line is chiefly by means of pack-horses and

camels. The Herat valley has been described as the richest region—"the granary"—of Central Asia, and, as has been said, produces abundant supplies of corn. As for Khorasan, it is by no means a poor country. In the more northern portion of the province grain is abundant, and cattle-breeding is largely carried on, transport being by means of horses, camels, and donkeys. Southern Khorasan is, it is true, not so rich as the more northern districts, but could probably support over 15,000 men. Its greatest drawback is lack of water. Seistan is undoubtedly one of the richest parts of Southern Khorasan, and the whole region is capable of development by the introduction of irrigation and railway lines, as has been successfully accomplished elsewhere. Russia would probably have little difficulty in extending her influence into Seistan; for the people, discontented with their own Government, look with favour upon the Russians since slavery has been abolished in Bokhara and Khiva, and are also grateful to them for having to a large extent put an end to the Turkoman raids into the province. Russia's prestige, on the whole, stands high with the people of Khorasan, and as she has a reputation for religious toleration, she would probably have the mullahs on her side, and, in any case, could easily secure their support by the judicious employment of the rouble. As yet unable to interfere actively in the British sphere of influence by placing agents at Kabul, Kandahar, or Kelat, Russia has already introduced the thin end of the wedge into Seistan and Kerman, between which places and St. Petersburg there is a system of expeditious communication by means of camels and flying posts. .

It is a very obvious fact, if an unpleasant one, that if once Russia gains possession of Herat (from which place she could easily advance her troops to Kandahar), Britain will not be able to wrest that town from her. The Russians are quite confident that the present British military strength in India is altogether insufficient to cope with such a development.

Russia has not neglected preliminaries. Her plan of campaign, as openly acknowledged by her own writers, is to send agents, in time of peace, to make explorations in the coveted territory, and to carefully study the means of supply and transport ; to collect stores of provisions at or in the neighbourhood of Herat (a task now easy of accomplishment, since the extension to Kushk of the railway line branching off from the Trans-Caspian line) ; to push on the railway beyond Andijan and Margelan, and to establish magazines at important strategic points.

It was the opinion of Lord Curzon some years ago that should Russia attempt the seizure of Herat, England would find it easy, having materially shortened and facilitated the necessary routes, to make an effective counter-movement by effecting an occupation of Kandahar, Ghazni, and Kabul ; but the Russian plan includes Kandahar and the whole south, leaving only Kabul and the north-east portion of Afghanistan to the British.

The Russian view of the situation generally is well expressed in the words of General Sobolev, who, in his work on "*The Anglo-Afghan Conflict*," says : "We undertake to doubt the ability of the English to assume the offensive from India. Neither the internal situation nor the organization of the Anglo-Indian army is compatible with the policy of advance. We are deeply convinced of the truth of this statement, which is clearly demonstrated by the campaign we have studied. The English waged war with a portion of the Afghan people, who had at that time neither a properly constituted Government nor a regular army ; and yet they suffered reverse after reverse, which brought all their proud demands from the people to naught. A large English army, led into Afghanistan and commanded by trained officers, amongst whom were many talented generals, was not able to conquer a portion of a weak neighbouring kingdom, which was, moreover, in a state of anarchy." Such are generally the views held in Russia.



Many English military writers, as is well known, advocate the policy of defending India on her present frontiers alone, opposing the enemy only when he emerges from the mountain passes. This school does not favour the taking up of advanced positions, but trusts greatly to the physical difficulties of the intervening country and the turbulent character of the people to prevent invasion. These views, of course, are worthy of consideration, but the arguments in favour of defending Afghanistan itself, and thus protecting India, are of infinitely greater weight. Even the best defended of mountain frontiers does not always, as history has frequently recorded, form an impregnable defence, and further, if the plains of the Indus are made the sole line of defence, and Afghanistan allowed to fall entirely into the hands of Russia, the result is a strong and possibly hostile Western Power on the very borders of India, instead of a weak, but (ostensibly) friendly Oriental one. Moreover, another great disadvantage, and that the gravest, of a policy of passive defence, is that it leaves to Russia an open road to the Persian Gulf and to Baluchistan. In order properly to defend our Indian Empire, it is necessary to defend Afghanistan, the bulwark of India. Russia's ascendancy in Afghanistan would have far-reaching effects. To give up any one of the Afghan provinces to Russia would open the door to more, and would be a constant source of danger for India. The true line of defence for India is to go forward, to occupy Kabul, Kandahar, and Ghazni, and to establish outposts on the Hindu Kush, reserving the right to make a further advance beyond the Helmund towards Seistan, and elsewhere if necessary. I have no desire to minimize the many difficulties in the way of such a policy, but I do not believe them to be insuperable, and I can see no alternative which will afford a really lasting solution to the problem. It is possible to *tinker* the situation, but not to *mend* it by half measures.

In any case, Britain should prepare, and not allow herself

to be taken at a disadvantage, as has been the case in the Far East and in South Africa. At present little has been done except to protect the mouths of the passes opening on to the Indus plains; a most unsafe plan of defence, as has been pointed out. A better method would be to open up communications throughout Afghanistan, and to develop trade with the natives. Fortified posts at desirable points should be established, supported by magazines and depots, particularly at such points as Kabul, Kandahar, and Ghazni. It is not my province to deal with the general plan of such a campaign, but it requires, in order to be successful, the extension of railways—for instance, a railway from Peshawar to Kabul, and the extension of the Indus-Bolan line by way of Nushki and south of the Helmund river (through Baluchistan) to Seistan, with branch lines to Kandahar and Kabul; also a direct line from Chaman to Kandahar, and eventually a southern extension from Seistan to the Persian Gulf.

England does not seem to realize, as does Russia, the value of strategic—especially strategic-commercial—railways. No better object lesson as to the desirability of constructing such lines could be supplied than that presented by the Trans-Siberian-Manchurian Railway, which is accomplishing a transformation of the Far East. If, from motives of economy, the money for their construction be withheld, the eventual cost to the Empire will be disproportionately large. Such lines are in reality the cheapest defence. There is no doubt that, to counterbalance the development of Russian lines between the Caspian and Afghanistan, a British line should be constructed from Quetta to Seistan, with branches south to the Persian Gulf, a system which can eventually be linked with that of the Euphrates valley—the Indo-European route. The importance of such lines for the transport of large bodies of troops, who could otherwise only move slowly along roads only fitted for pack transport, is incalculable; and the truth of this will at once make itself felt when Britain has to face the problem of a

Russian occupation of Herat, a far from remote contingency.

A great disadvantage under which the Anglo-Indian army labours, and one which would greatly hinder its powers of mobility in the event of a campaign amongst the mountains and deserts of Afghanistan, is the very large number of "followers," or non-combatants, attached to it, these followers doing the transport and similar work. To carry food in a difficult country for such a vast number of non-fighters—men unsuited to such a rigorous climate—would be not only a far from easy proceeding—it might be disastrous to the British arms, and, apart from the perfection of railway communication, some reform in this respect is essential. In speaking of the general immobility of the Anglo-Indian army, a German officer, resident for some time in India, pointed out that the Indian railways have no double lines, and, moreover, that different railways have different gauges ; the amount of rolling-stock is insufficient, and the necessary knowledge regarding the entraining and detraining of troops and transport is lacking. All these circumstances, in his opinion, would certainly militate most seriously against rapidity in the transportation of troops. The Russians estimate that the mobilization of the Anglo-Indian army would take considerably longer than the time required to prepare the Russian troops for an advance, and that the former, on arriving at Herat, would discover that place already occupied in force by Russian troops, and would find their position hopeless should the Russians then send a force by way of Seistan to turn Herat, an exploit which would be by no means impossible, seeing that this route is not difficult to traverse.

If Russia were as impregnable as she thinks herself, or Britain ready to surrender the sceptre of Empire, then there would be little use in discussing the question of the struggle for Asia—it would be a foregone conclusion. But in expansion lies at once Russia's strength and her weakness. When, by means of long lines of communication,

she establishes herself in ports, she becomes vulnerable, unless she is able to have a solid hinterland—a white man's country—which can be occupied as at Port Arthur. She is, too, expanding at a rate with which her internal economy and resources can hardly keep pace, and it must be remembered that she is still young in Empire—at least 200 years behind ourselves. There is still time to check her in her career of conquest, but that cannot be done until in her progress southwards and sunwards she meets a power stronger than herself—resolute, determined, a hard organism instead of a soft one. That power can only be Britain. Nor will it be sufficient for Britain to sit still within her frontiers, she must be prepared to move forward. She has to consider her Eastern colonies as well as her Indian Empire, and to keep open not only the Indo-European communications, but those with Australasia, a difficult matter if Russia once achieves the ascendancy of the Persian Gulf. But it is not at any one particular point in Asia that Britain requires to stiffen her policy; it is all along the line of Russian advance.

The time has gone by for buffer States in Asia; in China, in Afghanistan, Baluchistan, or Persia. Russia has long since made up her mind on this point, and where we do *not* go she certainly *will*. The effective and immediate introduction into these territories of British capital, British railways, British influence, is absolutely essential if we do not wish to find our rival there before us.

I will conclude by giving an extract from a standard work—Mackenzie Wallace's "Russia"—which practically puts the case in a nutshell: "Where, then," asks the alarmed Russophobist, "is the aggression of Russia to stop? Must we allow her to push her frontiers to our own, and thereby expose ourselves to the danger of those conflicts which inevitably arise between nations that possess contiguous territory? To this I reply that Russia must push forward her frontier until she reaches a country possessing a Government which is able and willing to keep

order within its boundaries, and to prevent its subjects from committing depredations on its neighbours. As none of the petty states of Central Asia seem capable of permanently fulfilling this condition, it is pretty certain that the Russian and British frontiers will one day meet. Where they will meet depends upon ourselves. If we do not wish our rival to overstep a certain line, we must ourselves advance to that line. As to the complications and disputes which inevitably arise between contiguous nations, I think they are fewer and less dangerous than those which arise between nations separated from each other by a small State which is incapable of making its neutrality respected, and is kept alive simply by the mutual jealousy of rival Powers."

## FAMINE IN INDIA: PRECAUTION.

By R. CARSTAIRS, I.C.S.

IN the year now passing (1900) much anxiety is felt as to the future of India in respect of famine. About a generation ago the Government adopted the policy, ever since emphatically adhered to, of preventing, with all its resources, loss of life through famine. Several famines have occurred since then, and experience has enabled it to elaborate the methods of relief so as to make them economical and efficient. Hitherto the expense of relief has been provided. The special anxiety has arisen on account of the alarming increase in the number of those seeking for relief. In 1897 the famine was in this respect a record one, but the famine now being endured has eclipsed it completely, the number already getting relief being five and a half millions, an unheard-of number. This relief is being administered by the State—that is, at the expense of the solvent parts of India—to the insolvent parts of the population. One naturally asks, How far can this go? Can it be checked?

I propose to direct the remarks which follow to this question. I shall not touch on the question of actual relief operations.

As everyone knows, famine is caused by a deficiency in the available supply of food, which causes part of the population to starve. We call it famine when the deficiency is large and the starvation felt by a considerable proportion of the population. Even where there is famine, the greater part of the people manage to get food. It would be a severe famine in which the proportion of those needing relief reached 15 per cent. of the whole. As there are always in all communities some who are in want of food, it can only be an arbitrary line which separates a state of famine from one of scarcity, and the latter from ordinary times.

In order that famine may be more easily relieved, two measures have been adopted—one, the improvement of communications, especially by rail; and the other the provision of work in famine areas, and payment in wages and charity of daily sums sufficient to enable those in distress to buy food. Private trade is trusted to produce the food when and where required, and Government, to insure its doing so, undertakes not to interfere with its action, either in moving grain about or in fixing market prices. For the relief of distress in famine-stricken areas these measures have answered their purpose. Whereas formerly a famine, like that in Orissa, might devastate a limited area in the presence of plenty elsewhere, the stocks of areas where there has been no failure are now drawn upon, and the acuteness of the distress is mitigated. As the refusal of Government to limit prices and to forbid the export of grain is contrary to local opinion outside the actual famine area, I propose to examine the effects of the Government policy on the condition of the country at large.

India is often spoken of as a poor country. She is in reality a very rich country, of whose enormous wealth far too much is spent as it is made in feeding her vast population. Her population is living, for the most part, from hand to mouth, so that if there is a failure of crops in any area repeated more than once, the narrow margin of supply over demand disappears, and famine begins.

The food of the country is grain. Grain is the staple produce, to which the people trust for paying rent, debt, wages, and all obligations. When the grain fails, the collapse is complete.

Of the grain produced, only a small proportion goes into the market. Most of the grain produced over and above what is needed for the producer's consumption, and often a good deal of that also, passes after harvest into the granaries of the traders, in whose hands the bulk of the stock remains.

The rural parts of India are not like England. Metal

coin plays a minor part in their business transactions. Rents and wages are most often paid, goods bartered, loans made and repaid without the passing of any coin. The currency used is chiefly grain, which passes into and out of the granaries of the money-lenders as cash would in England.

At the same time, the ultimate measure of value, metal currency, though seldom in use, is always in the background, governing the market. It is in active use in connection with commerce and manufactures, and has been brought into use even among the cultivators by the enforcement of money rents in place of rents in kind.

Broadly, however, it may be said that metal coin is the currency actually used by commerce, and grain that used by agriculture. Tight grain to the rural population means tight money.

I come now to my point. In the famine area there is a failure in the production of grain, the currency of the rural population, and consequently a collapse of their purchasing power. They have nothing to buy food with, however much they may want it. Their want, however acute, does not therefore disturb the affairs of neighbouring areas, because it is not an effective demand. Now steps in Government with its relief, paid in metal coin, the currency of commerce, and for the time being creates an enormous artificial and effective demand, undertaking to pay any price the market may choose to make on account of any number of persons who may satisfy its tests. Famine prices are always, measured in coin, enormously high; that is, the price obtained for grain at famine rates will probably buy next season three or four times the quantity of grain sold.

By means of the railways this new effective demand, created by the Government offer of famine prices in cash for unlimited quantities of grain, comes into competition with the demand of the population of areas where the crops have not failed, who receive no aid from Government to meet



that competition. Agriculturists have only the prospect of future crops to give, and non-agriculturists their cash income. Both future crops and cash income are, compared with the temporary value of grain, greatly depreciated in value, as is everything they have to offer except grain. The stock of grain is chiefly in the hands of traders, who, being at liberty to charge what prices they can get, and take their grain where they like, are very ready to carry off to the famine area grain that is wanted for local consumption, and to refuse grain to local consumers except on extortionate terms. The extent to which they do this will depend greatly on the extent of the artificial demand created by Government relief, and that, to all appearance, is going up by leaps and bounds. The burden of finding funds for relief is heavy on the solvent areas. The competition which those funds, furnished by themselves, create with their own local demands is, however, a still more serious burden, dislocating as it does all local business.

Such being the facts, there is no doubt that we are face to face with a very grave danger, which can only be met by attacking the causes of famine at their roots. Mere relief given to a distressed population may become in itself a cause of famine in future years, and thus aggravate the evil.

The cause of famine is a temporary excess of demand over supply. Demand is in proportion to population. The excess of demand is caused usually by a reduction in the supply, owing to failure of crops. There are therefore two points at which we can attack the causes of famine—viz., (1) by checking the increase of population, especially in insolvent areas ; (2) by preventing fluctuations in the supply of grain.

The suggestions which follow do not aim at an exhaustive statement of all possible remedies, but are intended rather to indicate the manner in which remedies should be sought out and applied.

I will first deal with checking increase of population.

The State, having done its best to counteract the old natural checks of war, disease, and famine, is, in the interests of solvent areas, bound to provide, if possible, some substitute for them. I suggest two—education and repression.

Taking first education, by which I mean not merely keeping schools, but that opening of the understanding which leads to civilization, I think there are two means which the State can very fittingly bring into use—viz., civil organization and good roads. I shall attempt to offer on each of these a few general thoughts for consideration. In a country where distances are so great and circumstances vary so much, anything like detail would be out of place, except as illustration.

We want the people to be intelligent and prudent, with a view to checking the number of mouths to be filled in famine time. It is necessary, especially in famine relief, census, and sanitary work, that the people should be considered and dealt with one by one. The mass should be looked upon as an aggregate of individuals, and not the individual as a fraction of a mass. The ordinary and best method of doing this is to arrange the people by localities, the population of each local area being a corporate person. These local areas can similarly be grouped within larger areas. By *local* I mean local in the natural sense. The people of a local area live within reach—that is, within a few miles—of one another. There is another sense of the word, by which anything smaller, however great, or nearer, however far off, is described as local relatively to something greater or more distant. In this sense, to the Secretary of State, living in London, the Viceroy of India, living somewhere in India, is local. Similarly, the road cess, levied over an area of several thousand square miles, is called a local rate, and is considered to have been locally spent if spent anywhere within that area.

Except to a limited extent in villages, the rural population has not yet been to any appreciable extent organized into groups. I believe, from a long and careful study of

the subject, that the whole country can and ought to be, for the purposes of local government, organized into local groups. Assuming that this will be done, we shall have to develop and guide the minds and wills of the corporate persons thus brought into existence; to breathe into them the spirit of progress; to point out for them higher standards of living and conduct, and to induce them to work towards those standards. It is wonderful how quickly the conservative native of India adopts and reverences as a custom a new practice which commends itself to him. Uniform action or progress is not to be expected or desired. Let each go its own pace in its own way, and we may trust to the more forward drawing on by their example those that are not advancing so quickly, raising the whole people to a higher stage of civilization. To hasten this movement it would be safe for Government to make use of the strong, intelligent, and disinterested body of officers in its service. The people in India, to a far greater extent than in England, look to the Government for a lead.

The second means of education—good roads—might almost have been included in the first, for if organized communities are bodies, roads are the arteries which carry the traffic, their blood. Something has been done for roads by the State, whose aid, in a country of minute and mixed landed interests, is needed at each step of the way. Some few good main roads, and a somewhat greater length of bad minor roads, have been provided. In my opinion there is a great want, in rural areas, of good minor roads and adequate trunk roads.

I have been harping on this want during most of my official career, and pointing out what I thought was the proper remedy. The first important point to settle is the want. Are roads wanted, and for what? What will be a reasonable standard of efficiency?

The population has a density of hundreds and sometimes upwards of a thousand to the square mile. As railways are few, and waterways in most parts non-existent,

the communities depend for the carriage of their traffic on roads. They consist of families, each with its residence, and each residence is the origin and end of one of those numberless tiny streams of traffic which go to form the greater streams that attract attention.

Each family needs a right of way from its own door to the neighbours' houses, fields, market, school, medical man, and the like. The way must be kept in a fit state by levelling, hardening the surface, and bridging, to carry wheeled traffic easily and cheaply all the year round. Where the volume of traffic is heavy, the road must be metalled. This is a reasonable standard. There are some who would deny the need of so high a standard in India, on the ground that she is a poor country, and does not need roads. India is potentially rich; but if she were poor she would have all the more need for roads, which are the chief creators of wealth.

As to how they are to be provided, I shall here pass over in silence my own plan, which has so far failed to win approval. The great thing is to get the work done, whatever plan may be adopted. My plan is on record, and can at any time be referred to. I attach importance to the end, not the means.

A good system of roads, besides creating wealth, and serving many purposes, will educate the people by promoting intercourse, and by bringing to their knowledge much that they could not otherwise hear of or see.

This finishes what I have to say about the education of the people. I hope that civil organization and good roads will, by creating capital and improving the understanding of the people, raise their productive capacity and their standard of living. To the latter result I look for an increase in the margin between production and consumption of food. The people will, I hope, be less ready to increase their numbers at every increase of supply, having new wants to satisfy.

I come now to the second means proposed for keeping

down the population—repression. That is only wanted for those areas which are insolvent, needing help from the State in supporting their inhabitants. The need may be temporary or it may become chronic. The fear is that in some areas it may be chronic. It is the right of the State, and a duty owing to the solvent areas, to impose on insolvent areas towards itself the responsibility it has itself assumed for preserving life, and to enforce on the several communities a reasonable amount of prudence and forbearance. This can best be done by imposing on the inhabitants of areas that have had to take help from the State for famine relief, a special tax, whose proceeds are to be devoted to the repayment of the sums so taken. The double object of this tax is to force on the inhabitants in good years the memory of the bad years, and prevent them from presuming on temporary plenty ; and to bring pressure to bear on the surplus population that they may emigrate. Such a tax, to be efficient, must be harsh. There is a distinct tendency, which is encouraged by the Government relief policy, for the poor recklessly to increase their numbers in good times, and trust to State relief when bad times come. This tendency ought to be suppressed, even by harshness. Having as far as possible done away with Nature's checks—war, disease, and famine—the State is bound to apply a check of its own, and the tax proposed, harsh as it is, is a good deal milder than any of these.

It may be asked what is to be done if the tax cannot be made to produce the whole amount of the debt. We can write off the irrecoverable balance. We write off more than that now. If it is thought that the exaction of the money from a poor area keeps back its development, there is nothing to hinder the whole proceeds and more from being granted in aid of development. The object of the tax is not to make revenue, but to prevent the area taxed from becoming a burden on the solvent parts of the country. It would be quite consistent with that object to make grants for development and at the same time impose the special tax. .

I have finished what I have to say on checking population, and go on to the second proposed remedy for famine—checking fluctuation in supply—with which is mixed up the question of fluctuation of prices.

As regards fluctuation in supply, there are two ways of checking this: one, to reduce the chance of failure of crops; the other, to form a locally appropriated reserve.

I take first the question of reducing the chance of failure. This may be done by giving the fullest protection to crops grown, and discouraging the cultivation of crops known to be precarious. As this part of the subject consists of detail, I take leave, as the best way of explaining what I mean, to give an illustration.

In the part of the country I know, the staple crop is winter rice. This crop needs for its production a great deal of labour, which is wanted more or less all round the year. The crop depends throughout on water-supply. Formerly it used to be grown almost exclusively in hollows and marshes, where it was safe from drought; but now it is grown also on high land, where, unless artificially protected, it is likely to fail one year in every three. There is in the driest season a sufficient fall of rain to irrigate the whole crop. A good many cultivators store the rain as it falls, and so protect their crops; but many gamble on the rainfall, trusting to luck. As the State has to pay their stakes when they lose, I think the Government is entitled, being thus dragged into their affairs, to insist on a substitution for this reckless gambling of prudent business methods, and require the provision of reservoirs sufficient to make up, by irrigation, at least for the loss caused by the premature stoppage of the rains, which frequently destroys a fourth of the whole produce. There is no practical difficulty in the way of this provision being made, and the law can be changed if it raises artificial obstacles.

Irrigation works for all purposes should no doubt also be encouraged, whether made by the State, or by private

capitalists, or by the owners or occupiers of arable land. The money spent in feeding the people during one famine would have gone far to prevent the famine if spent the season before. If some of the rice land is allowed to go out of cultivation because of the cost or difficulty of providing irrigation for it, so much the better. Better no crop than a precarious one.

This illustration indicates what might be done on a careful examination of local circumstances to reduce the chance of failure of crops.

I come now to the formation of a grain reserve. I have already stated that the stock of grain remains in the hands of the traders, and that the traders, being free, through the policy of Government, to move their stocks where they will, and ask for what prices they choose; being encouraged, also, by the policy of Government, to demand locally extortionate prices on pain of the stock being withheld and carried elsewhere, exercise their power to the hurt of the community. This is an evil that requires a remedy. I do not propose that there should be any interference with the freedom of traders by way of prohibiting export or limiting prices. I do think it desirable, however, to keep more of the stock out of their hands. In illustration of my meaning, I will quote an experiment made by myself.

Some seven or eight years ago there was a scarcity, and, to help the tenants of a particular estate in my charge, we advanced about 230 maunds of grain (a maund is about 80 lb.) to some of them, on condition that for every maund advanced they should return after harvest a maund and a half. This is the customary rate charged in ordinary times by private creditors. The advances were duly repaid, and the proceeds stored. After deducting the cost of storage and watching, the whole stock was redistributed on the same terms next season. Year by year distribution and recovery were made, until, on taking the last account, I found we had in our granaries upwards of 4,000 maunds.

There had been a famine year, and the only difference we made was to take back  $1\frac{1}{4}$  maunds instead of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  maunds for each maund advanced. We had practically no bad debts and no lawsuits. I was able to offer this "grain bank" to Government as a going concern, with substantial capital and no debts, for employment in the service of the tenants of this estate. I am not aware whether the offer was accepted.

I see nothing to prevent the establishment of "grain banks" like this in numbers all over the country. The initial expense of one is small, and it makes its own capital. It can be managed by unlearned persons. All that is needed is reasonable prudence in selecting the persons who are to get advances, and in fixing what they are to get. It is not intended for charity to the destitute, but for the support of capable persons.

I anticipate the day when there will be a network of local authorities overspreading rural India, and each of these will be managing one or more grain banks.

Such grain banks, so far as established, secure for local use the stock they hold. Advances can be made in times of scarcity on easier instead of harder terms. If the time comes when there is a surplus not needed locally, it can be disposed of, and the proceeds used for local public objects. As these banks are public institutions, a lien might be given on their surplus only, to dispose of it on ordinary terms, if required, for famine relief elsewhere. This would tend to steady market prices and reduce the cost of relief. The grain banks would also probably, by their example and competition, tend to promote among private traders a more kindly and reasonable way of doing business than is now commonly found.

I have remarked that with the question of fluctuation in supply is mixed up that of fluctuation of prices. That is partly owing to the fact that, while metal coin is the currency of commerce, grain is still to a great extent that of the rural community. The Government policy of famine



relief by means of payments in metal currency would work more smoothly if that currency were more generally used. I will only touch on this subject by suggesting that the use, as a measure of value, of coin, which is a known quantity of metal, would be greatly increased by the enforcement of uniform weights and measures. Weights and measures now vary from market to market, and, where these vary so much for all other commodities, the advantage of money alone being of a fixed weight is to a considerable extent lost. In one part of my district we introduced standard grain measures, whose popularity was shown by the fact that several thousands were sold (not given away), and that spurious imitations were secretly bought by dishonest traders at three or four times the price of the genuine ones. As a consequence, I believe, of their introduction, cash payments began to supersede barter, and large quantities of copper coin were passed into circulation.

I have tried in these observations to show how by educating the people through local organization and good roads, by reducing loss of crop and securing a reasonable share of it for local consumption, and by promoting the use in rural districts of a metal currency, something may be done to meet a real danger threatening India in connection with the famine policy of Government. My limited object has been to point out the danger, and show that we can do something to meet it by action instead of awaiting it with folded hands.

## THE BLUE BOOK ON GOVERNMENT CHURCHES IN INDIA.

BY SIR JOHN JARDINE, K.C.I.E.

THE Blue Book on the "Use of Government Churches in India," lately presented to Parliament, affords answers to some of the questions raised in my article in the last October number of this Review. It brings the correspondence up to March 27, 1900, and enables us to see the gains and losses of the several Christian Churches in the conflict arising out of Lord Curzon's action in superseding Lord Elgin's orders.

The consent of the local Bishop, and in appeals, of his superior, the Metropolitan at Calcutta, must still be got before any Presbyterian or Wesleyan service can be held in a consecrated church. The unanimous desire of the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland (p. 25) is refused, and it gets no redress against Lord Curzon's order, "placing soldiers belonging to the Church of Scotland and other Presbyterian Churches entirely under the control of the chief officer of the Anglican Church in India, so far as regards the use of the churches, which were built for all British-born soldiers," as the Moderator complained. This grievance is keenly resented by the Scots in India; they object to get by *favour* of a Bishop what they claim of *right* as Scotsmen and Protestants. However, they have henceforth to accept what their Chaplain at Madras rightly calls an inferior position (p. 37).

Even as regards churches not already consecrated, but awaiting the ceremony, the inferiority is to be established by Lord George Hamilton's orders, as in the matter of Solon Church, where the Presbyterian soldiers had to get a Bishop's permission after using the church unchallenged for several weeks (p. 43).

Lord George Hamilton's reasons are that the Church of

England and its consecrating authority have both a legal and a moral control over the buildings (p. 41). High legal opinions have been taken, and he declines to discuss further (p. 49). The opinions are *not* published; but we find that the right to control is not based on the act of consecration, but on the *voluntary acts* of the Indian Government, which has sometimes by solemn document given away its rights in these buildings to the Bishop, and sometimes done so by solemn assurance or promise, while the keep-up and repairs are defrayed out of Indian taxation. These are the acts on which the Bishops now rely. In these respects India is in the same legal position as Scotland. The ecclesiastical law of England prohibits Presbyterian and Nonconforming services in churches after they have been consecrated by Bishops; but this law is not in force in India or Scotland. If a Scottish School Board got a Bishop to consecrate a school, the ceremony would have no legal effect; but if the School Board executed a deed, transferring the building to the Bishop, the Bishop would insist on his rights at law. He would doubtless fail, as the judges would hold that the School Board, being only trustee for the whole public, had no power to give away its control of public property to a sect. It would appear that, although there have been some exceptions, the usual custom of the Indian Government has been to refuse to part with its rights, or to hand over the land or building; and the Governor-General, in 1852, plainly stated that the property belonged to the Government, even when the church had been partly built by private subscriptions (p. 31). This principle was again asserted in Sir Charles Wood's rules of 1860, and those of Lord Elgin in 1898. In 1867 the Government declined to sanction the consecration of a church at Bolarum, mainly on the ground that a church at an exclusively military station ought not to be consecrated, but ought to remain available for any and all denominations of Protestant Christians.

However, Lord George Hamilton insists that, where the

control has been voluntarily given over to the Bishop, with the Bishop it must and shall remain, *even when the Government pays for the keep-up.*

As to the Bishop's *moral* right of control, his Lordship gives several reasons. Some of the money for the original building expenses was paid by Episcopalian subscribers. The idea of the Scottish Church, that "all churches constructed wholly or in part from Government funds should be under secular authority," however plausible, is not, in his opinion, practicable. It belongs, he says, to bygone days, when a belief, since exploded, in the possibility of a general undenominational religion common to all Christians prevailed to some extent (p. 41). Surely the Secretary of State does not mean that the practices in Sir Charles Wood's time and in Lord Elgin's are those of bygone days! His reasoning seems too theological and too high-pitched, as we all know that Governors and Commanders-in-Chief can regulate these matters better than Bishops, and actually did so without complaint from either Church. Then he goes on to what seem to be two mistakes of fact: "The War Office in this country, as I have ascertained, no longer builds churches common to all denominations; when a church is built, it is assigned to the use of the particular denomination whose proved wants it supplies. In India this practice has from the earliest days of the East India Company prevailed." Now, as we have already seen, the Indian Government churches have always been used, when circumstances made such use necessary, by Presbyterians as well as Episcopalians. Lord Elgin admitted Wesleyan soldiers two years ago, and Bishop Welldon is ready to let Baptists have their own services. As regards the practice in England, the Rev. Theodore Marshall, D.D., seems to have silenced the Secretary of State by producing a letter from the War Office in 1894, when the very same question arose at Aldershot (p. 45): "As a general principle, Mr. Campbell-Bannerman thinks it would be highly inconvenient that War Department buildings used for public

worship by troops should be consecrated, and it is not his intention to sanction it in other cases." The Committee of the General Assembly seem to me to have got the best of the argument about the moral right of control.

Dr. Marshall, dealing with the *legal* right, informed the Secretary of State that the Committee would use all constitutional means to alter the law which gave exclusive control to the Episcopacy. They call the law invidious and unjust, and expect to be supported by the country (p. 43); the Church and people of Scotland will not accept the words "after obtaining the sanction of the Metropolitan" (p. 45). Lord George Hamilton takes no notice of these threats; he can afford to rest tranquil with a Government majority of 150 in the House of Commons, especially as there has been no sign of any real pressure by Scottish Members on either side of the House to secure any relief to Presbyterians.

The Church of Scotland has, however, accepted an offer from the Secretary of State of new churches at large military stations where the Church of England will not adjust matters (pp. 27, 32, 41). There are, however, plain objections from the point of view of religious equality: The Church of England remains sole master of the existing buildings; the Church of Scotland and the Wesleyans are to be huddled together, and probably the other Presbyterian Churches and the English Nonconformists will be driven into the same pen. This is a step towards treating them, and the Church of Scotland also, as Nonconformists; while the Church of England gets the older Government buildings for its separate use. The money for the new churches, ordered by a stroke of Lord George Hamilton's pen, has to be paid by the unrepresented Indian taxpayers.

Lord G. Hamilton writes: "The Church of England, to which community the overwhelming mass of the British in India belongs, has been recognised by successive statutes, and in the great majority of cases the churches used by it have been consecrated." In this appeal to Statute Law, I

think he ignores the facts pointed out in my article to show that for two centuries that Church got on without any consecrations at all; he ignores also the unchallenged statements of the Rev. John Taylor, Senior Scottish Chaplain, that an Indian Bishop has no legal right to "exercise any episcopal functions whatsoever, either in the East Indies or elsewhere," without leave of the Queen, and that these same Letters Patent do not empower him to consecrate churches (p. 34).\* Lord George Hamilton refuses point-blank the General Assembly's proposal "to effect legislation to alter the existing law, which hands over the control of churches built for all Protestants to the authorities of one denomination." He declined also to lay down a rule to prevent the consecration of garrison churches at present unconsecrated; but he ordered that this rite shall not be performed, except where there are other buildings for Presbyterian and Wesleyan worship. The general effect seems to me a good step towards *further establishment and fresh endowment* of the Church of England as THE Church of India, with the usual resort to statute, the Secretary of State for the time being, who may be a Wesleyan, or a Unitarian, or a Roman Catholic, asserting the right to order or forbid a spiritual act like this of consecration, and being morally sure that he will be obeyed, as the Indian Bishops

\* I think Lord George Hamilton ought at the very least to have noticed the Rev. John Taylor's views, which coincide with those of Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, and are fully confirmed by Sir C. Ilbert's "Digest of Indian Law." Mr. Taylor wrote (p. 34): "The church at Solon has not been consecrated. I shall deem it a favour if you will let me know whether or not the permission of the Bishop's commissary was required to enable our congregation to hold service in it. With reference to this church at Solon, I beg most humbly to suggest that it would save a great amount of trouble and injustice to Church of Scotland congregations in the future if this building were not consecrated. In the Act of Parliament which created the bishopric of Calcutta, and is the charter of Indian bishoprics, I find the following, section 51: 'Provided always, and be it further enacted, that such Bishop shall not have or use any jurisdiction or exercise any episcopal functions whatsoever either in the East Indies or elsewhere, but only such jurisdiction and functions as shall or may from time to time be limited to him by His Majesty by Letters Patent.'"

may be recalled at his pleasure, and depend on him for pay and allowances, furloughs and pensions, and have no episcopal functions, except what this Cabinet Minister allows by Letters Patent.

This is the price the State Church of India has to pay for its legal and social exaltation over other Christian Churches, and for its subsidies out of the Indian Treasury ; but I am sure many of its holiest members will be pained at the straightforward, naked terms used by the Secretary of State about putting "pressure" on its ministers to force them to open the consecrated buildings to Presbyterian services. Though the Episcopalians rely, not on the consecration, but on the voluntary trust-deeds as separating the church "from all profane or common uses," and though their liberal assent, until Lord G. Hamilton's time, shows that they do *not* now, and never did, hold Presbyterian worship to be either profane or common, I am sure that many devout persons, however Erastian, will regret and resent the claim of Cæsar to control a branch of the Church of Christ, especially those whose deepest feelings respond to the battle-cry, "For Christ's Crown and Headship." Lord George Hamilton's proposal is as follows : "That when any considerable number of Presbyterians are quartered at a station where the requirement for accommodation is fluctuating and uncertain, and only one place of worship exists, which is consecrated, the authorities of the Church of England shall be pressed to give reasonable facilities for its use by Presbyterians" (p. 46). In reply to Dr. Marshall's piercing questions, "Lord George Hamilton thinks that it must be evident from his letter that the *pressure* spoken of was pressure by the Government authorities, civil or military, exercised, where necessary, upon the authorities of the Church of England, and the reasonableness of the facilities to be granted would be a point for the consideration of the authorities exercising the pressure."

To me, after many years of official service, it seems undesirable that a powerful Government should interfere,

even with wrong-headed or unreasonable clergymen, in affairs of religion. This will be bitterly resented if, as in Sir Henry Fowler's case, the Secretary of State happens to be a Nonconformist. Moreover, as both the State and the two established national Churches concur, both in their writings and in acts extending over very many years, in plainly holding that it is seemly and right that consecrated churches should be used by Presbyterians, the Secretary of State might well have settled the whole matter once and for all by the simple legal means advocated by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland.

Instead of these trust-deeds giving the whole control to the Anglican Bishops, subject to this State *pressure*, he ought in future trust-deeds to reserve the rights of other Churches, and might well have passed an Act giving back such rights where they have been incautiously assigned away by the lawyers. All religious bodies gladly obey general laws, but all resent State compulsion in regard to occasional ceremonies and consecrated ministers. No reason has been given for departing from the custom of the army at home, as defined by Sir H. Campbell-Bannerman in the Aldershot case, nor for abolishing the ancient custom of the Government of India. As I said before, "Churchmen in India are not Pharisees, neither are they inclined to be unjust to sister Churches; and even if some Ritualists among the Chaplains may have to be tenderly dealt with, the views of these few must not over-ride a long-established practice, well suited to the wants of the army, sanctioned by the Indian Episcopate, and pleasing withal to the Presbyterians." The results would be widespread, and thus far more serious than the bogey conjured up by the Archbishop of Canterbury (p. 8) to frighten Lord George Hamilton—to wit, the possible use of these churches "by Unitarians, for instance, holding doctrines quite outside the Christian faith." No Anglo-Indian believes in this danger, as no Unitarian is likely to become a Secretary of State; and since Lord George Hamilton has avowed his readi-



ness to exercise his ecclesiastical discipline by means of "pressure," he can easily exorcise the unorthodox beforehand by sending a timely despatch, in the spirit, if without the poetical vigour, of Wesley's well-known hymn :

" The Unitarian fiend expel,  
And send his doctrine back to hell."

My comrades in India may object that the Secretary of State, having to consider the feelings of sixty millions of Mussulmans, all Unitarians, must use more cautious rhetoric than what is permitted to hymn-writers or Archbishops. I quite agree, for while we render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, we are loath to concede any jurisdiction over religious doctrines or dogmas. This Blue Book certainly leaves the impression that the time has come to loose those hampering bonds, official and pecuniary, which tie the Church in India to the India Office at Westminster. These Letters Patent, those Government Resolutions, and voluntary trust-deeds, full of *habendums* and *tenendums*, must not be reckoned among things Divine.

## THE REVOLT OF THE "BOXERS" IN CHINA.

By E. H. PARKER.

THE following Imperial decree was issued in the name of the Emperor on April 13 last : " The establishment by the rural population in each province of militia for their own protection, and for the preservation of their lives and families, is at bottom simply the good old ancestral practice of keeping a look-out and lending mutual assistance ; and so long as those concerned mind their own business, there is no reason why they should be interfered with. All that is to be feared is that amongst such persons the good and the bad may get mixed, and that pretexts may be taken to raise trouble with native Christians. It must be remembered that the Sovereign regards all with equal benevolence, without distinction of territorial division, for which reason the populations concerned should obey the spirit of this idea, and refrain from giving vent to their private resentments, in such wise as to cause hostility and render themselves liable to punishment. Let the Governors-General and Governors concerned give strict directions to local authorities to issue plain-speaking proclamations as occasion may require, calling upon all persons to attend to their own affairs, and always keep on peaceful terms with others, not ignoring the spirit of these earnest exhortations."

It is highly probable that the above document, cautiously worded as it is by the Empress-Dowager's advisers, has special tacit reference to the so-called "Boxers"; for although anti-Christian troubles are breaking out in the Canton, Ningpo, and other regions, nothing touching Europeans has occurred of so grave a nature as the murders of Mr. Brooks in Shan Tung, and later, it appears, of certain Belgian engineers. Moreover, the native newspapers, in which the above decree is published a few days later, note with alarm that the "Boxer" movement has

spread with great rapidity across the province of Chih Li right up to the neighbourhood of Newchwang, where many immature youths in their teens have been gained over by the propaganda. Hitherto, in treating of rebels and revolters, the native press has made little specific allusion to the *i-ho-k'üen*, or "Patriotic Peace Fists"; but the best of them—the *Shên Pao* of April 22—says it is now high time that the authorities "patch things up before the rain comes, and diminish the fuel before the fire rages." This is evidently the passage that inspired Professor R. K. Douglas with the *tout special* rendering published in the *Times* (end of May), which appears to be founded on some misapprehension of the Chinese text.

Touching the *raison d'être* of the fisticuff fraternity, it may be explained that, concurrently with the vigorous reforms recently introduced into the Chinese army (explained in detail in the *United Service Magazine* for April last), each province has, since the German attack upon Kiao Chou, been directed to furbish up its old *t'wan-lien*, or "posse of the districts." Shan Tung, as the province most immediately threatened with "rain and fire," has naturally not been behindhand, and the result is that yeomanry or militia, at first encouraged by the authorities (as explained) by Imperial command for the protection of the villages, have been worked upon by mischievous persons or secret societies—notably the Great Sword Society—in such a way as to develop into a serious danger to the State. Hence the delicate position of the Central Government, which has created what the Chinese call a "tiger-ride situation"—that is, the only way for the Government or rider to escape being eaten is to stick fast to the tiger's back and trust to luck for what the capricious beast will do. The use of the word *i* is ominous of evil to the Manchu dynasty, for this term has always been employed by "patriots," such as those who turned out the Turks in 620 and the Mongols in 1360. The original idea of the Central Government was to develop a defensive "patriotism" against the Germans and Christians,

notably the Catholics, who have now been idiotically provided by the imbecile Chinese Government with an official status, giving them illimitable power to intrigue and create mischief; but the reforming and revolutionary element surreptitiously regard the *i* as referring to Chinese rights against those of Manchus, and it is impossible for the old women of the Tsung-li Yamèn to say how far blustering Generals like Tung Fu-siang may not take this objectionable view of the word *i*.

The situation in North China is now (June 5) undoubtedly serious, and it is by no means unlikely that the degenerate Manchu dynasty, which began so well, will have disappeared before the summer is out. Nor is that a matter for unqualified regret, for it is now hopelessly corrupt, cowardly, and inefficient; worst of all, it is vacillating, for a persistent villain is a better administrator than a weak old simpleton, willing to be humbugged. But at the same time the Chinese themselves are politically as treacherous as the Manchus, besides being infinitely more crafty; and, therefore, whatever happens, it is highly desirable that European Powers (including America and Japan in this term) should stand together and prevent the "yellow corpse" from putrefying their own existence. Nothing could be more fatuous or fatal than for this or that Power to "believe in" China, and to bolster her up against the demands of the other Powers with a view to securing special privileges. Whatever our rivalries and jealousies, we Europeans, including even Russia, are all imbued with the one spirit of humanity, justice, and progress, summed up in the word "Christian;" and this is none the less so though half of us may be atheists, free-thinkers, and Jews; for it is the spirit of Christianity imbibed with our mothers' milk which forms our minds, even if we reject the puerilities of this or that dogma; nor is it any the less so because we happen to be hostile to, and even at war with, each other. In the Far East all Europeans are bound together by a species of sympathy of which people

at home have little idea ; but even at home this feeling of Christian unity is easily realized when it is brought into contrast with the "yellow corpse." It is satisfactory to see that, so far, Europeans are working together, and it is to be hoped that, whilst keeping an intelligent eye upon their own separate interests, the Powers will not do anything so fatal to their future solidarity as to break up the concert in order to admit the discordant music of the gong. Every Chinese dynasty and every Tartar dynasty ruling China has disappeared in a pandemonium of anarchy and butchery. The Manchu dynasty is bound to go in the same way, and the only thing is to localize the evil and let the anarchists cook in their own juice until they are tired of cooking, taking care that as few European interests as possible are injured. Compared with Asiatic dynasties generally, the Manchu dynasty was at first excellent and intelligent : even now it is the least evil of any Chinese or Tartar dynasty at the time of its tottering to a fall. But why support a wretched political system which devotes half its revenues to the feeding of an idle pack of useless and crapulous "banner-men" ; which never does anything whatever for the improvement of the people ; which persists in a rotten and wasteful system of finance ; encourages its officers to peculate and falsify accounts ; sanctions torture of the cruellest kind ; denies all justice to political offenders ; destroys its women's feet—or permits the Chinese to do so ; and renders scant justice to any man ? The well-meaning legitimately-selected Emperor is practically a victim to the assassin already. For whose good is it to support such a dynasty ? Being there, the dynasty is convenient to us in so far that it remains a tool which we can handle for our own purposes in a gingerly way without the necessity of hunting for a new tool which might possibly cut us. But it has no other use under the present usurper and her minions. It is out of the question to substitute a Chinese dynasty, for there is no family in China whose name carries respect and weight throughout the provinces.

China seems fatally bound to be ruled by strangers, and it is in the interest of her hundreds of millions—hostile to us only through ignorance—that it should be so. But things must not be allowed to come with a rush. If the "Boxers" or any other society once gain headway, a fearful amount of useless bloodshed and wanton destruction will take place; so the first and most urgent thing is to restore order wherever threatened, and keep the military adventurers on the right side. It does not in the least matter who runs the machine during this restive stage so long as it is run on commission steadily and unflinchingly. Sir Robert Hart, with the co-operation of the "concert of Ministers," would do as well as anyone else—perhaps better, for he is the one solitary instance in China affairs of a man who knows what he wants to do, holds his tongue, and does it. Shareholders need not in any case be particularly anxious about their dividends, for, whatever takes place, China's sole "solid" asset is the £1,000,000 sterling derived from foreign trade, and none of that will be allowed to leave foreign control in the event of rebellion.

It is high time now that, after two thousand years of political serfdom, the intelligent and industrious Chinese people, who are excellent municipal and village organizers, should have recognised rights conferred upon them. Their political requirements, as crudely specified by K'ang Yu-wei, must go hand-in-hand with their material development. It is impossible to give them railways, cheap newspapers, telegraphs, steamers, and, in short, the latest results of progress generally, and yet expect them to stagnate peacefully in their old docility and oblivion. K'ang Yu-wei himself should be thrust aside as a dangerous agitator, meddling with matters he only half understands. Russia should be allowed a free hand in the organization of the Manchurian provinces, for the simple reason that no one else can possibly do it; but the "original" rights of others should be clearly stipulated for. In the same way Germany may reasonably put Shan Tung in order, without in any

way treading upon others' toes. We and Japan must keep the Shan-hai Kwan open. At the "proper moment" we ourselves should be prepared to hold the gates and the lanes of the Yang Tsze; this we ought to be able to do as easily now as we did during the Taiping rebellion. France in Hainan, Kwang Si, and parts of Yün Nan and Kwang Tung; Japan in Fuh Kien; Italy in Cheh Kiang; ourselves, again, in Yün Nan and Kwang Tung; the Indian Government in Tibet; the Russians in Ili—here we have work cut out for all; and, starting from these bases, there is no reason why we should not each steadily advance year by year into our respective Hinterlands, and gradually turn the corpse into healthy meat. It is not necessary to commit acts of digression or conquest.

Amongst modern missionary reforms none is more remarkable or worthy of admiration than the Anti-Footbinding or Tien-tsu Hwei, started by Mrs. Archibald Little. The fact that so pigheadedly conservative a people as the Chinese are actually rising to the height of this reform amply illustrates how easy our general work will be when the ignorant people discover that we are really labouring for their benefit. Missionaries of all kinds should have a free hand, but under consular control; and Lord Salisbury never came to a wiser decision than when he accepted Dr. Temple's recommendation to decline an official status for the Protestant half of them.

P.S.—It is now (June 11) a week since the above was written, and the events of the past seven days furnish readers with the means of judging the accuracy of the above forecasts.

## THE POSSIBLE COLLAPSE OF MOROCCO AS AN INDEPENDENT POWER.

BY ION PERDICARIS.

QUERIES regarding any immediate peril to Moorish independence are answered in a most reassuring sense at the Tangier Legations, despite the apparent evidence of danger both on the Algerian frontier, where Igli and other towns, long considered amongst the most indisputable appanages of Shereefian authority, have been approached by French troops, whilst in Morocco city itself, and generally throughout the vast but inchoate Sultanate of the Filali Shereefs, the shaken fabric of Moorish power seems to crack at every joint.

Mulai Abd-el-Aziz, the present occupant of the Shereefian throne, although he is now arrived at man's estate, is still but an inexperienced youth, who has never taken the field at the head of his fierce but undisciplined troops, nor has he ever yet treated directly any affair of State, all authority having been hitherto exercised by his Grand Vizir, Sid Ahmed ben Musa ben Ahmed, commonly known as Ba-Ahmed, or "Father Ahmed." This worthy is now—May 13—lying perilously ill, if he be not already dead, whilst two of his brothers, one the late Minister of War, and the other also a high official, have died within the month. Besides these officials, another trusted adviser of the late Sultan, the Kaid el Meshuar, or Master of Ceremonies, passed away a short time since at Morocco City; whilst here in Tangier the Special Envoy, the Feki el M'Niah, who had been sent to lodge a protest with the Representatives of the Powers concerning the alleged French aggressions, must needs suddenly put an end both to himself and to his mission by means of a charcoal brazier after his bath the other evening.

Of course, Prime Ministers and other important officials



fall ill, and even die, at inconvenient\* moments elsewhere than in Morocco, nor do such occurrences usually portend the approaching dissolution of the entire body politic ; but this is such an especially unpropitious, not to say critical, moment in the history of Morocco, that such a singular series of mishaps to the Bokhari faction, (a faction which has ruthlessly usurped all the power of the State since the death of the late Sultan in June, 1894), might well excite the distrust of a less suspicious population than that of the Moorish Empire, composed as it is of so many heterogeneous and discordant elements—crafty Arabs of the plains, fierce Berbers of the hills, and descendants of the more civilized Moriscos, expelled from Spain in the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella, or later on during that of Philip II., and, lastly, the blacks of the Soudan, from whom the Bokhari bodyguard is recruited.

What especially complicates the case just now is, the fact that the elder brother of the present Sultan, a figure of somewhat singular aspect, known as El Aouar ("the Blind," though Mulai Mohammed is neither totally nor even partially blind, but has merely a "cast" in one eye), is still alive, and not only alive, but a prisoner, and not merely a prisoner, which is not very consistent with brotherly devotion to the reigning monarch, but a member, on the mother's side, of the powerful Rehamna tribe, a Kabyle which rose in rebellion, when Abd-el-Aziz was proclaimed ; whilst the harsh treatment which the tribe then experienced at the hands of the present Government has left its surviving members with a lively sense of hatred and disaffection towards the monarch, and more especially towards the leaders of that faction which placed the young Sultan on the throne, to the detriment and prejudice of his elder brother. It is also to be remembered, that several of the officials most devoted to the late Sultan, one of whom was a brother-in-law of Mulai El Hassan himself, were arrested immediately on the death of that able and popular Sultan, and, after being stripped of their property, were imprisoned

at Tetuan, where Sî Maati El Djamai died miserably in confinement. To the popular imagination it would, therefore, appear either that Providence itself has directly intervened to avenge the fate of these victims of a long-successful conspiracy, or else, that some one of their more active partisans has found means to circumvent the elaborate precautions against assassination taken by the present occupants of the various posts of honour about the person of the young Sultan, concerning whose own capacity to free himself from the control of his almost universally unpopular advisers, and be in word and deed, as he is in name, the ruler of his suffering people, many unflattering rumours do circulate, according to which it would seem even doubtful whether His Majesty is likely to leave any legitimate heir to inherit the wide dominions over which his ancestors have so long ruled.

And now, when a serious aggression threatens the Sultanate with the fate of a similar absorption to that which has already overtaken so many Mohammedan and Asiatic empires, reducing Sultans, Khedives, and Beys to subjection, or transferring the effective control of the populations beneath their sway, by more or less evasive or direct processes, by orders emanating from the rulers of the various European capitals, it happens that those whose strong hands and stern strength of will were most needed to protect the tottering edifice from the first undisguised assault have been, or are being, swept away, leaving the young Sultan to face almost alone the ever-increasing cares and perplexities of State.

At the present moment two foreign Embassies—those of Italy and Spain—are waiting at the gates of the Sultan's palace. Signor Malmusi, the Italian Minister, had indeed already concluded his mission, and was only waiting certain documents and orders with the signature of the Sultan (a euphemism for the application of the Shereefian seal) before taking his leave; but the Spanish Minister, who reached Morocco just as the Grand Vizir fell ill, is

reputed to have more important objects to discuss concerning Spain's demands for the assignment of certain long-debated territorial concessions, together with various delimitations of the neutral zone bordering her possessions at Melilla and other points on the Moorish coast. Both these Embassies are therefore delayed by the illness of the Vizir, a circumstance which is not likely to add to the amenities of the discussion when relations are finally reopened with the always vexatious and dilatory Moorish officials, who have of late proved especially recalcitrant.

But these are not the preoccupations which have most painfully engrossed the attention of the Sultan's Cabinet ; it is rather the storm-cloud on the south-eastern frontier that chiefly disturbed the peace of the Grand Vizir. Not that the definite transfer of the various oases, embracing the territory about Insalah in the Tuat district, from the purely nominal control of the Sultan of Morocco to the definite control of the Franco-Algerian Government, constitutes in itself any loss of revenue or appreciable injury, but because the intervention of another Power, in these regions, hitherto so difficult of access to non-Mohammedans, is not only a serious blow to the prestige of the Sultan's Government throughout his dominions generally, but because the occupation of this Saharan district which threatens Taflet has long been looked upon as the last refuge and asylum of Moorish independence, should the European ever make himself master of the Atlantic littoral, with its rich alluvial plains, or even subdue the fierce inhabitants of the north-western slopes of the Atlas range. In such a case, as a last resort, it was confidently believed that the southern slopes of the giant range would offer a secure refuge from invasion, or even the more insidious forms of aggression, such as the extension of protection to disaffected tribes or individuals.

Owing to this belief, and also because the Taflet district is the ancient centre, where the Filali dynasty began its rule, and whence the more northern and western kingdoms

of Fez and Marakesh (Morocco) were subsequently overrun, and conquered by their descendants, this locality has long been used as a safe treasury where surplus accumulations are stored, and where many members of the reigning house still reside. Yet, now, behold ! this very sacrosanct asylum and refuge is directly menaced, not from north or west, but from Igli and from the very Sahara itself, for Tiddikelt is far south of Tafilet.

The Mekhazen, or Moorish Government, guided by Ba-Ahmed, has hitherto displayed in this emergency exemplary prudence and self-control. Special orders have been repeatedly despatched to the Kaids in command of the line from Figig to Igli, and throughout the disturbed frontier districts, not to countenance or allow any hostile or aggressive action of the Moorish frontier tribes. But will these officers still be able to keep the lawless inhabitants in hand when it is known that the stern old Vizir has passed away, or should the present Sultan be thrust aside by his more warlike elder brother ? Will the latter, whose success must depend upon the soldiery, whom he formerly commanded during his late father's reign, have the power or the desire, should he be released from prison, to pursue the pacific policy hitherto followed by Ba-Ahmed ? For it should be borne in mind that Mulai Mohammed, even when he enjoyed his father's confidence as heir-apparent, had never been in any sense associated with, nor had he ever taken part in, the political direction of the Sultanate. His activity was purely military. No European Representative discussed with him any question of foreign policy, even if the fierce young Prince ever personally met, in the course of some state function, the Ministers or secret agents of some foreign Power.

Will it not rather fall in both with his natural warlike bent, as well as the most advantageous policy with regard to his own people, to break with the old-established lines, and to trust not so much to the jealous dissensions of the Powers as to the strength of his own troops, and to his

ascendancy over them, which nothing could so absolutely establish as a triumphant victory over the Christian aggressor?

If, therefore, owing to Mulai Mohammed's ignorance regarding the relative strength of Morocco and the Powers, this policy be adopted, what will be the French attitude? Is it likely that France will withdraw her troops, or apologize for her intrusion upon domains which His Shereefian Majesty claims absolutely and beyond all discussion as his own?

The reader must here bear in mind that France is diplomatically admirably guarded against interference by any foreign Power, since she is not ostensibly attacking Morocco, but merely pursuing the openly avowed intention of incorporating Timbuctoo and Senegal, now one of her African possessions, with her Algerian dominions. If the realization of this project should prove injurious to Morocco, either commercially by diverting the Timbuctoo caravans, or threatening Morocco's flank from a military point of view, it is evidently the duty of the French Government to consider French colonial interests before taking into account either Moorish objections or European susceptibilities. The great advantage to France of the situation is that every advance towards Timbuctoo places the Republic in a better position for dealing with Morocco should a disputed succession or any prolonged period of anarchy ever render it desirable to exercise an effective control over the neighbouring populations.

Neither England, therefore, nor any other Power, save Morocco alone, has any pretext for intervention, and as to the Shereefian Government, those must be ill-informed indeed who do not realize that a single French or Algerian brigade could reach Fez in less than a month, and from this northern capital of the empire dictate terms to the Sultan.

France is consequently already in a position which will sooner or later render her the dominant Power, so far as

the interior of the Sultanate is concerned. Her influence may be disputed on the coast, but the future of the entire Atlantic hinterland is in her hands even now.

Still, were it possible to compel France to recall her troops, would it be advisable in the interest of Europe generally that France should withdraw? Whatever may be the attitude of the natives at Tangier or along the coast, where the commercial and official intercourse with Europeans has possibly tempered or disarmed the hatred of the more neighbouring tribes, it is quite certain that the populations of the more distant provinces regard us not only with dislike, but honestly think that non-Moslems must necessarily and logically lack every virtue, whilst they believe themselves to be everywhere, except on the sea or near the coast, man for man and collectively also, especially from a military point of view, absolutely our superiors. They have, therefore, long fretted under the check imposed by their own better-informed statesmen, who have observed with astonishment and chagrin how the Moslems, both in Turkey during the last Russo-Turkish conflict, and still more latterly how those other and even braver Mohammedan forces of the Mahdi have fared at Khartum and in Kordofan.

Even were France disposed to adopt a policy of effacement or retreat, such a course might prove disastrous to European interests and security, not here in Morocco alone, but in other regions where Moslems and Christians are in contact. But France is not likely to withdraw, even were Morocco supported by other Powers, for France is in the same position in Northern Africa as that occupied by England on the frontiers of India, or that of Egypt in the Soudan. To weaken at the extremities might threaten her grip even in the centre of her Algerian or North African possessions. No one knows better than those in command in Downing Street that, however keen may be the desire of any Home Government to avoid frontier engagements throughout its own colonial dominions or

military dependencies, nevertheless, either because the necessities of the moment prove stronger than instructions from the Home Government itself, or because the individual agents and commanders along the frontier are impelled by other, and possibly in the end wiser, instincts, it has never been possible for any colonizing Power, either in the past or in the present, to draw at will a line beyond which all advance is rigorously forbidden ; or when that day in the history of a once-expansive Power does come, then is it perilously near its own decline and fall.

Yet it does not necessarily follow that, unless prevented by some combination of other Powers, or by some disaster at Paris itself, France will instantly mobilize her troops for the conquest of Morocco ; such a contingency is, indeed, at the present moment beyond the range of practical consideration. What, then, is likely to be the outcome of the immediate situation ?

In a former article it was shown how the after-consequences of the Hispano-American-conflict and the struggle in South Africa might affect the position in Morocco. When that article was written (April, 1899),\* circumstances were already justifying the predictions therein indicated : the Spanish Government was already preparing instructions for its Representative at Tangier regarding the final and definite assignments and delimitations of the vague concessions of territory at Rio d'Oro and Santa Cruz Pequeña, on the south-western coast of Morocco ; whilst the French columns in Southern Algeria were already being prepared, under Colonels d'Eu, Menestrel, and Bertrand, for the advance from Insalah to Inrar, and for the demonstration towards Timmimoun and Igli, more directly threatening Tafilet. It may be remembered that the article in question suggested that, should England find herself more than momentarily occupied and embarrassed in the effort to re-establish order in South Africa, France might endeavour to obtain a free hand in Morocco in compensation

\* See *Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1899, pp. 338-344.

for the Fashoda incident, and also as an off-set to the conquest by England of the South African Republics, and their incorporation as part and parcel of the British Empire.

Even before this question may have been definitely considered at the Quay d'Orsay, France, owing to some temporary confusion on the Moorish frontier, or to the disappearance of all established authority at Morocco City pending the reorganization of the Mekhazen after the death of the Grand Vizir, may find herself forced to take more active measures than she has as yet contemplated, especially should the new régime in Morocco when established decide upon a more warlike policy. In such an eventuality, what course will England adopt ?

Were she free to act—that is, if she had an army corps available for immediate foreign service, and were she resolutely disposed to disregard the wishes of other Powers, trusting to her fleet to see her safely through with the adventure—her course should be to seize Tangier, for which a pretext may offer any day, whether England wishes it or not, as there is actually no force whatever in Tangier sufficient to maintain order should disturbances occur, since even the very Basha, or Military Governor, is absent from his post, Kaid Abd-ur-Rahman ben Saduk, a man of some resolution and of giant stature, having been summoned suddenly to Morocco City by Ba-Ahmed, whither the Governor proceeded somewhat unwillingly, as do mostly all Governors when summoned, having before their eyes various details of the squeezing process as applied by correct Moorish rule to Kaid and Governors suspected of any trifling accumulation of wealth. But however great might be the advantage to England of Tangier and its immediate territory, the possession of which would give her the absolute command of the Straits, greatly strengthening her position at Gibraltar, is England in a position to thus startle and offend every Government in Europe ? Would she wish to do it, even were it physically easy to accomplish ? We fancy there would be but one answer to this query at the present



moment, and therefore it is to be feared that the old time-honoured policy of drift may emerge at last as the result of the constitutional Downing Street temperament, accentuated by emergencies at other points of the compass, calling for all the acumen and energy of the much-occupied man at the helm.

This worthy, or the several gentlemen rolled into one who answer for the overwrought individual in question, will probably comfort himself, or themselves, by the reflection that neither Tuat nor even Igli is an actual *bonâ-fide* portion of the Moorish Sultanate—both are at least debatable points, and not essential to the maintenance of Moorish independence; and so France, after laying down her Trans-Saharan or Timbuctoo railway as far as Igli, will be left undisturbed to take the first really decisive step towards the conquest of Morocco later and at her own convenience, either by way of Fez, or, if this be too near to European observation, then viâ Tafilet, and thus appropriate that southern slope of the Atlas, the original seat and birthplace of the Filali dynasty. As the base of operations is, moreover, so near the great desert, the occupation of Tafilet itself may some day be an accomplished fact before the news of what has occurred can reach Europe, or even Morocco City, whose nearest avenue of information will be viâ Paris by means of the wire soon to be laid to Igli.

Thus, before English statesmen have decided what steps to take in order to prevent Tangier falling into French or Spanish hands, both of which Powers are equally ill-disposed towards Gibraltar, the opportunity to treat on the present favourable terms may have disappeared, whereas, could some arrangement be made with France before she has actually become the virtual controller of the fate of Moorish independence, from which position the Republic is not even now far removed, England might, with the approval of the other Powers, easily secure the neutralization of Tangier, together with the coast immediately opposite to Gibraltar itself, availing herself at the same time of the

opportunity to free herself from the troublesome embarrassments in Egypt, entailed by the "capitulations," together with some rectification of the many otherwise interminable judiciary hindrances and entanglements arising from England's irregular position in a country nominally under independent Mohammedan rule; nor is it only the authority of the Khedive, which may at some inopportune moment work mischief to British prestige and interests, both financial and political, but the overlordship of the Sultan of Turkey, a bungling arrangement due to England's own suggestion and initiation at a moment when she did not clearly foresee that Abdul Hamid or his successors would almost certainly become a source of anxiety under the control of nearer neighbours, at whose instigation an adverse Sultan might, at some critical moment for English rule in Egypt, were he adequately financed, and were his brave troops led by European officers, prove as awkward a factor near Port Said as poor Greece found him to be upon the Macedonian frontier, even before the Turkish troops had invaded the Thessalian plain and almost threatened Athens itself.

All these considerations might well be weighed at a moment when the English arms have been held at bay for months in South Africa, showing how futile it is for a world-Power like Great Britain, with her vast territorial possessions and her many restive military dependencies, to imagine that her fleet alone is a sufficient defence, or one that would enable her to thwart with impunity, in Morocco or elsewhere, neighbours whose legions are counted, not by hundreds of thousands, but by millions, and whose reasons for insisting upon an expansive policy are at the least as imperative as those which have led England to endeavour, at any cost, to establish her own absolute supremacy in South Africa.

To judge the Morocco question, therefore, it is absolutely essential that Englishmen should place themselves in the position of the French colonial statesmen, and also of the military commanders in Southern Algeria. Some account

should further be taken of the condition of intermittent anarchy along the Moorish-Algerian frontier ; indeed, one of the elements of especial danger is the ignorance of the people, and the systematic misstatements of facts in Eastern and Oriental countries ; for instance, the accepted version of the combats near Igli, and also in the more distant parts of the Tuat district, credited by the Moorish populace is that the French lost 150 cannon, and that many thousand French prisoners were taken by their Moslem adversaries. It will readily be seen how difficult such a belief will render the efforts of the authorities at Morocco City to prevent the tribes from hurrying to the scene of action, and how probable it is that the French column at Igli, which has been ordered to retire, may be attacked, rendering it almost impossible to fall back, since Colonel Bertrand may not judge it prudent to retreat, leaving, as he had been instructed, only a small force to hold Igli, in the face of a hostile gathering of constantly reinforced tribesmen.\*

These are possible contingencies which English statesmen should not disregard, however much they may prefer to see the *statu quo* in Morocco sustained. The Moors, unassisted by other Powers, cannot repel French aggression, though they may easily provoke further and more immediate invasion on a far more important scale, and with more effective results.

The writer, therefore, despite his sympathy for the love of independence, which is likely to precipitate the Moor into a struggle for which he is not adequately equipped, and who also perfectly understands how desirable the continuance of the present *status in quo* is to England as well as to other Powers, would once again insist on the fact that Morocco is in a condition just now which renders a disaster almost certain ; indeed, the reduction of Morocco to the position of a vassal to French overlordship is but a question of time, because the Moor will not accept counsel, nor

\* Letters from Fez state that all residents in that city from Tafilet are hastening to the frontier to defend their native district.

will he, even when in peril, make any concession to modern requirements. He only sets his back the more firmly against the door, thus barring access to friend as well as adversary.

If this be the state of affairs, and if it be doubtful whether England can rescue Morocco, would it not be better to treat with France while there is yet time to avoid armed conflict over the possession or defence of Tangier, and not risk its loss without compensation, and without having obtained by amicable agreement with France the best possible terms, not merely regarding the neutralization of Tangier as a free port, but, taking advantage of France's desire to secure a free hand throughout the interior of the Sultanate, seize this opportunity to settle once and for all the various outstanding questions relating to Egypt, the Newfoundland Foreshore, and other differences, out of which serious complications may arise in the future, before it be written, *Delenda est Morocco?*

Such a startling conclusion to the Empire as we are discussing may not be immediate; years or decades of slow decay may yet intervene, for in the life of a nation decades count but as moments in that of an individual; still, judging by the history of the past, not merely where Mohammedan dynasties are concerned, but even where European nationalities alone are affected, do we not observe that although the catastrophe may appear to hang fire indefinitely, yet when once the body politic has become so corrupt that purification or regeneration from within has become impossible, even a slight aggression from some hostile neighbour or native faction is enough to cause the stricken fabric of government to fall with a suddenness that often surprises even the best-informed observers?

In view of such a catastrophe, writers in English journals and reviews, notably in the *Daily Mail* and the *St. James's Gazette*, have lately propounded various schemes for the neutralization of Morocco or for a joint European guarantee of its integrity, with a collective control over finance, justice, and military organization.

Apparently these writers, despite their knowledge of commercial interests or of geographical delimitations, do not realize the real position from the native point of view.

The Mohammedan, as we have said, conscientiously believes that the non-Moslem is incapable of right thinking or of disinterested advice. It is not conceivable to the Moslem that we should understand either commerce, justice, or military organization so well as the wildest and most illiterate of his fellow-Moslems; for has not the Deity revealed the law to His favourite Prophet, not moral law in the abstract only, but an entire system of codified jurisprudence, a system which covers the whole field of social and military organization? Therefore, despite our superior wealth, commercial activity, and especially our inventive capacity, which place at our command the resources of machinery and chemistry, the Mohammedan, with rare exceptions, especially in such a country as Morocco, where he is scarcely conscious of personal contact with the European, believes implicitly that he is right and we are wrong. Even where he sees with his eyes, he refuses to admit to himself the unpleasant evidence of his senses. Our superiority is at the best, he thinks, merely apparent, not real, or it is due to the Devil, to magic or witchcraft, in all of which demoniac influences he has the most absolute faith; in fact, he will believe in anything but the possibility that the non-believer (in Mohammed and the Koran) can be superior in judgment or goodness to the true believer. For the latter to admit a doubt on the subject would be for him, logically, to lose faith in the Mohammedan creed; he actually cannot admit the superiority of the Christian or non-believer and remain a devout Mohammedan. Therefore you may compel him by force to obey, but you cannot persuade him by arguments or reason; hence schemes for a feeble collective control are futile. It may be possible, as in Tunis and in Egypt, to maintain the form of Mohammedan government, whilst this same government is compelled to obey the direction of foreign advisers; but if such advisers are to benefit

either the country they serve, *i.e.*, their own home government, or the nation over whose public acts they preside, covertly or openly, these advisers must not be divided in their own counsels.

Indeed, I could conceive nothing worse for Morocco than such a divided and necessarily incapable control exercised, through, or by means of, the present autocratic and corrupt form of purely personal government, one which never considers the well-being of the subject or the locality, but merely the barbarous pride or ghoulish greed of the men in office. Even as it is, Europe, by its official recognition, too often makes itself largely responsible for the horrors and evils of Moorish administration.

This is a question also which has a moral as well as a merely commercial aspect. Englishmen may very properly wish to maintain "the open door" throughout the East generally, and it is deplorable that other nations will not adopt the same generous and wise policy; therefore where England can grasp the helm of any derelict nation or territory, by all means let her do so, for all the world benefits by her noble and intelligent administration; but if, as in this case, circumstances prevent, then let her renounce the attempt to maintain manifestly incapable and corrupt governments, and let her allow her neighbours to work out, untrammelled by useless opposition, their own destiny, as she is working out hers; for is it not written, "Unto him who hath shall be given, and from him who hath not, that which he hath shall be taken"?—a precept which applies quite as much to nations as to men.

- However obscure and confused may seem the lesson, there is at least this consolation. If the victory is with the big battalions, is it not because superior national strength is due to superior cohesion? And upon what does cohesion depend, except upon honesty? Ay, the simple honesty of the unit, of the individual. It is because the soldier can trust his fellow-citizen, and this confidence in each other is rarely, if ever, displayed after the battle by

Oriental. Therefore the Asiatic or Mohammedan, brave and heroic though he prove on the field, yields his place, surely if slowly, to the European, who, whilst he may not realize the ideal of brotherhood, is yet dimly, often unconsciously, governed by the higher conceptions of life proclaimed by the noblest of His race and time.

The disappearance of the Moor as a ruling element, with his flowing garments and manly bearing, may be matter for the unfeigned regret of the traveller and the artist, though the humanitarian, shocked by the cruel indifference of the native to the suffering of man or beast, will welcome the overthrow of a rule beneath whose heartless rigour incalculable numbers have perished in untold misery ; whilst the economist should also rejoice that new spheres of wide extent are opened up to the productive energy and organizing faculty of the European, even if that European be not one of his own nationality.

Thus far (May 27) events at Morocco City would seem to largely justify the optimistic official view, since the death of the Grand Vizir on the 12th of this month (May) has strengthened rather than weakened the authority of the young Sultan, who is reported to have emancipated himself from the control of the unpopular advisers who have hitherto stood between him and his subjects ; yet, strangely enough, as successors to the group of Vizirs and counsellors who have so suddenly been swept aside by death, the Sultan has selected relatives or friends of the late Grand Vizir himself. Thus, the newly appointed Grand Vizir, Sid Hadj Mukhtar ben Abdallah, is a first cousin of the late Ahmed ben Mousa ; Sid Abd-el-Karim ben Suliman was ben Mousa's secretary, or, as we should designate him, Under Secretary of State, which post he still holds ; while the new Minister of War, Kaid Mehdi el Menebbahi, was ben Mousa's confidential adviser.

The new administration, therefore, should not lack political continuity, yet in various ways the Sultan seems to be boldly taking a new and more benevolent departure,

since it is stated that he has granted three years' remission of taxation to the Dukalá and to several other tribes who have suffered most severely from the rapacious and cruel extortion of the late Grand Vizir and his remorseless subordinates, of whose atrocities the most terrible, and let us hope exaggerated, accounts are narrated, of men and women buried in *matmorras* (underground caches or pits where grain is stored), in order to compel them to discover their supposed treasure; and when this alone was not sufficient, it is related that vipers and scorpions were thrown amongst the unhappy wretches to increase the horrors of their confinement.

The Sultan, now no longer a virtual prisoner, rides forth frequently, being everywhere greeted with acclamations, and has resumed the ancient custom of holding courts of justice at his palace gates.

Nevertheless, the storm-cloud on the south-eastern frontier still remains; indeed, it grows apace, for, with less fear of the repressive control exercised by the late Vizir, and animated by higher hopes and more warlike aspirations, there is greater danger even than formerly that the frontier tribes may attack the French columns, as is already reported to have been the case, whilst every courier tells of the increasing fervour both of the Berrabber, or mountaineers, as well as amongst the populations of the oases themselves, provoked by the presence of the foreigner and the infidel, and again we hear the ominous statement that from mosque to mosque the *jehad*, or holy war, is proclaimed.

- The latest news (June 16) from the French side of the Morocco-Algerian frontier, viâ Paris, June 10, is that an attack on the camp at Dureyrier was daily expected, and that the Foreign Legion and the Chasseurs d'Afrique would be delighted were the attack to take place; but that many of the Spahis and Turcos in the French service are of Moorish origin, and could not be trusted to fire on Bou Amema, a most determined frontier chieftain, who has



headed many a former rising against the French—news which, reading between the lines, means an urgent call for immediate French reinforcements.

The same mail, however, brings a statement from the French Legation at Tangier to the effect that there is no friction there nor on the frontier, or that all is for the best in the best of Moorish Empires—an admirable illustration of the extent of the divergence of views between the Algerian military authorities and the French Foreign Office, represented at Tangier by the new Minister, Mons. Revoil, who is of a most conciliatory disposition.

Evidently the Ministry at Paris is most anxious to avoid even the slightest disturbance, but the Colonial and Algerian military authorities are equally bent upon establishing at any cost their occupation of the disturbed district, where more opposition has been encountered than had been anticipated.

A flash-light has thus been inadvertently thrown on the true situation along the Algerian frontier, whilst from the opposite extremity of the Moorish Sultanate comes the news of serious trouble at Tarndant, where Kaid Hamou ben Jilal has been killed, with two of his sons, by the Horvara, which confirms statements made to me by well-informed natives at Tangier, who said that the hated Kaids or governors, so long the terror of the tribes, would be killed or driven from their posts on the death of the Grand Vizir, who had supported these Kaids in their cruel extortions. Thus the ball opens! nor shall we really know whether the young Sultan can maintain his control over his long ill-used people until after the crops have been garnered, when the tribes will have more time to think of paying off old scores.

It is therefore still to be feared that the country may revert to a condition of chronic anarchy unless the stern methods of the past be maintained. Under any circumstances ample warning has been given to intelligent observers, and it behoves the foreign Powers, and especially

H.M.'s Ministers, to be prepared with some definite plan of action, and it would be well also were public opinion in England sufficiently informed to support Government in its decisions.

So far as the Tangier Legation is concerned, it would be difficult to have a better representative at that port than Sir Arthur Nicolson. Clear-headed, alert, and yet conciliatory, he is liked both by natives and foreigners, and if he have a fault, it is only the universal English defect of being sometimes a shade too optimistic.

## A PLEA FOR THE INDIANS IN SOUTH AFRICA.

BY G. P. PILLAI

(Editor of the *Madras Standard*).

THE Transvaal War is almost come to a close. Very shortly those who are entrusted with the responsibility of administering the affairs of this great country will be called upon to decide what form of Government the two Republics should possess. Amidst the national rejoicings that must inevitably follow the triumphant end of a bloody and disastrous war, I trust the claims and rights of the natives of India will not be forgotten. All the world knows how at the most trying period of the war, when the prestige of Great Britain seemed to be hanging in the balance, India as a whole stood loyally and manfully by her. Hundreds and thousands of men were ready to take the field against the Boers, if only the word came forth, but the word never came. For certain political reasons—whether justifiable or not, I shall not inquire—Indian soldiers were kept away from the field of battle. Nevertheless, Indians have only been found too ready and willing to render all possible aid in other directions. Princes and people came forward with magnificent offers of help. While Princes gave away thousands, and some even lakhs of rupees, in aid of the war fund, the poor ill-paid sepoy to whom the privilege of the battlefield was denied found solace in the voluntary contribution of a month's pay towards the war. And the Indian clerks and traders and coolies in South Africa, quite innocent of the practice of handling a rifle, served, albeit heroically, in the humble capacity of stretcher-bearers. Amongst the din and turmoil of the war, all race animosities, all distinctions of colour, were forgotten, and the swarthy Indian and the hard-visaged colonial worked nobly together to uphold the supremacy of the British Empire in South Africa. Will all this be forgotten when the war is over? I trust not.

In the series of indictments that the Right Hon. Joseph Chamberlain brought against the Transvaal Government in justification of the war, he accorded a prominent place to the ill-treatment of Indians in that Republic ; and Lord Lansdowne, the Secretary for War, declared in emphatic language that, of all the misdeeds of the South African Republic, none filled him with greater indignation than its treatment of the Indians. I fully trust that these responsible statesmen, as well as their honourable colleagues in the Cabinet, will bear in mind the condition of Indians when they meet to discuss and settle the constitution of the British possessions in South Africa. It is a well-known fact that if, under the Transvaal Government and the Orange Free State, the Indian settlers were unfairly treated, their condition in the British colonies of South Africa was by no means happy. In the Transvaal they were prevented from travelling in first or second class railway-carriages, compelled to obtain passes whenever they travelled, prohibited from leaving their homes after 9 p.m., restrained in their rights of trading, and confined to "locations," or places outside large cities, where, and where alone, they could reside. In the Orange Free State they were forbidden from holding any landed property, or carrying on any mercantile or farming business, and subjected to an annual poll-tax of £10. No civilized Government would be justified in the enactment of such laws against any class of people, and Her Majesty's Indian subjects in South Africa consider the impending loss of their freedom by the Boers a proper and just retribution for the wrongs they have perpetrated on them. But their satisfaction would have indeed been great if the recognition of their rights and privileges in the British colonies had formed a striking contrast to the treatment accorded to them in the two Republics. Unfortunately, the Indians were equally despised in Natal and Cape Colony. In Natal they were not permitted to travel without a pass, and some of the High Schools were closed against them ;

and in 1897 four Acts were passed in quick succession, which restricted their rights and curtailed their privileges as British subjects. The first of these was ostensibly a Quarantine Act, but it was in reality a law to prevent the immigration of Indians. Sir Lepel Griffin speaks of it as a "quarantine law of exceptional severity, obviously directed, not against contagious diseases, but against immigration." The second Act restricted the rights of Indians to trade in the colony. It declined licenses in all cases in which the applicant was not able to sign his name in the English language. The third Act is known as the Immigration Restriction Act. It was condemned by Sir Henry Binns as being "not straight" and "un-British." The fourth Act makes the laws as to passes more stringent. In Cape Colony the Government have passed an Act authorizing the East London Municipality to frame by-laws prohibiting Indians from walking on foot-paths, and compelling them to live in specified locations. The laws of Zululand are also prejudicial to Indians. The regulations with reference to townships in this colony provide that only persons of European birth and descent shall be approved as occupiers of sites in these townships. In the township of Melmoth, Indians bought land to the value of about £2,000, but they were prevented from occupying it. The gold-mining laws of this colony make it criminal for an Indian to buy and possess native gold.

At one of the meetings of the Indian National Congress in India, a speaker summarized the condition of Indians in South Africa in these words: "How strange and singular is our position! In India we are permitted to become members of the Imperial Legislative Council. In England even the doors of that august assembly, the House of Commons, are open to us. But in South Africa we are not permitted to travel without a pass, we are not allowed to walk about in the night, we are consigned to locations, we are denied admission to first and second class carriages on railways, we are driven out of tram-cars, we are pushed off footpaths, we are kept out of hotels, we are

refused the benefits of the public baths, we are spat at, we are hissed at, we are cursed, we are hated, and we are subjected to a variety of other indignities which no human being can patiently endure."

The rigour of the laws against Indians in the British colonies was so great that it was responsible for no small extent of suffering amongst them soon after the outbreak of the war. As soon as war was waged, a large body of Indians in the Transvaal fled to—and where else could they flee to?—Natal, where they expected protection as British subjects. But when they reached the borders of Natal, they found their situation was extremely perilous. The Natal Government would not permit them to enter the colony, as they were not domiciled there, and they were offered the alternative of a temporary stay on the purchase of a license at £10 per head. Of course, there was no going back. There was Scylla on the one side, and Charybdis on the other. One of the organs of the Transvaal Government taunted the British Government with the remark that, while the latter did not hesitate to wage war with the Transvaal on behalf of the Outlanders, they refrained from interfering with their own colony on behalf of the Indian subjects of the Queen. At last the Natal Government relented, and the Indians were afforded a safe refuge in Natal, though only temporarily. Some Indians who were late in leaving the Transvaal found still other difficulties in getting to Natal. The railways were blocked, and they had to find their way through Delagoa Bay by steamer. But the steamer authorities would not have them, as, according to the regulations in force in Natal, steamers were prohibited from carrying Indians. Finally, the Natal Government ordered a temporary suspension of all regulations, and the Indians were safe.

Eight months have elapsed since then. The behaviour of the Indian stretcher-bearers has evoked the admiration of Britishers as well as colonials. It was but the other day that Sir George White spoke in the highest terms of their coolness and courage. The people of Natal have

been saved by troops at least 10,000 of whom have been maintained and kept in readiness by the Indian taxpayer. The very newspapers in Natal, which used to write harshly about Indians, have assumed a different attitude. Let us hope that nothing will disturb their present amicable relations after the war, that the laws temporarily suspended as against the Indians will be suspended for ever, that the colonials will treat the Indians with greater consideration, and that Her Majesty's Government will requite the services of the Indian people by a due recognition of their rights in South Africa. Such recognition of their rights is more imperative in the British colonies than in the States that may be newly acquired, for the largest population of Indians—51,000—is found in Natal, and next to it is Cape Colony, where 10,000 Indians have settled down, whereas in the Transvaal there were only 5,000 Indians before the war, and a smaller number in the Orange Free State.

It is not to the honour or credit of the British Government to be told that the only place in South Africa where Indians have no grievances apart from the general population is the Portuguese possession of Delagoa Bay. The Colonial Secretary, when he was approached by an Indian deputation on the South African question a few years ago, said: "We all desire that all British subjects should be treated alike, and should have equal rights and privileges." Her Majesty's First Minister, Lord Salisbury, at the Guildhall Banquet last year, said that what he desired was "equality for all races" in the Transvaal. Above all, in her memorable Indian proclamation of 1858, Her Majesty the Queen had said: "We hold ourselves bound to the natives of our Indian territories by the same obligations of duty which bind us to all our other subjects, and those obligations, by the blessing of Almighty God, we shall faithfully and conscientiously fulfil." It is the bounden duty of Her Majesty's Ministers to see that these noble and generous words of Her Majesty with reference to her beloved Indian subjects are not rendered meaningless in South Africa.

## THE CONSTITUTIONAL RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND HER DEPENDENCIES.

BY SIR CHARLES ROE, KT.,

Late Chief Justice of the Chief Court of the Punjab.

ACCORDING to the last official statistics published by the Colonial Office, the Colonial Empire of Great Britain—excluding Great Britain itself and India—extended over some  $9\frac{3}{4}$  millions of square miles, with an estimated population of between 23 and 24 millions, the distribution of which is thus summarized :

COUNTRIES.	AREA (SQUARE MILES).	POPULATION.
Europe -	3,700	427,000
Asia -	124,000	5,279,000
Africa -	2,515,000	5,304,000
America	3,958,000	5,733,000
West Indies	12,000	1,514,000
Australasia	3,175,000	4,926,000
Total	9,797,700	23,283,000

If we add to these figures :

The United Kingdom -	121,180	40,000,000
India - - - -	1,560,110	289,000,000

the total area and population under the Crown of England will be nearly  $11\frac{1}{2}$  million square miles, with some 350 millions of inhabitants.

It would be impossible to say without a very elaborate examination of statistics what proportion of the above area and population can really be regarded as British. But, speaking roughly, we may say that Canada, Australasia, and a great part of the Cape of Good Hope are true British colonies in the sense that the bulk of the population is of British descent, with English law for their personal law, and that they may be expected to expand into great English-speaking nations. Of course a considerable number of persons of pure British descent are to be found in the other parts of the Empire, but for purposes of enumeration



they may be set off against the non-British in the British colonies proper. The latter would on this calculation contain an area of some 7 or  $7\frac{1}{2}$  million square miles, and a population of about 12 millions.

I will not attempt to give any detailed account of how this great Empire has been built up. Part of it was acquired by conquest, or as the result of wars; but it is to the peaceful industry and enterprise and natural aptitude for colonization of her sons that England owes the greater part of her Colonial Empire. The foundation of this Empire was laid by the acquisition of Newfoundland in 1583, and the last act of expansion was the arrangement with other European Powers of 1890, by which England acquired, or was acknowledged to have the right to acquire, some  $2\frac{1}{2}$  millions out of the 11 millions of square miles which is the estimated area of the whole of Africa.

The formal constitutional relations between England and her colonies and dependencies is the same for all in the sense that all form part of the dominions of the Crown, and are in theory governed by the Crown through the Colonial Secretary, the history of whose office is briefly this:

In July, 1660, the management of the affairs of the colonies was entrusted to a Committee of the Privy Council, which in the following December became the Council of Foreign Plantations. This in 1672 was united to the Council of Trade, and the joint body was styled the Council of Trade and Plantations. It was suppressed in 1677, but revived in 1695, and continued to exist down to 1782. In 1768, when the unfortunate quarrel between England and her American colonies had commenced, a Secretary of State for the Colonies was for the first time appointed. But both he and the Council were abolished in 1782, when the quarrel ended in the complete loss of America, and the affairs of the colonies that remained to us were again made over to a Committee of the Privy Council. This committee was formally constituted in 1786, and subsequently developed into what is now known

as the Board of Trade, but after the outbreak of the French War in 1793, the committee ceased to have anything to do with colonial affairs. These were first made over to the Home and then to the War Office, and in 1801 a new office of Secretary of State for War and the Colonies was created. This arrangement continued till 1854, when the outbreak of the Crimean War as well as the rapid growth of the Australian colonies necessitated a separation of the two offices. Since then the Secretary of State for the Colonies has had sole charge of their affairs.

But although the colonies and dependencies are alike in so far as they are in theory governed by the Crown through the Colonial Secretary, their real government presents every variety of constitutional relations, from complete dependence to practical independence. Apart from mere posts occupied for naval or military purposes, such as Gibraltar, Aden, Perim, and Wai-o-Wai, which are under the Admiralty or War Office, or the government of India, and "Protectorates" or "Spheres of Influence," such as Uganda, Zanzibar, the Niger Coast, and the North Borneo Company, which are under the Foreign Office, there are under the Colonial Office forty distinct and, as regards each other, independent Governments or Administrations. Of these forty, eleven are what is called "self-governing colonies"—*i.e.*, practically independent Governments with parliaments of their own. The remaining twenty-nine may be grouped as follows :

- I. Without any Legislative Council—that is, where the power of legislation is vested in the officer administering the Government, 4.

These may be subdivided into—

- (a) Where the Crown has reserved to itself the power of legislating by Order in Council—Malta, Labuan, St. Helena, 3.
- (b) Where it has not reserved this power—Basutoland, 1.

II. With Legislative Councils nominated by the Crown, 16.

(a) In which the Crown has reserved the power of legislating by Order in Council, 15.

(b) Where it has not reserved this power, 1.

III. With Legislative Councils, partly nominated by the Crown and partly elected, 9.

(a) In which the Crown has reserved the power of legislating by Order in Council, 6

(b) In which it has not reserved this power, 3.

In the case of all these twenty-nine colonies, or dependencies, the control of the Crown is a real control. Where there is no Legislative Council, the officer administering the Government acts entirely under instructions received from home. In the others the case is the same in all executive matters, and even where the Legislative Council contains the largest elected proportion of members, its powers of legislation are by no means complete—that is to say, the Colonial Secretary, even when he does not require Bills to be submitted to him for approval before they are introduced into Council, would not hesitate to advise the Crown to veto any Bill passed by the Council which he considered objectionable.

But in the eleven self-governing colonies the case is very different. They, too, as I have said, are in theory, and by their written constitutions, so far as they have any, governed by the Crown through the Colonial Secretary. The administration is carried on in the name of a Governor, appointed by the Crown through ministers whom he may choose and dismiss at pleasure, and he may veto the most deliberate Acts of the Legislature. But what we now understand in England by the term "Constitution" is not the letter of documents (of which there are hardly any) creating or defining the powers of any part of the body politic, but the general spirit in which custom, which has from time to time changed, and will continue to change,

expects each different part to exercise its powers. Lord Macaulay, in the opening chapter of his "History of England," says with reference to the Constitution :

"The change, great as it is, which her (England's) polity has undergone during the last six centuries has been the effect of gradual development, not of demolition and reconstruction. The present Constitution of our country is to the Constitution under which she flourished 500 years ago what the tree is to the sapling, what the man is to the boy. The alteration has been great, yet there never was a moment at which the chief part of what existed was not old. A polity thus formed must abound in anomalies, but for the evils arising from mere anomalies we have ample compensation. Other societies possess written Constitutions more symmetrical. But no other society has yet succeeded in uniting revolution with prescription, progress with stability, the energy of youth with the majesty of immemorial antiquity."

Thus it is that whilst the Constitution of England at the present day is practically a democracy, in the sense that the will of the people, as expressed through a House of Commons elected on a very broad suffrage, is really the supreme power in the State, the Sovereign retains not only the titles, but also, in theory, the powers of the Tudor and Stuart monarchs, and the House of Lords has at least the same power as the House of Commons. Yet if either the Crown or the House of Lords were to attempt to exercise their powers in opposition to the House of Commons, their conduct would be denounced as "unconstitutional," not because it would be a breach of letter of the Constitution, but because it has become a recognised principle that the Crown can only act on the advice of responsible ministers, and that the House of Lords, though it may and should reject hastily considered measures, or measures as to the expediency of which the opinion of the nation is divided, is not justified in opposing a deliberate and definite expression of the national will.

A similar spirit pervades the Constitution of the self-governing colonies, with reference both to their internal government and their relation to the Mother Country. I will not attempt to trace the history of these colonies, or of any of them, in detail, or to explain the technicalities of their existing Constitutions. Speaking broadly, it is as true of them as of the English Constitution, that the present state of things is the result of natural development. In its early days the head of a colony must have full powers, and these must be derived from the Crown—that is, the responsible Government of the Mother Country—and be exercised under the control of the Crown. When the colony begins to gain strength, its leading men may be selected to assist the Governor with their advice and share his powers, and the control of the Crown will be relaxed. As the strength of the colony increases, the nominated Council may give place to an elected one, and the control of the Crown be reduced to a minimum. This is the stage which has been reached by the self-governing colonies, and, as I have said, it has been reached gradually, not by blindly adopting a particular form of government on account of its theoretical beauty, but by from time to time applying the form most suitable to the circumstances of each particular case. There is a great danger in political (of course I do not use the word in its party sense) as well as in other matters, not excluding even the law, of following theories instead of attending to the facts. This danger is particularly great when a country whose government is based on a democratic or popular foundation is dealing with the affairs of a colony or dependency. Because certain arrangements, such as the practical vesting of supreme power in a popular assembly, trial by jury, liberty of the press, work well, or are a necessity, in the Mother Country, it is assumed that they are great and eternal truths which will work equally well in all communities, and that they must be applied regardless of consequences, even though popular elections may result in a war of races or chaos,

trial by jury in gross miscarriage of justice, and liberty of the press in anarchy. The true democratic or popular principle is, I believe, this, that all Governments exist, or should exist, for the good of the governed, and that the best form of government for every community is the one which is, under the particular condition of each case, most calculated to promote this good. The relations between a Mother Country and her colonies and dependencies resemble very closely those between a parent and child. If it is incumbent on the parent to protect and control a child in its infancy, it is equally incumbent on him to recognise the fact that the child grows into the man, and that as he does so advice must take the place of command, and at last even advice must not be obtruded unasked. I do not wish to refer to any of the details of what I have already spoken of as the unfortunate quarrel between England and her American colonies, but I think that it may be said with truth that the chief cause of it was England's failure to recognise the fact that her child had grown up. She has learnt a lesson from the past, and whatever may be the formal constitutional relations between England and her grown-up colonies the real tie between them is that of family affection. The value of such a tie is as great in public as in private life, and it was never more strongly shown than at the present moment, when from all parts of the Empire England's children are rallying to her side, ready to spend their money and their lives in her defence, each colony vying with the others as to which can do most for the common mother, and best serve their much loved Queen.

To the very brief sketch which I have attempted to give of the constitutional relations between England and her colonies I must add a few words regarding these relations between her and India. India is not and never can be a colony—that is, a country occupied to any appreciable extent by settlers of British descent. Its organization, social and political, is entirely its own, though its govern-

ment is completely controlled by England. It is the greatest of England's dependencies, and a most perfect illustration of the true meaning of that term. Although India is often described as having been conquered or acquired by the sword, the description is very inaccurate. The real source of the acquisition was, as in the case of the colonies, the peaceful industry and enterprise of England's own children. The foundation of the Empire was a curious one. It was due to a rise in the price of pepper. The Dutch, who had a monopoly of the Eastern trade, raised the price of all spices to such an extent that in 1600 a few merchants of the City of London determined to send out one or two ships of their own. Their enterprise was successful; it was repeated, and developed into a regular trade. The merchants became a Chartered Company, with a monopoly and established depots or factories. Bombay came to England as part of the dowry of the Queen of Charles II. Madras was founded in 1664 and Calcutta in 1698. The factories grew into possessions, and their guards into a powerful army. Clive made these possessions a power, and Warren Hastings made this power an empire, of which he was made Governor-General in 1774. It was Pitt's Regulating Act of that year which first established any real constitutional relations between England and India. This was done by constituting in England a Committee of the East India Company's directors, presided over by a Cabinet Minister, called the "President of the Board of Control," for the management of the "political" affairs of the Company, by associating with the Governor-General members of the Council appointed from home, and by establishing at each Presidency town—that is, at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay—a Supreme Court, whose judges were English barristers. This arrangement lasted till 1860, when the East India Company ceased to exist, and the Crown assumed the direct government of India.

But the organization of the new government was framed,

in the main, on the lines of the old one. In England a Secretary of State took the place of the old "President of the Board of Control," and his Council, varying in number from ten to fifteen, and composed of persons, official and non-official, of the greatest Indian experience, took the place of the old Company's Committee. The Secretary of State cannot impose any burden on the finances of India without the consent of his Council, and he is supposed to consult it and be guided by its advice in all other matters. But he may, and he not infrequently does, act independently of his Council, or disregard its advice, not, I fear, always to the benefit of India.

In India the Governor-General became also Viceroy, but his powers and those of his Executive Council, which consists of a legal member and a financial member, usually sent out from England, and a military member, and two civilians selected from the civil and military services in India, remained much as before. Each member of Council has special charge of some department of the Government, and, like a Cabinet Minister in other countries, disposes of all minor matters connected with it. All matters of importance are dealt with by the whole Council, but the Viceroy is not bound by a vote of the majority, nor would a member who was outvoted think it necessary to resign. He would merely record a minute setting forth his reasons for dissenting from the policy adopted. No doubt the original intention of the framers of this Constitution was that the opinion of the members of Council should be given perfectly independently by them as Indian experts, that the Viceroy should also form an independent judgment after giving due weight to this opinion, and that the Secretary of State in England should only overrule the Viceroy for very special reasons. I would not imply that the members of the Council have ceased to give independent opinions (and they have most carefully kept themselves free from English political parties), but the course of events in India and its vicinity, which has made many Indian ques-



tions English or European questions, and more especially the telegraphic connection between India and England, has tended to reduce the Government of India to a more subordinate position, and to make its highest officers not men left to act independently with a possibility of having their action set aside, but mere officials appointed to carry out orders or a policy resolved on at home.

A very erroneous idea prevails about the Government of India and its officers in matters of internal administration. It is very generally supposed that the Executive Government and its officials, down even to its district officers, can issue what orders they please, and that these orders have the force of law. Nothing can be further from the truth. No doubt this was the state of things under the native Governments which preceded the British, and it continues, with certain reservations in the native States at the present day. But in British India the powers of the Government and its officers were created solely by the written law, and are strictly limited by it. There is no royal prerogative by common law, and no inherent power in any class or any individual to rule over others. The whole population is on a footing of the most perfect legal equality, and if anyone issues an order to another he must show that the power to do so was conferred on him by a certain section of a certain Act, either of Parliament or the Indian Legislature, and punishment for disobedience of the order could only be inflicted by a regular court of law after a proper trial. If the Viceroy himself were to be personally assaulted by a common coolie, the latter would not, as in most Eastern countries, be led off to instant execution ; he would have to be prosecuted before a magistrate, and could only, on conviction, receive the sentence prescribed by law.

No doubt in its inception the British Government did succeed to the powers of the Government it displaced, and its executive orders were regarded as laws. But as soon as Pitt's Act of 1774 gave a definite shape to the constitution of India, the distinction was drawn between mere

executive orders and regulations by the Governor-General in Council, which were drawn up in the form of statutes, and were intended to be observed as laws. In 1833 a Legislative Council, consisting of the Viceroy and his Executive Council, with the addition of other members, official and non-official, nominated by him, was created, and the power of legislation was transferred to it alone. Lord Macaulay went out to India as its first legal member of Council, and the Indian Penal Code, which, though it was not formally passed till 1860, was drafted by him, would, even if he had written nothing else, remain for ever a monument of his genius. The Council was enlarged in 1861, and it has been further enlarged of late years, chiefly by the addition of non-official members, a few of whom are elected, or rather nominated, to the Viceroy for approval, by bodies such as the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce, and members have been given a right of interpellation. Some of these changes can hardly be regarded as improvements, and they were probably adopted merely in order to avoid still more mischievous ones. In its proper sphere—that is, as a machine for passing laws—the Council has done admirable work. In addition to the Penal Code to which I have referred, it has given us most complete codes of civil and criminal procedure, and a Contract Act and an Evidence Act, which embody the cream of English and American law. The ordinary process of legislation in India is this: Bills are introduced into Council, not to satisfy some political cry or fad, but to meet some real want which has been pressed on the notice of Government. On their introduction they are not only published in the *Government Gazette* and leading newspapers, English and vernacular, but they are also specially sent for opinion to those persons, official and non-official Europeans and natives, who are likely to have any opinion worth giving. The opinions received are carefully considered by a select committee of the Council, who then report the Bill to the Council, generally with their recommendations. It is then debated

in the usual way, and passed into law or rejected, as the case may be. To attempt to turn this body into a Parliament, or anything resembling a Parliament, will considerably impair its efficiency as a machine for legislation. As to any general establishment of Parliamentary institutions in India, I can only repeat what I have already said as to the danger of applying theories without regard to facts. The natives of India who form themselves into congresses and pass resolutions in no sense represent the people of India, or express their true wants. They mainly represent a somewhat numerous body of persons who have received an English education at Government expense, and who, on failing to obtain Government employment, think that they will at least obtain notoriety by going into opposition. Their mode of thought and speech, and even of their sedition, when they are seditious, is not that of India but of an imitation Europe.

Between the Legislative Council and England the constitutional relation is that the Council has full power to legislate on all matters within the limits of British India, and the Crown, acting through the Secretary of State, has merely the power of veto. It was intended that all members of the Council, official as well as non-official, should deal with all matters in a perfectly independent spirit, and that the power of veto should only be exercised in extreme cases. But, as in executive matters, there has been a tendency on the part of the Secretary of State to encroach on the powers of the Government of India. Under the cover of the power of the veto, he requires the more important measures of Government to be submitted to him for approval before the Bills to give effect to them are introduced into the Council, and its official members are expected, though not to the same extent as in England, to support the Bills that may thus be introduced.

Besides the power of control over the making of laws which I have endeavoured to explain in the above remarks,

there exists for all the colonies, self-governing or dependent, and for India, a very real control over the administration of the law, which is exercised by the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. This body is the final court of appeal for all parts of the British dominions outside the United Kingdom. Cases come before it from all quarters of the globe, and it has to act as the final interpreter of almost every known system of law—English, Colonial, Hindu, and Mohammedan, and even the still more intricate systems of customary or tribal law, by which most of the native races are governed. Yet, strange to say, this Supreme Court is not, strictly speaking, a Court at all. Its jurisdiction arises simply out of the right of every British subject who believes that a wrong has been done him to petition his Sovereign personally for redress. Of course, there are limits imposed by the various Legislatures as to the nature and value of the cases in which an appeal to Her Majesty in Council is allowed, but when it is allowed it takes the form of a petition to the Sovereign, which is referred by her to certain select members of her Privy Council for consideration. They consider it not as a bench of judges sitting in state, but as a small group of elderly gentlemen in plain clothes seated at the end of an office table, and the result of their deliberations is recorded, not in the form of a decree of a Court, but merely as “humble advice” to Her Majesty to take certain action. It is needless to say that Her Majesty always does act on the advice given, but the whole procedure is a curious illustration of the affection of the English constitution for old forms long after the substance has completely changed.

In concluding this brief sketch of the constitutional relations between England and her Colonial Empire, I cannot, in the presence of an American audience,\* refrain from giving expression to the thought, which must often

\* This paper was read before the University of Pennsylvania, at Philadelphia, U.S.A., by the author, who was appointed by the University of Oxford to represent it, on the occasion of the inauguration of the new Law School Buildings of the University of Pennsylvania at Philadelphia.

occur to most Englishmen, What would that Empire have been if you had continued to form part of it? In its mere external form it would have been an Empire extending over more than 15,000,000 of square miles, and containing, in addition to nearly 300,000,000 British subjects of other races, a population of 130,000,000 of English-speaking free-men; and its internal strength would have been greater even than its form. I have said that the chief cause of our losing you was that England failed to recognise when her child was grown up. It may be that the child was so strong and vigorous, and his future in life so great, that the most judicious treatment would have failed to permanently retain him, even in a nominal dependence, on his mother. If this is so, if we must have parted company some day, at any rate we need not have parted in anger. But time softens the bitterness of even the most serious family quarrels, and I think it may be truly said that in ours all sense of bitterness passed away a hundred years ago, and that the lesser feelings of jealousy and estrangement have gone also. Year by year the two great kindred nations are drawing closer and closer together; they are learning to understand one another better, to rejoice with each other in prosperity, to sympathize with each other in trouble, to recognise the truth of the old saying that "Blood is thicker than water," and to feel that we are not merely friends, with interests and feelings in common, but are truly members of one family. When we come to you we receive even more than a family welcome, and when you come to us it is not to see a strange country, but to revisit your old home. Many of you, I am glad to say, visit Oxford in the course of your tours, and I have no doubt that as you gaze on the old colleges and recall their founders and benefactors and the history of the times in which they lived, it is a pleasure to you to feel that this history is your history, that these men were your ancestors, and that you have as good a right to claim admission to the colleges as founders' kin as any inhabitant of the British Isles.

## THE REFERENDUM IN AUSTRALIA.

BY G. B. BARTON, SYDNEY.

THE working of the Referendum during the recent federal tion contest in Australia—the first experiment of the kind made in any part of the British dominions—supplies a curious comment on the views expressed by many advocates of that principle in England. Alarmed at the prospect of great constitutional changes, such as that involved in the Home Rule Bill being forced on the nation by a party vote in Parliament, they seem to have turned to the Swiss practice as a national safeguard, if not the only one, in the hour of danger, forgetting that it might be used for other purposes than that of a veto. As Mr. Lecky put it in “Democracy and Liberty,” it would prove a powerful bulwark against violent and dishonest change; it would bring into action the opinion of the great silent masses of the community; it would lift a capital measure above the dominion of party; it would enable the nation to reject a measure it disliked, without destroying a Ministry of which it approved; it would serve as an appeal from a party majority to the genuine opinion of the country; it would be a clear and decisive verdict on a matter on which the two branches of the Legislature had differed; the vote would be given with a much fuller consideration, and a much more serious sense of responsibility than if the question were mixed up with a crowd of minor issues; the electors would be likely to vote more independently, and less at the dictation of party wire-pullers, than they usually do at a General Election.

Professor Dicey is even more emphatic in his estimate of the Referendum as a national safeguard. “It is difficult,” he wrote in the *Contemporary Review* for April, 1890, “to exaggerate the immense benefit which, in the long-run, accrues to a people from the habit of treating legislation as a matter to be determined, not by the instincts of political partisanship, but by the weight of argument. The

Referendum is, or may be, an education, such as is absolutely unattainable by voters under existing conditions." The truth of these and many similar propositions may be tested by a simple narrative of events connected with the introduction of this thaumaturgic machinery in the Australian colonies, and more particularly in the leading one—New South Wales.

II. From the time that the question of their federation assumed a tangible shape—in other words, from the establishment of Parliamentary or responsible government—the movement was entirely in the hands of a few of their leading politicians, who were in the habit of ventilating their ideas about it as opportunity offered. The general run of people, for the most part, regarded it as "outside the range of practical politics." One General Election succeeded another, yet no one ever heard of it on the hustings, for the simple reason that no one dreamed of making it a party question. Ministerial Conferences discussed it now and again in Sydney and Melbourne, but the discussions excited no more interest outside than those on postal or tariff questions. Everyone agreed that it was a good thing, and yet somehow the tendency seemed to be to diverge rather than unite. While prominent public men advocated the cause of union and brotherhood, the Parliaments carried on a border warfare in the shape of Customs duties and railway rates, designed to divert their neighbours' internal trade to their own ports.

The ultimate issue of this conflict between opinion and action remained doubtful for many years, and doubt often gave way to despair. The people were apathetic everywhere. Their most popular politicians were powerless to awaken even a show of sympathy with the idea of a federated Australia. The glory of nationhood, the noble enterprise of nation-building, of which we have heard so much of late, never evoked a thrill. No statesman exercised more commanding influence than Sir Henry Parkes; but all his labours in the cause, prior to 1890, failed to give it more than a semblance of popularity. No orator displayed so much

sympathetic eloquence as William Bede Dalley, nor was anyone less provincial in his way of thinking. But in none of the many eloquent speeches he delivered was this subject even alluded to as one of popular interest. He never got beyond the idea of a small Federal Council, with limited powers of legislation and without any Executive, such as was created by the Federal Council Act of 1885.

The hopeless position into which the movement had drifted, even so late as 1890, may be seen in the article contributed by Sir Charles Duffy to the *Contemporary*, in April of that year, under the title "The Road to Australian Federation." The best road that he could point out was an Imperial one—perhaps the most impracticable of all roads. The British Parliament was advised to pass an Act declaring the high importance of Australian federation to the Empire; whereupon two Royal Commissioners were to be sent out to the colonies, with power to convene a Conference of Delegates from each, ascertain their views, and reconcile their conflicting opinions. The charm of Imperial influence would prove irresistible; the colonies would sink their differences, and federation would be accomplished at a stroke. Now, it is difficult to understand how an old Victorian politician could have satisfied himself that such a proposal would be acceptable to the hot-tempered Australian democracy.

Still another striking proof of the public apathy presents itself in the fate of the Draft Bill brought forth by the National Australasian Convention of 1891, assembled in Sydney at the instance of Sir Henry Parkes. Although that body included all the leading politicians of Australia and New Zealand, nominated by their respective Parliaments, and although its proceedings created an unusual flutter of excitement, the enthusiasm was mostly confined to the delegates and their friends. The demon of opposition—there was but one—appeared in the person of Mr. G. H. Reid, a former supporter of Sir Henry's, who picked a great many holes in the Bill. His main contention was that the federal tariff would be fatal to the free trade policy



of New South Wales; and he illustrated his doctrine by a clever fable, showing how a temperance man was once beguiled to his ruin by four or five drunkards, who persuaded him to keep house with them for their mutual benefit. But this erratic display of opposition did no great harm to the cause, and soon died out. Unfortunately, the public feeling in favour of it also died out, and a cloud of darkness again fell over the scene. Sir Henry found himself unable to do anything with the Bill, and left it to float about like a derelict on the waters.

III. After an interval of three years, Democracy came upon the political stage and took charge of the movement, for reasons of its own. A sudden turn of the wheel of fortune placed Mr. Reid at the head of a new Government, depending for its majority on the allegiance of the Labour party, who held his crown in pawn. The Referendum being one of their favourite planks, it was adopted for the purpose of dealing with the federation problem, which the versatile Premier found it convenient to take up, notwithstanding the threatened extinction of free trade. He had to choose between taking it up as a leader or resigning that pre-eminence to another, and under that pressure he abandoned his former tactics, and placed himself at the head of the federal movement. The Referendum was to be brought into play like a Maxim gun, and sweep the battle-field with a mass vote.

It was arranged at a Conference of the Premiers that an Enabling Act should be passed concurrently by the Parliaments, authorizing the election of ten delegates by each of the colonies to another Convention, and the submission of the Draft Bill to the people after it had been considered in the Parliaments. Each of the colonies was proclaimed a single electorate for the purpose, and notwithstanding the labour and expense involved in canvassing an enormous area, all the most prominent politicians entered the lists. A number of unknown democrats also entered them, but only one was returned. There was no material difference between the men elected and those who had been nominated

by the Parliaments in 1891 ; most of them had served on the first Convention. They were nearly all of the same type—old Parliamentary hands, versed in party tactics, and well known to the public. The conspicuous services rendered by Mr. Edmund Barton to the cause were recognised by the electors, who placed him at the head of the poll with a total of nearly 100,000 votes in his favour.

The Referendum, therefore, had not shown itself a very democratic machine, as its authors supposed it would, so far as the elections were concerned ; but the people were thoroughly roused for the first time in the history of the movement. Nor was the interest excited by the elections at all lessened during its subsequent stages. The three sessions of the Convention held at Adelaide, Sydney, and Melbourne were watched attentively from day to day through the newspapers. When the Draft Bill was made public, its provisions were discussed with a great deal more spirit and intelligence than those of the first had been. The fact that it was to be submitted to the people for acceptance or rejection made everyone feel that its fate no longer depended on the whims of politicians, and a novel sense of responsibility was generated in the electoral mind.

IV. As soon as it was laid before Parliament, a strong feeling of opposition was manifested towards it in Sydney. The financial scheme embodied in it was condemned by financial critics, mainly on the ground that it involved an unjustly heavy burden of taxation on New South Wales. Commercial men pointed out that the shipping and import trade of the port would be seriously affected by the heavy Customs duties required to yield a revenue of £8,000,000, and that the internal trade of the colony would be largely diverted from Sydney to Melbourne and Adelaide. Democrats, on the other hand, insisted that "majority rule" was endangered by the adoption of equal State representation in the Senate, by the provisions for preventing deadlocks between the Houses, and by those for procuring alterations of the Constitution. These classes, widely differing in their aims and character, joined hands in organizing an

agitation for such amendments as would obviate their objections ; while the old Federation League exerted itself with renewed vigour to crush the opposition, which had become formidable through the support of a powerful section of the press.

Perhaps the greatest surprise of the campaign was the sudden appearance of Mr. Reid in the character of an adversary. His opinion of the Bill, expressed in many public speeches, fully endorsed that of the hostile critics. Treasurer as well as Premier, his view of the financial situation carried great weight ; while his alliance with the Labour party gave no little point to his comments on the question of majority rule. His strongest colleague, Mr. Want, the Attorney-General, was a declared provincialist, and made no secret of his opinions on the platforms, from which he exhorted the people to reject the Bill. The other members of the Cabinet, of course, took their cue from their leader, and toured the colony in the same spirit, using the same arguments against it. By bringing the whole weight of the Government to bear upon the voting, they succeeded in defeating it, the number of votes polled being under the statutory minimum of 80,000.

There cannot be any doubt that in assuming this attitude towards it the members of the Government were animated by a sense of responsibility to the country. The opinions they expressed were not uttered under any pressure from without, and were to all appearance the result of genuine conviction. They may have overestimated the weight of their argument against the Bill, or they may have underestimated the strength of the current setting towards federation. In either case, they may be credited with having acted honestly in taking the stand they did. But when they discovered, as the result of the General Election which followed shortly after the Referendum (the Parliament having run its term of three years), that a large majority of the new members was pledged to federation, a remarkable change came over them. The searchlight had revealed a situation which took them by surprise. Under

its influence the Premier at once moderated his tone, his trusty colleagues followed suit, and federation was taken up as a Government question of the first importance.

In view of the facts stated, it will be of some interest to note the words put into the Governor's mouth on the opening of the final Session of the old Parliament, and also those used at the opening of the first Session of the new one. On June 21, 1898, eighteen days after the Referendum, his Excellency said: "The Government did not call Parliament together before the poll was taken, believing it to be their duty to abstain from any course that might tend to encourage party conflicts, or to inflame the issues of local politics, at a time when the minds of the electors were fully occupied with the great struggle which was being waged for and against a measure fraught with the gravest consequences to the national life of Australia."

On August 17, 1898, His Excellency said: "The events of the General Election have shown, in a manner not to be mistaken, the emphatic desire of the people for the speedy accomplishment of federal union. At the same time, it has been made equally clear that some of the provisions of the Bill drawn for that purpose have failed to meet with the approval of the electors. . . . Whatever may be the means employed to overcome existing difficulties or the decisions arrived at, the Ministry consider that the Bill in its final shape should be submitted to the direct vote of the whole body of electors."

V. A series of resolutions was brought forward by Mr. Reid embodying the amendments considered necessary to safeguard the interests of the colony as well as the democratic principle of majority rule. The discussion which followed their introduction soon showed that a change had come over the spirit of Parliament as remarkable in its way as that which had affected the minds of Ministers. It was always understood that a perfectly free hand was to be allowed in debating the Bill and suggesting amendments. The old Parliament had exercised this privilege without restraint, but when the new one took up the debate it

became evident that a large majority had no intention whatever to do so. The few members who ventured to fight for a principle were overwhelmed with the cry, "Send it on to the people!" The resolutions were carried on the voices, and the debate, so far as the Assembly was concerned, rapidly degenerated into a farce. It was not so in the Upper House, the members of which were nominated for life, and had no fear of elections or mass votes to disturb their judgment or dull their sense of responsibility. The contrast between the two Houses was striking in many respects. While one retained possession of its senses and its independence, the other was utterly demoralized.

Such a spectacle does not tend to confirm Mr. Dicey's views as to the elevating effect of the Referendum on the action of Parliament. "Debates in Parliament," he thought, "would in any case possess immense importance. The certainty of an appeal to the people might add to the reality, and increase the force of Parliamentary argument." But the demoralizing process which had set in did not end here. Humiliating as it was in the case of Parliament, it proved to be simply debasing in that of the Government. Having carried his resolutions *holus bolus*, with certain others tacked on at the instance of the Labour party, Mr. Reid invited the Premiers of the other colonies to meet him in a Conference for the purpose of considering them. They were not at all willing to do so, but they finally consented, and one was held in Melbourne in January, 1899. His fate was that of the man who went out for wool and came back shorn. His resolutions melted like so much wax in the fire. The few concessions he obtained were of such a nature that when they were made known in Sydney the opposition to the Bill was greatly inflamed and aggravated. "They only make it worse than it was before," cried the critics. His defence of them was a simple apology; they were the best he could get. It was that or nothing. With the fear of the Referendum before him, he had no choice but to go straight on to the goal. The

amended amendments were accordingly rushed through both Houses, and a day was proclaimed for another mass vote. Swallowing his former opinions, he addressed himself to the task of forcing the Bill on the electors. His power of platform-speaking, great at all times, was exerted to the utmost stretch in the effort to remove the suspicions and allay the fears of those whom he had turned against it by his former speeches. His colleagues, following suit as before, echoed his arguments in its favour from the very platforms on which they had previously denounced it. Like Tam o' Shanter pursued by the witches, the unhappy Ministers, knowing that their fate depended on their exertions, rushed from town to town throughout the colony, and adjured the electors, with the best grace they could, to accept the Bill.

In a country where the influence of the Government is almost without limits at election times, the result of this tactical movement was inevitable. The Bill was carried by a majority of 24,000. But notwithstanding the personal efforts made by Ministers, the result might still have been different had the matter been left "to be determined, not by the instincts of political partisanship, but by the weight of argument." From a New South Wales point of view, the weight of argument was not a fraction less in 1899 than it was when the Premier and his colleagues warned the country against the Bill a year before. But from the moment that they took it up as a party question, the weight of argument ceased to be a matter of any importance. The overwhelming power of Government was used without any scruple or hesitation for the purpose of obtaining votes. The "education" of the electors was conducted on a most liberal and comprehensive scale. Bribery and corruption, of course, were never thought of, but the "application of men's understandings to the weightiest of political concerns" was of much the same kind as it is in the commonest of business transactions. From the mechanics and shopkeepers of the city, struggling against a prolonged depression of trade, down to the settlers on

the drought-stricken borders, harassed by the stock-tax and other Customs duties, there was hardly a class or an interest that was not urged to vote for the Bill on the ground that it would be "money in their pockets" to do so. Federation was painted in the rosy colours of the dawn—a dawn of commercial prosperity, heralded by the introduction of free trade between the colonies and fresh streams of English capital at 2 per cent.

The action of the Ministry on this occasion will serve to throw some light on another proposition laid down by Mr. Dicey. The Referendum, he thought, would so far modify the doctrine of Ministerial responsibility that the defeat of a Government measure by a mass vote might be treated in England, as it is in Switzerland, as a matter that hardly concerned the Government. "The Minister might say that it was a matter over which the nation was the final judge, and that he accepted the nation's decision. If still supported by Parliament, he might continue to administer the affairs of the country as honourably as Peel held office after the passing of the Reform Act." It would have suited Mr. Reid's purpose admirably if he could have acted in that easy-going fashion. But under party government he had an Opposition to reckon with, and they would never consent to his holding office in the teeth of a mass vote. If he had not made the Bill a party question and staked the existence of his Administration on it, he would have had to make way for someone else. He could not even maintain the position he took up before the first Referendum—that of a judicial critic, pointing out the defects in the Bill, and leaving the people to form their own opinions about it. Had he been permitted to do so, he might have rendered invaluable service to the country and saved his reputation.

Thus it will be seen that, while there is little to be said in favour of the Swiss machinery, as a means of elevating the tone of public life or safeguarding the country against rash and ill-considered constitutional changes, a great deal may be said for it as a specific for apathy on questions of

great moment. Through its agency, backed by that of party government, the Federal party was enabled in three years to accomplish an object which it had been vainly striving to bring about for many years previously, with all the Ministerial and Parliamentary influence it could command. If it had been confined to those influences—in other words, to the legitimate working of public opinion—it would have taken many years more to do what has now been done with a precipitate rush. Successful as their tactics have been, it yet remains to be seen whether all the constitutional wisdom of the past can be wisely exchanged for a popular vote.

VI. Another delusion dispelled by the working of the Referendum was its supposed democratic tendency. Its advocates based their calculations on the results obtained in Switzerland, without making due allowance for the totally different conditions under which it was introduced in Australia. For one thing, they did not weigh the essential difference between a mere veto and the reference of a constitutional question to the people, as a party measure. For another, they greatly overestimated the weight of the democratic vote when pitted against the rest of the population. The Bill of 1891 did not find favour in their eyes, because it did not qualify the suffrage with the principle "One man one vote"; but when that and other points had been conceded to them by an Electoral Act two years later, they contested the elections for delegates with absolute confidence. The result, as we have seen, proved a bitter disappointment. From that time forth the Labour party appear to have felt much less interest in federation than before. The elections showed them how heavily a democratic candidate would be handicapped in a contest for a seat in the Federal Parliament. They saw for the first time the vast difference between the electorates in a provincial and those in a federal election, the latter comprising the whole colony for the Senate—an area of over 300,000 square miles—and large divisions for the House of Repre-



sentatives. A candidate of limited means could not stand under such conditions with any hope of success, however popular he might be among the democrats.

The impotence of the party was demonstrated in a still more conclusive manner by the result of their opposition to the Bill. Their attacks were concentrated on two clauses, which involved the sacred principle of "majority rule." With a view to the prevention of deadlocks, it provided for a joint sitting of the two Houses, and required a majority of three-fifths to carry a Bill sent up from the Lower and thrown out by the Upper. And in the case of a proposed alteration of the Constitution it provided for a dual Referendum—one to the States, and the other to the people, and required a majority of the electors voting in a majority of the States. In the name of majority rule, they demanded that these clauses should be amended by substituting a simple majority for one of three-fifths, and by omitting the reference to the States. But notwithstanding their persistent efforts to defeat it on these grounds, the Bill was accepted by a majority of 5,000 in New South Wales, and 111,000 in the four colonies, at the first Referendum. Mr. Reid did his best to obtain these concessions at the Conference of Premiers—all true democrats like himself, dependent on Labour parties; but all he could get was an absolute majority of both Houses at the joint sitting. Majority rule was again invoked against the Bill, and still more determined efforts were made to defeat it at the second Referendum. But the result was a still more decided rebuff. They were completely submerged at the polling, the Bill obtaining a majority of 24,000 in the colony and 200,000 in the whole four.

VII. This statement of the facts connected with the adoption of the Referendum will be sufficient to bring out the leading points established by it. It will be seen that if, on the one hand, it gave vitality to the question and success to the movement, on the other it not only weakened the authority of Parliament, but demoralized it and the

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Government together. We have yet to see whether ordinary Parliamentary action was rightly superseded in order to get immediate results. Had it been a matter of vital importance to establish a Federal Government without loss of time—as, for instance, in view of an impending war—the policy was justified. In the absence of any such paramount consideration, it was a questionable one from many points of view.

Seeing that the union of the colonies was only a question of time, and that the opposition in New South Wales was directed, not against it, but against the terms, there was no good reason why the usual course of Parliamentary procedure should have been set aside. It could not be said that either the Parliament or the Government was obstructive, both being the subservient creatures of the people's will. Their independence was sacrificed at a critical moment at the behest of a party which appeared to be influenced more by enthusiasm than by sound sense. The result was a triumph for it, but not for the country. The majority which carried the Bill was not by any means a majority of the electors. It was but 107,000 out of a total of 300,000. The minority of 82,000 was thus compelled to accept terms which it considered unjust and oppressive. There will be consequent dissension instead of harmony, antagonism in place of union, accompanied by frequent cries for a Referendum to alter the constitution, first on one question and then on another, keeping the country in a state of chronic unrest. If ever there was a question which demanded careful and prolonged deliberation, it was surely this. If ever there was an occasion on which hasty and precipitate action was to be avoided, it was certainly this. The folly of a people committing themselves for all time to a scheme of government which many competent critics pronounce to be radically defective, and which yet cannot be amended without a desperate struggle, is manifest and marvellous. But there was only one means by which such a result could have been brought about, and that was the use of the Referendum as a party machine.

## WAS 'ABDU-R-RAḤĪM THE TRANSLATOR OF BĀBAR'S MEMOIRS INTO PERSIAN?

.      BY H. BEVERIDGE.

IT is a commonly received opinion that Bābar's Memoirs were translated into Persian by 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, the son of Baīrām Khān, and that this was the first time that the whole of the work was translated. The facts are vouched for by Abul Faẓl, Nizāmu-d-dīn, Ferishta, and the author of the *Maaṣir raḥīmī*, and subsequent writers have repeated their statements. It seems also certain that 'Abdu-r-raḥīm claimed to be the translator, and that he presented his performance to Akbar in the thirty-fourth year of the reign, 997 A.H., or 1589, when the King was returning from Kashmīr.

But a fine copy of the Persian translation of the Memoirs in the possession of the Rajah of Alwar seems to overthrow 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's claim, for it goes to show that the translation which now passes under 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's name was in existence thirty years before he was born. The copy in question is in the Palace Library in Alwar, which is a native State in eastern Rājputāna, and it was seen and examined by me there on several successive days in the month of September, 1899. The wording of this copy agreed, wherever I compared it, in all particulars with that commonly known as 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's translation, and which was printed in Bombay two or three years ago by Mirzā Muḥammad Shīrāzī. It begins in the same way with the statement that the author became king of Ferghāna in 899; it has the same blanks for various years, and it has the same abrupt ending about the surrender of Gwālīār. Whenever I compared particular passages, *e.g.*, the account of Bābar's diamond, the wording of the Alwar manuscript and of the Bombay text was exactly the same, and I think there can be no reasonable doubt that the two works represent the same translation. Any doubt which

may exist on this point can, I think, be removed by an examination of the British Museum manuscript Or. 1827, and described in Rieu's Catalogue, iii. 926*a*. This manuscript is a series of extracts made for Sir Henry Elliot about 1850 from a copy of the Persian Memoirs of Bābar, and an entry on the fly-leaf says, "Copied from the Ulwah (*sic*) Rajah's book." On a blank page a little further on there is the Persian note that the extracts were sent from the Alwar State through the instrumentality of Mr. Rickard (?), the Agent for the Jaipur State. The extracts begin with the year 910, and describe Bābar's march from Farghana, and his shaving of himself for the first time. There is no reference to the condition of the original, nor are the seals, nor the all-important colophon copied, but I think that the extracts must have been made from the manuscript which I saw. Indeed, I believe there is only one copy of Bābar's Memoirs in the Rajah's library. So far as I have examined Or. 1827, the translation is the same as that ascribed to 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, and Dr. Rieu in his notice does not speak of there being any difference between them. On the contrary, he describes the manuscript as "three detached portions of the translation of the Memoirs of Bābar by Mīrzī 'Abdu-r-raḥīm."

But the colophon of the Alwar copy, *i.e.*, the original of Or. 1827, states that it was made by 'Ali al Kātib in 937 (the year of Bābar's death), the year being given both in figures and in words. I annex a copy of the colophon. Its purport is that this book, called in Turkī the Wāq'iyāt Bābarī, was completed by 'Ali al Kātib—may his sins be forgiven!—on the last day of Jamāda aṣ-ṣānī 937, in accordance with the orders of Hūmāyūn, a king's son (*shāhzāda*), and a teacher's son (*murshidzāda*). On the back of the first page, which is illuminated, and contains a few lines of the beginning of the translation, there are enclosed within a lozenge-shaped figure the impressions of several seals, and a statement, enclosed in a gilded circular device, that the book was inspected on the 1st Jamāda aṣ-ṣānī after

afternoon prayer (there is no year mentioned). The seal at the top is a small oval seal of Humāyūn, with the words Muḥammad Humāyūn, and a date which, I think, is 942 (A.D. 1535-6). Below this and at the side are two small oval seals of Akbar, with the words Allāh Akbar, Jal Jalālahū, and the date 981 (A.D. 1573-4). There are also two seals of Shāh Jahān, and one or more seals of the Rajah of Alwar. There are also sundry notes about the book's having been inspected, and the statement that the book was purchased by Rajah Banī Singh of Alwar in 1853 Samvat (A.D. 1796). Rajah Banī Singh seems to have been a great and liberal ruler. It was he who made the noble reservoir in the hills (the Sili Serh), nine miles from the town of Alwar, and the aqueduct which brings its waters to the plains; and it was he, too, who made the Alwar Library, which contains many valuable Persian manuscripts and still more Sanskrit works. It was he who had the Gulistān prepared, which Mr. Eastwick has described as "matchless," and which, according to the palace people, cost one lakh and seventy-five thousand rupees. Not that the Rajah paid this sum at one time, but the calligrapher and the painter and others were employed for twelve years on the work, and their pay, etc., for that period amounted to the above sum.\* The copy of the Gulistān is a very fine one, but perhaps the most interesting thing about it is that the beautiful penmanship is the work of an Armenian (Aghā Mīrzā) who was converted to Muḥammadanism at Delhi, and who died in the Rajah's service. To return, however, to the Wāq'iyāt Bābarī, I have to say that Rajah Banī Singh has treated the manuscript in a manner worthy of a land of peacocks and pageantries. He has framed the pages of the manuscript in long and wide margins of *abrī*, i.e., clouded paper,

\* Dr. Hendley, in his "Alwar and its Art Treasures" (London, 1888), says: "The total amount was taken to be one lakh, but as the men were often employed during its progress on casual work, it would be better to assume that the estimate of half that sum made by Colonel Cadell was more correct."

and he has given the book a rich gold binding, so that it makes a sumptuous folio. The manuscript contains several well-executed illustrations, and the writing is beautifully clear and regular. The first illustration is a double one, and represents the boy Bābar (he was only twelve then) being enthroned at Andijān. There is also a fine one of Bābar's circumambulating Nizāmuddin Auliya's tomb, with a view of Fīrūz Shah Tughlāq's stone pillar in the distance, and another of the Quṭb,\* showing a large domed mosque in its vicinity.

If the evidence of the colophon and of the seals be accepted—and I do not see how it can be rejected except by regarding the whole book as a fraud and a forgery—it is clear that 'Abdu-r-raḥīm did not translate the Memoirs. Probably all he did was to present Akbar with a copy—perhaps an illuminated one—of the old translation; I am loath to believe that he gave out that the translation was his own handiwork.

I think, too, that it may reasonably be doubted if 'Abdu-r-raḥīm was competent to translate this book. His father probably knew Turkī, despite the fact that he was born in Badakhshān, and was a Shī'a in religion; but he was murdered when 'Abdu-r-raḥīm was only four years old, and the latter was the son of a Hindustānī mother, and was born and bred and spent all his life in India.

I have said that the writing of the manuscript is beautifully clear and regular. Now, the writer is said to have been 'Alī al Kātib, and it seems to me that in all probability he is identical with the famous calligrapher Mīr 'Alī al Kātib, also called Mīr 'Alī Mashhadī, and whose takhalluṣ was majnūn, mentioned in Sachau and Ethé's catalogue of the Bodleian Persian manuscripts, articles Nos. 1896 and 1897, pp. 1089 and 1090; and in Rieu's

\* Does not the fact that Bābar speaks of visiting the shrine of the saint Khwāja Quṭbu-d-dīn, *i.e.*, Quṭbu-d-dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, and that he says nothing about Quṭbu-d-dīn Aibak, raise a presumption that, in his opinion at least, the minār is named after the saint, and not after the Sulṭān? See Shirāzi's ed., p. 176.

Catalogue, ii. 531a, and iii. 1089a. I have looked up the passage in the *Majālis al Mūminīn*, fol. 487, quoted by Dr. Rieu, and I find that it is not expressly stated there that Mīr 'Alī was carried off from Herāt to Bokhara. What it says is, that he and many learned men of Herāt were carried off. In the account in the *Majālis* it is said that Mīr 'Alī was a pupil of Zainu-d-dīn, bin Mahmūd, and of the famous Sultān 'Alī of Mashhad, and we are told that he on one occasion copied out three specimens of Sultān 'Alī's handwriting and presented them with the originals to him, and that the latter, after carefully examining them, took the copies for the originals. Apparently Mīr 'Alī died in Bokhārā about 950 A.H.\* (1543).

In the Persian copies of the *Memoirs* there is a curious note by Humāyūn about the year when he first applied a razor to his face. It occurs in the Indian part of the *Memoirs*, shortly before the account of the battle of Pānipat, and is incorporated with the text both in the Alwar copy and in the Shīrāzī edition. Humāyūn says there that he was eighteen years of age when he began to shave, and he makes this note at the age of forty-six—consequently in 959 A.H. (1552), shortly before his invasion of India. He says he is induced to make it because the deceased author of the *Memoirs* had made a similar note as to the time when he first used the razor. This refers to a passage at the beginning of Bābar's account of the events of 910, where Bābar says that he first used the razor in his twenty-third year. Both in the Alwar copy and Shīrāzī†

\* B. M. MS. Or. 1372 contains several specimens of Mīr 'Alī's handwriting, and among these is the verse quoted in the *Majālis al Mūminīn* lamenting his detention in Bokhara. These specimens are signed by him, e.g., 5b, 6a, 8a. One is dated 939 A.H. I may note here that MS. Or. 1372 is a most curious and interesting album, and that among other things it contains an Indian representation of the deposition from the Cross, and a singular picture of Jesus Christ and a Bayadere (?). In the Oriental Section of the South Kensington Museum, Room XVI., there is an exhibition described as sixteen pages of Khatai paper written by the calligraphist Mīr 'Alī.

† The note will be found at p. 171 of the Shīrāzī edition, near the foot, and Bābar's remark at p. 75 of the same edition.

edition Humāyūn's note is followed by a statement of the copyist (?), which is also made part of the text, that the note is copied from Humāyūn's own handwriting. Now, the note is in Persian, and presumably Humāyūn wrote it in that language. If it had been in Turkī, the copyist would probably have given the Turkī, or have said that he had translated it, and not that he had copied it. May we not also infer that Humāyūn made the note in the Persian translation? He knew Turkī, and if he had been annotating his father's Turkī book, he would naturally have put his note into the same language. But if the Persian translation existed in Humāyūn's lifetime, the claim of Abdu-r-raḥīm to be the first translator, or to be a translator at all, falls to the ground. Humāyūn's note is translated in Erskine (p. 303), and he has a remark on the subject. The note also appears in the Turkī in Ilminsky's edition (p. 340), and in Pavet de Courteille's translation (ii. 159); but in both the wording does not agree with the Persian, and the statement seems abridged from the Persian. Indeed, Pavet de Courteille refers in a note to the Persian for an elucidation of the passage. As my wife has pointed out to me, there is another note ascribed to Humāyūn by Erskine. It is a long note about the amrat fruit, which seems to be the pummaloe or shaddock. It is given in Erskine (p. 329), who says that it is in the Turkī copy—*i.e.*, Mr. Elphinstone's copy, which, unfortunately, seems to have disappeared, and not in the Persian copies. The note is not in Ilminsky (see p. 372), nor in Pavet de Courteille, and I should doubt if it really was by Humāyūn. I hardly think that he would have pronounced his father incapable of judging of sweet fruits because of his addiction to alcoholic liquors. Nor was Humāyūn ever at Sonargaon. Perhaps the note is Jahāngīr's. Mr. Erskine does not say if it is in Persian or Turkī.

After visiting Alwar, I had an opportunity of seeing a fine copy of Bābar's memoirs belonging to the Agra College. It is the solitary remainder of the Oriental



manuscripts which that institution once possessed, but which were burnt by the escaped prisoners of the gaol in 1857. Its preservation was due to the fact that at that time it had been lent out to one of the Maulvis—a fact which might be a defence of borrowing.

The Agra manuscript has no colophon, and a blank page which contained Jahāngīr's signature has been lost. On the back of the first page there is a note expressive of thanks for having obtained the book, and the words, in the same handwriting, *tahrīr Sāhib Qirān*—the writing of Sāhib Qirān. Possibly the word *ṣānī* also occurs, but it is not very legible. This note would seem to say that it was written by Shāh Jahān, though it seems odd that he should sign himself Sāhib Qirān *ṣānī*. There is no other indication of old possession, except a seal bearing the date 1121 A.H. The copy is well written, and it has several illustrations which seem to me to be reductions from those in the splendid copy in the British Museum.

I strongly suspect that the Turkī version as we have it, *i.e.*, the Ilminsky edition, is of recent origin and of little authority. It is certainly later than the Alwar copy of the Persian translation, for it gives an account of Bābar's death and of the officers of his Court. Perhaps it is the copy to which Jahāngīr added some chapters, as mentioned in Elliot, iv. 218.\* Dr. Teufel suggests, in a paper in the D. M. Z. G., that the last chapters are a forgery concocted by, or in imitation of, Abul Fazl. But the account of Bābar's illness is older than Abul Fazl, for it occurs in Gulbadan Begam's Memoirs.

It is well known that three persons besides 'Abdu-r-raḥīm translated portions of Bābar's Memoirs. Their

\* Langlés in his article on Bābar in the *Biog. Universelle*, says that Jahāngīr added to the Memoirs. Erskine contradicts this statement, because he supposes Langlés to mean that the additions were made *before* 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's translation; but Langlés' words do not necessarily imply this, and the fact that Jahāngīr added some chapters to the Memoirs is recorded by himself, apropos of his visit to Kabul and to his ancestors' tomb.

names are Shaikh Zain, Mīrzā Pāyinda Ḥaṣan Ghaznavī, and Muhammad Qulī Moghal Ḥiṣārī. There are copies of their translations in the British Museum, the India Office, and the Bodleian. Shaikh Zain was the oldest of the three, for he was a contemporary of Bābar. It has occurred to me that he may be the real author of the translation of which Abdu-r-Raḥīm has got the credit. My chief reason for this view is the fact that Shaikh Zain wrote two books, one a translation of Bābar's Memoirs, and the other a history of Bābar's conquest of India. This fact is, I think, vouched for by Badāūnī, and is hesitatingly stated by Dr. Rieu, who at vol. iii., 926*b*, of his catalogue says: "Besides translating the Wāqiyāt-i-Bābarī, he (S. Zain) is said to have written a history of the conquest of India, with an account of the wonders of that country. He died 940 A.H. (1533)." This statement is probably based on Badāūnī, who says at p. 341, vol. i., Bib. Ind. ed., and 448 of Dr. Ranking's translation, that Shaikh Zain Khānī made a translation of Bābar's Memoirs; and further on, p. 471 of text and p. 609 of translation, says that Shaikh Zain Khwāfī wrote a book on the conquest of India. I think there can be little doubt that the two Shaikh Zains are one and the same person, but I do not think that the books described in the two places are one and the same. Evidently Dr. Ranking had no suspicion that there was any identity between them, for he says in a note to his p. 448 that he has never heard elsewhere of this translation of the Memoirs. This goes to show that he did not consider it to be the paraphrase described by Professor Dowson Elliot (iv. 288). Nor do I think that even an Oriental writer like Badāūnī would describe the same book in two different places, or that he would call Shaikh Zain's paraphrase of a brief portion of the Memoirs, viz., that relating to the conquest of India, an elegant translation of the Memoirs.

In Sachau and Ethé's Catalogue of the Bodleian Library, p. 101, art. 179, there is an obscurely-worded statement that the first part of Bābar's Memoirs was translated by Shaikh

Zain or Mīrzā Bānīda Ḥaṣan Ghaznavī. The authority given for this is a preface to the second part of a translation of the Memoirs by Muḥammad Qulī Moghal Ḥiṣārī. I have not examined the Bodleian manuscript on this point,\* but I suspect that the statement above referred to is a mistaken version of Muḥammad Qulī's remark. His preface is also to be found in the copy of his translation in the India Office, No. 215, p. 91. of Dr. Ethé's Catalogue. At p. 74 of this manuscript Muḥammad Qulī remarks, *Shaikh Zain barḥī az ān bazaban-i-farsī namūda*—Shaikh Zain translated a portion of these [the Memoirs] into Persian. He does not say what portion. See also Rieu's Catalogue, ii. 799b. Another thing to be noticed is that Nizāmū-d-dīn, the author of the *Tabaqāt Akbarī*, in giving a list of the authorities he had consulted, mentions the *Tārikh-i-Bābar* and the *Wāqiyāt-i-Bābarī*, as if they were two distinct works.†

It seems to me, therefore, if I may venture to express the opinion, that Dr. Rieu is correct in saying that two works were ascribed to Shaikh Zain. But where he seems to me to be wrong is in regarding the paraphrased narrative of the conquest of India to be the work described by Badāūnī as the translation of the Memoirs. The work which Mr. Erskine and Dr. Rieu consider to be Shaikh Zain's translation of the Memoirs seems to me to be his book "on the conquest of India, and sometimes called by the title of *Fatūḥāt-i-Hind*, and the translation of the Memoirs I think to be that preserved in the Alwar copy, and referred to by Muḥammad Qulī Ḥiṣārī. Instead, therefore, of Dr. Rieu's statement at p. 926b of his catalogue, that "Besides translating the *Wāq'iyāt Bābarī*, he is said to have written a history of the conquest of India, with an account of the wonders of that country," I would read, "Besides writing a history of the conquest of India, with an account of the wonders of that country, he also translated, in whole or in

\* The description is corrected by Dr. Ethé in the preliminary list of Addenda and Corrigenda prefixed to the catalogue.

† See Rieu, l.c. 220b, last line.

part, the Wāq'iyāt-i-Bābarī.”\* If it be said that in the copies of Shaikh Zain's paraphrase in our European libraries there is no account of the wonders of India, my answer is that in a copy of that work in the Nawāb of Rampore's library I saw an account of the vegetable and animal productions of India, which appeared to agree generally with that in Bābar's Memoirs.

In conclusion, I beg to express an earnest hope, that some scholar more competent than myself will visit Alwar and examine the seals and the colophon. This is the only way in which the question can be settled.

COPY OF THE COLOPHON IN THE ALWAR MANUSCRIPT  
OF BĀBAR'S MEMOIRS.

† هذا كتاب المسمي به ترك واقعات  
بابري بحسن فرمان واجب الادعات  
شاهزاده عالم و عالميان مرشدزاده  
جهان و جهانيان محمد همايون طلع  
الله نير اقباله و شوكة في يوم سلخ  
من شهر جمادي الثاني سنة سبع و ثلاثون  
و تسع مئة من الهجرة بفضل و حسن توفيق  
بنده العبد الضعيف علي الكاتب  
غفر الله ذنوبه به صورت اتمام و  
طريق اختتام يافت

TRANSLATION OF THE COLOPHON.

This book, called in Turkī “Wāqiyāt-i-Bābarī,” was, under the supreme behests of Muḥammad Humāyūn, the son of a king and the son of a teacher—may God illuminate his fortune and glory—by God's help completed on the last day of the Jumādi-aṣ-ṣāna in Hījra year 937 [February 17, 1531] by 'Alī-al-Kātib, that weak slave whose trespasses may God forgive.

\* In Sprenger's Catalogue of the Elliot MSS., J. A. S. B., vol. xxiii., p. 241, there is an entry of a MS. called the Ṭāba qāt Bābarī, and it is described as “A History of Bābar by Zain Khawāfy, who says that ‘he had written in Persian what the emperor dictated in Turkī. It may be a translation of the Waq'iat.’” This copy belonged to a friend of Sayid Jān of Cawnpore, and is described as a very old copy. It is not in the Museum, probably because it was not Elliot's property. The B. M. copy is another Elliot MS., and dated 998. Evidently the Cawnpore copy contained much more than either of the B. M. MSS., Add. 26,602, and Or. 1999, for it was three times as large, consisting of 326 pages of 15 lines, against 102 pages of 15 lines of the Or. 1999.

† Instead of the now usual هذا the manuscript has هذا, hadā.

## QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

### GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

ALTHOUGH it is not our custom to include in our Reports necrological notices, yet we may in the present case make an exception. Our readers will at once understand our reasons for doing so. Our desire is to say a few words with respect to two persons who, under different titles, are connected with Orientalism.

First, we wish to mention the missionary Faber, who died last year in China, and about whom the *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft* had, in 1899 and 1900, several articles. Faber, who was of Swiss nationality, has published in Chinese several important works, both from a missionary as well as from a more general point of view of civilization. Faber was a distinguished sinologue. Amongst the works which he wrote may be mentioned, "La Chine à la lumière de l'histoire," "Les mœurs et usages des Chinois," extracts of the Chinese classics, etc. He had also undertaken a new translation of the Bible in Chinese. He was a member of the Société Générale des Missions Évangéliques, a society founded in Switzerland by Liberal Protestants (Unitarians), which in its early days had its centre at Zurich, afterwards at Berlin, and since then a large number have joined it. The second is Devéria, who was also a sinologue. He died last year, and Mr. E. Chavannes in the *Journal Asiatique* (November-December, 1899) has a short notice of him. Devéria wrote some important works, which we noticed at the time of publication, on the origin of Islamism in China, and on Chinese Mussulmans and Manicheans. Death has, unfortunately, prevented him from continuing these works, and from what we learn recently from Paris, in the papers which he has left there is nothing relating to these subjects. This is to be regretted.

The subject of the Manicheans has been discussed from a different standpoint by Clermont Ganneau, in the *Journal Asiatique* (January-February, 1900), in an article entitled "Empédocle, les Manichéens et les Cathares." The Syriac work "Le Livre des Scholies," written in the ninth, or perhaps in the eighth century, by the Nestorian Theodore bar Khouni, in referring to the origin of Manicheism, speaks of a precursor of Manes. This precursor is a heresiarch, whom the Syriac author names Sqounthianous, and who is no other than the Σκυθιανός of Epiphany. This Scythianos had studied both Greek and Egyptian literature, as well as the writings of Pythagoras, and a philosopher whom the Syriac author calls *Proclus*, who appears to have been, according to the interesting and learned dissertation of Clermont Ganneau, Empédocle. We recommend the perusal of this

memoir to those whose inquiries are directed towards the historical and religious problem of Manicheism.

We find in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palestina-Vereins* (vol. xxii., part 3, 1900), an interesting study of Fries, on the most recent researches relative to the origin of the Phœnician alphabet. It appears to be well established that the Phœnician alphabet was derived from hieroglyphics through the medium of hieratics. This is the result of the labours of de Rougé. Taking as a basis several recent publications (Evans, Kluge, etc.), Fries considers it very likely that the Phœnicians (Canaanites and Hebrews) understood the signs of the writing called Mycœnian (Crete, Cyprus, etc.), and that the Phœnician alphabet is derived from this writing. As for the names of the letters of the alphabet, which have been taken from the so-called primitive signs of the cuneiform writing, it would take too long to discuss them here. As a rare case, the author recalls to mind an amusing hypothesis of Seyffarth. According to this writer, Noah, on the 7th September of the year 3446, whilst leaving the Ark, read in the sky the original alphabet composed of twelve signs (consonants) of the Zodiac, and the seven signs (vowels) formed by the place occupied by the seven planets.

THE OLD TESTAMENT—HEBREW RABBINICAL LANGUAGES, SYRIAC.

In the first place we have to point out a collection of various works relating to the Old Testament by Stade,\* the Messianic expectation in Psalms, the sources of the theology of the Old Testament, the origin and growth of the people of Israel, the people of Javan, the text of the account of Solomon's buildings, fragments concerning criticism of the Pentateuch (the mark of Cain, the tower of Babel, the offering of jealousy, and the bitter water of malediction, Numbers v. 11-31). These memoirs have appeared separately at different times. The reader would be fortunate if he found them collected in one volume.

Budde has published in the *American Journal of Theology* (1899) a paper of great interest under the title of the so-called "Ebed-Yahweh Songs," and the term "Servant of Yahweh," in Isaiah, chapters xl.-lv. In this work the author reasonably maintains the general interpretation of the "Ebed-Yahweh Songs," and ascribes them to Deutero-Esaie. He also considers that nowhere in these passages is the "Servant of Yahweh" distinguished from the rest of the people.

The close relationship which exists between the Old and the New Testaments has been again examined by Hühn in a work on the quotations and reminiscences of the Old Testament in the New.† The author has taken as a basis the text of the New Testament by Westcott-Hort, and that of the translation of the Septuagint by Swete.

Rabbiner has published the first part of an essay which is interesting, notwithstanding its defects and imperfections, on the Hebraic synonyms in the Talmud and the Midrash.‡

\* "Ausgewählte akad. Reden und Abhandlungen." Giessen, J. Ricker, 1899.

† "Die alttest. Citate und Reminiscenzen im Neuen Testamente." Tübingen, J. C. B. Mohr, 1900.

‡ "Beiträge zur hebräischen Synonymik in Talmud und Midrasch." 1 Theil. Berlin, J. Kauffmann, 1899.

Gaster has published, with an introduction, critical notes, index and facsimile, and under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society a translation of the "Chronicles of Jerahmeel,"\* or the first part of the work of Eleasar the Levite, a German Jew of the thirteenth or fourteenth century. This chronicle extends from the creation of the world to the death of Judas Maccabeus. The work of Eleasar is a vast compilation, having for its base (in the part published) another compilation by a certain Jerahmeel, who himself utilized and copied a large number of documents, amongst others the "Josippon."

We have to notice among the Syriac publications "The History of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the History of the Likeness of Christ," Syriac texts, edited, with English translations, by Wallis Budge.†

#### THE ARABIC LANGUAGE.

We have to announce the publication, in Arabic, of the 29th part of the grammar by Sibawaihi, translated and explained by Jahn.‡ It is so long since the previous number appeared that we may well be permitted to inquire if the work will ever be completed. It has been in course of publication since 1895.

The *Journal Asiatique*, in its January-February number, 1900, contains an extremely interesting fragment of De Goeje on "Unknown Morocco," by Mouli ras, of which we treated at length in our Report of July, 1899.§ The work of Mouli ras is too important for us not to repeat the following passage in the article by De Goeje: "I can produce two arguments in favour of the dervish Muhammad ben at-Tayyib (from whose narratives Mouli ras has written his book). It seems almost incredible that this man, after a very protracted expedition without following any itinerary, and without taking the smallest note, has been able to give a satisfactory description of all these tribes. And notwithstanding in 1885 an Arab scholar named Seyid Othm n, for a long time a resident in Batavia, has written an account of Hadhramaut, his native country, which he had not visited for many years, and of which the precise truthfulness in regard to the most important points has been proved. In 1886 Mr. van den Berg published in his book, "Le Hadhramaut et les Colonies Arabes dans l'archipel indien," a description of Hadhramaut based solely on information which the Arabs domiciled in the Netherland Colonies had furnished him, and many of whom appeared to have possessed a most remarkable topographical knowledge of their country. My second argument in favour of the dervish is, that these narratives are sealed, so to say, with the seal of sincerity."

We also announce an interesting innovation in the programme of the

\* "The Chronicles of Jerahmeel, or, the Hebrew Bible Historiale." Translated for the first time from a unique manuscript in the Bodleian Library. London, 1899. (Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, IV.) See our notice of this work, October, 1899, pp. 436, 437.

† 2 vols., London, Luzac and Co., 1899.

‡ Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1900.

§ Vide pp. 139-141.

University of Vienna. In the summer months of 1900, Wahrmund, the Professor of Arabic, will hold a course of two hours a week on "Arabic journals." Journalism in the Arabic language, indeed, is becoming more and more important. This we can prove, as we have before us several journals and reviews of Egypt and Syria, in particular the *Al-Hilul* of Cairo, a fortnightly scientific and literary Arabic review, and many others.

A work, which is not without interest, on Islam and Christianity in Central Africa, by Forget,\* has appeared as a thesis at the Faculté de Théologie Protestante of Paris. Unfortunately the author knows the subject and bibliography but very imperfectly, and, worst of all, he has not entered into the spirit of Islam.

In conclusion, we have to mention the publication of the first part (Arabic text) of the *Kitâb al-mahâsin wal-masâwî* of Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-baihaqi, edited by Schwally.†

\* Cahors, Coueslant, 1900.

† Giessen, Ricker, 1900.



## DESCENDANTS OF OLIVER CROMWELL IN CALCUTTA.—PART II.\*

BY C. R. WILSON, M.A.,

Principal of Patna College.

### GOVERNOR HENRY FRANKLAND AND SIR FRANCIS RUSSELL.

1. BESIDES John Russell, two other descendants of Cromwell in Calcutta, grandsons of his daughter Frances, Governor Henry Frankland and Sir Francis Russell, demand a more than passing notice.

A.—HENRY FRANKLAND, GOVERNOR OF CALCUTTA,  
1726-1728.

2. Sir Thomas Frankland, of Thirkleby, in Yorkshire, the head of the ancient Frankland family in the seventeenth century, was created a Baronet by Charles II. at the Restoration in 1660. His eldest son, Thomas, married Elizabeth, the daughter of Sir John Russell and Lady Frances, and sister of Governor John Russell of Calcutta. They had numerous children, of whom Henry Frankland, their fourth son, was born in the year 1684. At the end of the year 1707, he was elected a factor in the service of the East India Company, and arrived in Bengal on January 14, 1709. He did not remain long in Calcutta; but was sent, at the end of March, to Patna, where he remained more than four years, making good use of the opportunities afforded by that station for learning the language and the political methods of the country. At the end of the year 1713, he returned to Calcutta, having been appointed ninth member of the Council.

3. At the beginning of the next year, the Council at Calcutta took into its serious consideration the constitution of the embassy, which it was intended to send to Delhi to

\* Part I., April, 1900, pp. 360-372.

represent the grievances of the English throughout India. The matter had hung fire for many years, owing to various causes too tedious to relate, and had only reached the stage of practical politics with the establishment of Farrukhsiyar as Emperor of Hindustan. A minority in the Council wished to place Frankland at the head of the embassy, not only on account of his high character and acknowledged ability, but especially because he was one of the few Englishmen in Bengal who had a good knowledge of Hindustani. But the majority in the Council objected to his appointment for the curious reason that he was too good, and made John Surman "chief of the negotiation" instead. They contended that any embassy to the Mogul Court would be exposed to great indignities, to which a man of Frankland's position could not submit. "Whoever the great Mogul is pleased to honour with leave to appear in his presence," they said, "will, after he is disarmed, be admitted into a courtyard, where he must stand exposed to the weather, whatever it may happen to be, at the appointed distance, which will be out of hearing a word the King shall speak; who, looking out at a window a story high in his palace, every man in sight of him must stand with his arms a little crossing on his stomach, and his toes close together, without presuming to look up. When the King goes from his window, a curtain is let fall, and every man in the courtyard shuffles away without observing any order. This is a short account of the reception the King will give; but his Ministers generally admit foreigners to sit cross-legged in their presence and talk to them, but scarcely of their business, for that must be treated by means of their under-officers." Such is the official reason assigned for not putting Frankland at the head of the embassy; but there were doubtless private considerations also at work. Surman was unmarried and had no ties; but Henry Frankland, though still single, was engaged, and expected to be married in less than two months. So John Surman, only yesterday a writer and the son of a coach-builder, was

sent to the Court of the Mogul to win a name in the history of British India ; and Henry Frankland, ninth in the Council, and great-grandson of Oliver Cromwell, because of his dignity and honour, remained to help in keeping shop at Calcutta.

4. On February 25, 1714, Frankland married Mary, the daughter of Alexander Cross, a Bengal merchant. In 1715, he became eighth in Council and Secretary ; in 1716, seventh and Collector of Calcutta ; in 1717, sixth and Paymaster. During these years two children were born to Henry and Mary Frankland—Charles Henry, baptized on June 6, 1716, and Harriot, baptized on June 13, 1717. Meanwhile their father had amassed a large fortune, and wished to return to England. In those days furlough was unknown, so on January 19, 1719, Frankland resigned the Company's service. In the same month, he sailed for England on the *Grantham* with all his family and a Eurasian nurse, Diana, who looked after the two children.

5. Some time soon after his arrival in England, Frankland must have purchased from Sir Willoughby Hickman the estate of Mattersea in Nottinghamshire, and here for a few years he settled down. But, like many other Anglo-Indians, he must have soon begun to feel a strong desire to return to India, for, in 1722, both Henry Frankland and John Surman were readmitted to the service of the Company, and were appointed respectively third and fourth in the Council of Bengal. Henry Frankland sailed on the *Devonshire*, having with him his youngest brother, Robert, who went out as a free merchant, and arrived in Calcutta at the beginning of August.

6. At the beginning of 1723, he was, at his own request, sent to Cassimbazar to be chief of the English factory there. Cassimbazar, being close to Murshidabad, the seat of the Government of Bengal, the English Agent at that factory was brought into close diplomatic relations with the Nabob, and the position was consequently regarded as second only to the governorship of Calcutta. For this im-

portant post no better man could have been appointed than Henry Frankland ; for his command of the language and his good breeding made him a *persona grata* with Murshid Quli Khan, and were of great advantage to the cause of the English. Though not always able to check the progress of rival commercial enterprises, he was yet able through his influence to advance and extend the operations of his own Company. Factories were re-established at Dacca and Maldah, and excellent relations maintained with the Country Powers.

At the end of the year 1725, in view of the impending vacancy of the governorship of Fort William, Frankland returned to Calcutta. Before leaving Cassimbazar he asked for an interview with the Nabob ; but Murshid Quli Khan was extremely ill, and, in fact, not far off his death. The old man could only send a message to say that "as he had always been, so he should always continue to be a friend to the English."

7. On Sunday, January 30, John Deane, Esq., President for Affairs of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East Indies, having their liberty to return to England, took his passage on the *Eyles*, and in pursuance of their orders delivered up their cash and all under his charge to Henry Frankland, Esq., appointed to succeed him, and the balance of the cash account, amounting to Rs. 150,981.4.6, together with all the royal firmans, papers, etc., were delivered over to the new Governor.

One of the earliest measures carried out by Frankland as Governor is characteristic of his friendliness towards the Country Powers. The abuse of *dastaks*, or the passes which were granted by the English to secure the free passage of their merchandise through the country, which many years later led to the Patna massacre and the war with Mir Kasim, was already a subject of complaint at Murshidabad. In order to prevent "this most pernicious evil," it was again ordered by the Council that no *dastaks*

should be granted except for *bonâ-fide* Englishmen's merchandise, and for the better enforcement of this regulation it was ordered that an exact account should be taken of the different sorts of goods for which *dastaks* were given; that all such goods should be landed at the Company's warehouse, and not removed from thence on any pretence whatsoever without the permission of the Governor; and that all goods brought into the warehouse should be on their arrival entered into a book kept by the warehouse-keeper for that purpose. These orders were effectual just so long as Governors and Councils were vigilant and in earnest.

8. But the most important question with which Frankland had at this time to deal was the question known as the "Ostenders." For some ten years past, the merchants of the Austrian Netherlands had made more than one successful venture with ships fitted out for Bengal, and had become anxious to claim a share in the commerce of the East. In 1724, on applying to the Government of Murshidabad and to the Court of Vienna, Murshid Quli Khan assigned them the village of Bankibazar,\* fifteen miles above Calcutta, for a factory, and the Emperor granted them his letters patent authorizing them to trade to the East Indies under the denomination of the "Ostend Company." This Company, as Sir William Hunter has pointed out, was by no means the insignificant corporation described by Carlyle, which merely "had the honour to be." It set to work with vigour to establish itself in Bengal, where it undersold the other Europeans, and consequently rose quickly in estimation. In two years the mud-huts at Bankibazar became brick houses, and the factory was fortified with walls and bastions, and a deep dock opened into the river for ships and sloops of considerable burden. In 1727, the jealous protests of the

\* "Banke," apparently means "fair"; thus the correct spelling of the name of this place would be Bankebazar, which means "Fairmarket," and similarly Bankepur, near Patna, means "Fairborough."

English, French, and Dutch compelled the Emperor to withdraw his charter; but the Ostend Agent in Bengal refused to abandon his post, and secretly furnished cargoes to ships sent by private merchants from the Austrian Netherlands. Frankland was called upon to do his utmost to stamp out the Ostenders, and, from the letters to the secret committee which still remain, he appears to have done his best. At the beginning of 1727, a joint letter from Henry Frankland and Edward Stevenson\* details the various measures that had been taken. "Your Honours," they say, "may be pleased to observe that we have not been wanting in our duty to impede and intercept the affairs of these interlopers. You will find that by the large sums they offered to the Nabob they were very near obtaining what privileges and grants they requested. We wrote several letters to the officers at the *darbar* to prevent their having any footing in Bengal. We gave orders to our chief there to concert with the Dutch chief the most proper measures that could be taken to prevent what we terribly apprehended they would (by the large sums of money they offered) have obtained. It was with unspeakable pleasure that we got their affairs to be left to the management and direction of the Hugli Governor. As soon as this was effected, we sent our *vakil* to him, and obtained his promise not to conclude anything in favour of the Ostenders, till he should come down to his Government here. . . . Rather than have these interlopers have any footing or trade in Bengal, we have exerted ourselves to the very utmost of what your Honours have ordered. The seizing Mr. Humes, which we have endeavoured several times, would not have upset their affairs: for though he is their chief, and has the management of their whole business, yet the second and several other Germans would be able to carry it on, though perhaps not so well. What we have done we hope your Honours will approve of, and we do entirely depend on the power of that indemnification given to your Honours

\* The second in the Council.

by the Court of Directors, whereby you are pleased to indemnify us in whatsoever we have done or shall do on this emergent occasion. We have gone some lengths that are not so proper to be committed to black and white. We therefore refer your Honours to Mr. Falconer, who, as he has himself been aiding and assisting in this grand affair, will do us the justice to acquaint you how zealous we have been in serving the Honourable Company."

The crisis of the struggle with the Ostenders did not come till 1730, when the English and the Dutch determined to strike a vigorous blow. A squadron was fitted out under Captain Gosfricht, who sailed up the Hugli and placed the river under blockade. Of the two Ostend ships in the river, one was seized, but the other escaped to Bankibazar, where it was protected by the guns of the factory. Foiled in their efforts to destroy the Ostenders from the river, the English, by exaggerating the strength of the fortifications at Bankibazar, induced the Nabob to attack the place by land. In 1733, a considerable force was despatched from Hugli under Mir Jafar, who besieged the fort. The garrison defended themselves bravely, and, even when reduced to fourteen men, held the Indian troops at bay. It was not till the Agent had lost his right arm, and was no longer able to fight, that he and his men withdrew by night in a ship, leaving the victors nothing but bare walls and a few cannon.

9. Henry Frankland did not live to witness the crisis of the struggle with the Ostenders. A brief illness of twelve days cut short his government in the year 1728. He died at one o'clock in the morning of Friday, August 23, and was buried in Calcutta the same day. At the beginning of the year 1729, Mrs. Frankland and her family sailed for England on the *Walpole*.

Of the seven children\* left by Henry Frankland, the

\* They were : (1) Charles Henry, baptized June 8, 1716, (2) Harriot, baptized June 13, 1717; (3) Thomas, died at Bath, November 21, 1784; (4) William, born in 1721; (5) Richard, who died young; (6) Robert, baptized September 27, 1726; (7) Frederick, baptized August 13, 1727, who died in Lisbon a Major in the Blues in 1752.

eldest, Charles Henry, was but a boy of twelve at the time of his father's death. As the heir not only of his father's property, but also of the baronetcy and estates of Thirkleby, he was educated with considerable care, and his career has been made the subject of a memoir by Elias Nason, of Albany, New York. Sir Charles Henry Frankland was for many years Collector of the Port of Boston in America, after which he was for many years more Consul-General in Portugal. During the great earthquake at Lisbon in 1755, he lay buried for upwards of an hour beneath a mass of ruins, but fortunately escaped with his life. He died on January 11, 1768, and was buried in the church of Weston, near Bath, where his monument may still be seen.\*

B.—SIR FRANCIS RUSSELL, CHIEF AT CASSIMBAZAR,  
1728-1731 AND 1741-1743.

10. The story of Sir Francis Russell takes us to the eldest branch of the family that descended from Sir John Russell and the Lady Frances. Their eldest son William, born in 1658, succeeded his father as fifth Baronet, but does not seem to have added to the fortunes of the family, for it is recorded in the pedigree that he sold the family estates of Chippenham. He married Catherine Gore, and died in 1707, leaving two sons—William, who became sixth Baronet,† and Francis, born about 1697, who entered the service of the East India Company.

\* The inscription runs as follows :

"To the memory of Sir Charles Henry Frankland, of Thirkleby in the County of York, Baronet, Consul-General for many years at Lisbon, from whence he came in hopes of recovery from a bad state of health at Bath, where after a tedious and painful illness, which he sustained with patience and resignation becoming a Christian, he died 11th January, 1768, in the 52nd year of his life, without issue, and at his own request lies buried in the Church.

"This monument is erected by his affectionate widow Agnes, Lady Frankland."

† Sir William, the first Baronet, had two sons, Francis and William, both of them Baronets. If both these sons are counted, Sir John Russell, who married Frances, is the fourth Baronet in the family, and this William



11. Arriving in Bengal as a writer on the *Grantham* in 1716, Frank Russell spent the whole of the early portion of his service at Cassimbazar. On February 15, 1728, when second of the Council of that place, he married, at Calcutta, Ann, daughter of Zechariah Gee, a Bengal merchant, by whom he had one son, William. In August of the same year, owing to the changes which took place on the death of his cousin, Henry Frankland, he became Chief of the factory at Cassimbazar. Three years later it was resolved that Frank Russell should be taken into the Council, and on September 27, 1731, he took his seat at the Board in Calcutta. During the next ten years he gradually rose to the second place in the Council.

12. A number of his letters written at this time to his friends in England are still preserved, and would doubtless afford interesting lights as to the condition of Calcutta in the first half of the eighteenth century. One letter to his cousin, Colonel Charles Russell, dated December 31, 1737, gives us the only authentic account extant of the great storm which occurred at Calcutta on September 30 in that year. He speaks of that night as an unparalleled scene of horror, the wind and the rain being so furious that he expected every moment that the house\* he lived in, the strongest in the town, would have fallen on his head. The noise abovestairs was so violent that he and his family were obliged to remain below till the morning with a neighbour and her children, who had fled to his house for refuge, the doors and windows of hers being burst from the walls. "But, good God!" he continues, "what a sight was the town and the river in the morning! Not a ship but the *Duke of Dorset* to be seen in the river, where the evening before was above twenty-nine sails of vessels, great and is the sixth. In most of the pedigrees, however, the second William is not counted, and thus Sir John becomes the third Baronet, and this William the fifth.

\* This may be identified with Lady Russell's house, shown in Wells' map of Calcutta at the south-east corner of the green before the fort. It is probably still standing in Mission Row.

small, many being drove ashore, some broke to pieces and others foundered. . . . There was no ebb tide for twenty-four hours. Our church-steeple was blown down, as also eight or ten English houses, and numbers belonging to the black merchants. The whole town looked like a place that had been bombarded by an enemy. Such a havoc did it make that it is impossible to find words to express it, all our beautiful shady roads laid bare, which will not be the like again this twenty years.\* . . . I saved all my fine trees in the country that were blown down by replacing them while the earth was soft, as they might have done by those on the roads."

13. In March, 1739, Frank Russell learnt the death of his brother William, at Waterford, in May, 1738, in consequence of which he became seventh Baronet.† This change in his position does not seem to have excited in him any desire to leave the service of the Company and return to England. On the contrary, in 1741, he went back to Cassimbazar as chief of the factory. At the beginning of 1743, being seriously ill, he called in the services of the Company's famous surgeon, Holwell,‡ but not getting better came down to Calcutta, where he arrived on February 24. He intended to go to Ballasore for a short sea-voyage, but died on the morning of February 26, 1743. As he left no will, and Dame Russell declined to act, the Mayor's Court at Calcutta appointed four administrators for the deceased Baronet's estate—Solomon Margas, William Young, John Zephaniah Holwell, and William Weston, the Court Registrar. Sir Francis was succeeded in the baronetcy by his son Sir William, who was a Lieutenant in the 1st Regiment of

\* I think there can be little doubt that the great storm was a cyclone, or possibly a tornado, which passed over Calcutta. The description would do quite well for Dacca after the tornado of 1889. It literally looked as if it had been severely bombarded, every tree and every building having been demolished that lay in the track of the whirlwind.

† Or sixth according to the other way of counting.

‡ Holwell's fee for this was Rs. 300.

the Guards; but he died unmarried in 1757, and the baronetcy descended to his second cousin, Sir John Russell, the grandson of Governor John Russell.

Anne, Lady Russell, on November 30, 1744, married a second husband, a Mr. Thomas Holmes, merchant, and continued to live in Calcutta in her house at the south-east corner of the green before the fort. She must have witnessed the taking of the settlement by Siraj-ud-Daulah in June, 1756. She died a few months later, probably at Fulta, where the English had taken refuge. Her will is dated August 24, 1756, and was proved in the Mayor's Court of Calcutta in 1757. It is sealed with the arms of Russell: in chief, three escallops; in base, a lion rampant.\*

14. The story of these descendants of Oliver Cromwell in Calcutta is not, I think, without a certain general interest, as showing that, even in these early days, the service of the East India Company was by no means so unpromising that only very poor or very impossible boys were consigned to it. On the contrary, we see a man of Sir Francis Russell's rank coming out young, and voluntarily staying on in Bengal for twenty-seven years, even after he had succeeded to a baronetcy. And rightly so, for it does not appear that the members of the family who remained in England did more to enrich or perpetuate the family than those who came to India. In fact, they did much less. Three or four times in the story of the family we find the elder English branch dying out, and the title and property reverting to the younger Indian branch. Thus, in 1738, the elder brother William dies without issue, and the title goes to his brother in India and his brother's son. In 1757, that brother's son, having settled in England, dies without issue, and the title passes to the grandson of Governor John Russell, the youngest of the sons of

\* I am indebted to the Rev. H. B. Hyde, Domestic Chaplain to the Bishop of Madras, for this information. He gives the arms as: in chief, three double trefoils; but Lipscomb in his "History of Buckinghamshire" says they are escallops.

Frances who came out to India. Sir John Russell settles in England, transmits the title to his two sons, both of whom die without issue, and the property, without the title, reverts to the children of Elizabeth, the daughter of Governor John Russell, who had returned to India and married Samuel Greenhill. In the same way the Frankland baronetcy, after remaining in the English branch of the family for one generation, in the second generation passes to the Indian branch of the family, the children of Governor Henry Frankland. The Indian members of the family, in fact, found themselves in much easier circumstances than their English cousins ; hence, while the latter married late or not at all, the former married early and left their names and fortunes to their heirs.

## CONTRIBUTION OF JAINISM TO PHILOSOPHY, HISTORY, AND PROGRESS.\*

BY VIRCHAND R. GANDHI.

A HINDU story-teller tells us that once upon a time in India, four friends, a sculptor, a painter, a weaver and a Brahman, decided to travel from place to place and see the country. In the absence of railways and stage-coaches, they travelled on foot. After passing through a thick forest, when night fell, they halted under a tree on the banks of a river. Life and property not being secure, they decided that each one of them should, for three hours, keep watch. First came the turn of the sculptor. To while away his time, he fetched a huge piece of wood which he saw at a distance and made a statue of it. At the end of three hours he retired. It was the painter's turn now to keep watch. He saw the statue and painted it. Next the weaver got up, who made a beautiful garment and dressed the statue. Lastly, the Brahman's turn came. He looked at the statue, which was of a woman, beautifully painted and dressed, and thought that without life it was not of much use. So with his knowledge of magic and mysticism, he introduced life into it. At daybreak there stood before them a beautiful woman. Each one claimed the sole credit of making her. They quarrelled and quarrelled until they came to the conclusion that each one had contributed his share in the production of the woman.

We see the same spectacle in the religious and philosophical world, each system claiming the sole credit of having given to the world the whole truth. Bearing the moral of the story in mind, I have chosen as the subject, "Contribution of Jainism to Philosophy, History, and Progress."

"Jain" (properly speaking, "Jaina") means a follower of Jina, which is a generic term applied to those persons (men and women) who conquer their lower nature (passion,

\* For discussion on this paper, see "Proceedings of the East India Association."

hatred and the like) and bring into prominence the highest. There lived many such Jinas in the past and many will doubtless yet be born. Of such Jinas those who become spiritual heads and regenerators of the community are called Arhats (the deserving ones), or Tirthankaras (bridge-makers in the figurative sense—that is, those by the practice of whose teaching we can cross the ocean of mundane life and reach the perfect state). Hence the Jains are also called Ârhatas. In each half-cycle of many millions of years twenty-four Arhats are born. In the present half-cycle the last Arhat, Mahāvira, was born in 598 B.C., in Kundagrâma, in the territory of Videha. He lived seventy-two years and attained Moksha (liberation) in 526 B.C.

When European scholars first began to investigate the history of Jainism, they were struck with the similarities between its ethical code and institutions and those of Buddhism, hence they thought that Jainism must be a branch of Buddhism. But thanks to the labours of Jacobi, Buhler, and Leumann, it is now conclusively proved that Jainism is much older than Buddhism. At the advent of the Buddha the Jain sect had already attained a prominent position in the religious world of India.

We may now turn our attention to the contributions made by Jainism to Philosophy. In India, as elsewhere, philosophy became possible when the struggles for existence were followed by its enjoyment, when the spirit of conquest gave way to a life of peace and industry. The early effusions of the Aryan people, when we find them on the march of conquest of the aboriginal races of India, are invocations of prosperity on themselves and their flocks, adoration of the dawn, celebration of the struggle between the god who wields the lightning and the power of darkness, and the rendering of thanks to the heavenly beings for preservation in battle. When they settle down, we see them engaged in a high degree of reflection. Reflection is the moving spirit of philosophy. But all primitive philosophy concerns itself with searching

for the origin of the world. It postulates, after naive analysis, an original simple substance, from which it attempts to explain the multiplicity of the complex world. Philosophy in this sense assumes various forms. All of them attempt to interpret or rather formulate the law of causation and in that attempt many, fatigued after the long mental strain, stop at some one thing, element, or principle (physical or metaphysical), beyond which they have not mentally the ability to go. The Sâṅkhya Philosophy, for instance, tries to explain evolution and even "cosmic" consciousness, and the growth of organs, etc., as proceeding from a simple substance call Prakriti, or primordial matter. Orthodox philosophical systems of India—that is, those based on the Vedas and the Upanishads—adopt either the theory of creation, or of evolution, or of illusion to explain the origin of the world. Whatever theory they resort to, a simple substance or substances, intelligent or unintelligent, is or are postulated as the origin or cause of whatever there exists. Of the primal substance or substances there is no cause or origin. Early Greek philosophers—Thales and others—considered the riddle of existence solved when the original material had been stated, out of the modifications of which all things consist. How the original simple substance converted itself into complex substances no philosopher explains. The Jain position in this matter being peculiar, it will be necessary to take a more extended survey of philosophy.

One of the functions of philosophy is to advance from the known to the unknown. The procedures adopted are two—induction and deduction. The inductive process is understood as that by which a general law is inferred from particular facts; the deductive process as that by which a particular fact is inferred from a general law which is assumed to be universally true. Smith, Scott, Williams and others died in the past, therefore all men are mortal; this is induction. All men are mortal; Wilson is a man; therefore Wilson will die. This is deduction. Analyzing closely

these two processes, we find that in neither is there any addition of knowledge. The results are only inferences. In some cases it is mere tautology. We are not under the present development of our nature able to observe all facts ; hence the induction is only a working hypothesis at the best. If we happen to meet a single exception, we have to modify the conclusion. In deduction, if the general law is found inapplicable to a particular case, we are obliged to grant that there is an additional factor in that case which does not come under the general law. So that in both processes the results have to be verified by actual experience. By themselves they are not a permanent test. They are not always a correct measure of truth.

In the view of Jain philosophy, the measure of truth is *Samyag-jñāna*, that is, knowledge purged of all infatuating elements. The constitution of man is such that as soon as he removes moral vices, his intellectual processes flow into a pure channel. I may add that knowledge as knowledge or morality as morality is not the ideal of the Jains. In fact, some kind of action always goes with every form of knowledge. We never meet with knowledge without action, or action without knowledge. True advancement consists in both being right and consistent.

Coming back to the question of the first beginnings of philosophy, we saw that primitive systems, in search of reality, are satisfied when they postulate a simple substance for the explanation of the complexity of the universe. This kind of reflection, though primitive, is an improvement on the spirit of conquest, devastation, and extirpation. Centuries of peace, industry, and reflection develop better culture and higher civilization. The history of all nations bears ample testimony to this fact. India is no exception to this rule. The day on which the Aryan ancestors of modern Hindus first began to reflect on the origin of the universe must be celebrated by them as a national holiday. Unfortunately, such a day cannot be fixed, and the Hindus have never had a national spirit.



In orthodox Hindu philosophy, the search for the First Cause is recommended, because it is supposed to land us in the realm of reality, the idea being that effects are unreal, and the true reality is the First Cause. "The reality which, being indescribable, is always mentioned in the Upanishads as It (Tat), is Brahman ; material manifestations being but shadows of the Eternal Ens, clothed in *name* and *form* (*Mâyâ*—illusion)."\* Hence, to realize that I am and always have been Brahma is the *summum bonum*. The Jain view is that the "realization" of the primal substance, out of which the universe has manifested, is no advancement or progress. The Jains are the advocates of the development theory ; hence their ideal is physical, mental, moral, and spiritual perfection. The very idea of a simple substance, without qualities, character, and activities, finds no place in the Jain philosophy, and is regarded as irrelevant and illogical ; a characterless cause manifesting as a qualitative effect is a misunderstanding of the law of causation. Cause and effect, substance and manifestation, noumenon and phenomenon, are really identical. Cause is a cause when it is operating, and an operating cause is itself the effect. Hydrogen and oxygen, in their ordinary condition, are not water ; vibrating in a peculiar electrical way, they are not only the cause and water the effect, but water is what they are in this relation. Any object, divested of all relations, could not be called by any other name than Being or Ens. As an abstraction or generalization, the process has its use. In order to study the various aspects of things and ideas, this method of analysis is invaluable. But to call Being or "Eternal Ens" the cause, or the noumenon, or the absolute, and distinguish it from the effect, calling it the unreal, phenomenon, or relative, is pseudo-analysis. The Jain process of acquiring knowledge may be described as follows : First, there is the indefinite cognition as an isolated object or idea ; it is the state of the mind prior to analysis, that condition of things

\* M. N. Dvivedi, 'Monism or Advaitism ?'

to which analysis is to be applied. This is what is really meant by unity, or identity, of the universe with the real which many philosophers proclaim. It makes no difference whether this unity or identity finds its home in a sensuous object or a subjective idea, the process is the same. Next comes analysis—the dissolving, separating, or differencing of the parts, elements, properties, or aspects. Last comes the synthesis, which is putting together the primitive indefinite cognition—synstatis—with the subsequent analysis; so that the primitive cognition shall not be a complete annihilation or disappearance by the condensation of all differences, and so that, on the other hand, the analysis shall not be an absolute diffusiveness, isolation, or abstraction, destructive of all unity, which is not the primitive unity but the relational unity of a variety of aspects. The analytical method is known in the Jain literature as *Naya-vâda* (consideration of aspects). The synthetical method is known as *Syâd-vâda* (doctrine of the inexpugnability of the inextricably combined properties and relations) or *Anekânta-vâda* (doctrine of non-isolation). Voluminous works on this subject have been written by Jain scholars, all in manuscripts still unpublished.

In illustration of what I have thus stated, I may remark that to a person in whom the first germ of reflection is just born the universe is a vague something, an utter mystery—at the most, a unity without differentiation; analysis leads him to consider its various aspects. He is struck with the change he sees everywhere. The constantly - running waters of rivers, decaying plants and vegetables, dying animals and human beings, strongly impress him that nothing is permanent. His first generalization, therefore, will be that the world is transitory. After years of research and reflection, he may learn that the things that pass away still exist in an altered condition somewhere. He may now generalize that nothing is annihilated; that, notwithstanding the changes that are visible everywhere, the world, taken as a whole, is permanent. Both generalizations are

true from different points of view ; each by itself is an abstraction. When he learns to synthesize, he puts together the various aspects he has found of the world, and realizes that the integrality of truth consists in the indissoluble combination of all the possible aspects. The inherence of contrary aspects in a single idea or object seems impossible to the unsynthetic mind. Sankara, the well-known Vedânta scholar, has fallen into a great error when he states that the Jain doctrine should not be accepted, because "it is impossible that contradictory attributes, such as being and non-being, should, at the same time, belong to one and the same thing ; just as observation teaches that a thing cannot be hot and cold at the same moment." The Jains do not teach that a thing can be hot and cold at the same moment ; but they do teach that a thing cannot be hot absolutely, and cannot be cold absolutely ; it is hot under certain definite circumstances, and cold under others. The Jains do not teach that being and non-being (of itself) should at the same time belong to one and the same thing. What they teach is that in a thing there is being of itself, and non-being of other things, which means that a thing can be fully known only by knowing what it *is* and what it *is not*. Sankara, in fact, creates a man of straw, imputes to him imaginary doctrines, and by refuting them, he knocks him down. That is his glory.

I shall now state a few of the first principles of the Jain philosophy. Its first teaching is that the universe is not merely a congeries of substances, heaped together and set in activity by an extra-cosmic creator, but is a system by itself, governed by laws inherent in its very constitution. Law is not to be understood in the sense of a rule of action prescribed by authority, but as a proposition which expresses the constant or regular order of certain phenomena, or the constant mode of action of things or beings under certain definite circumstances. It is not a command, but a formula to which things or beings conform precisely,

and without exception under definite relations, internal and external. Jainism, therefore, is not a theistic system in the sense of belief in the existence of a God as the Creator and Ruler of the universe; and still the highest being in the Jain view is a person, and not impersonal, characterless, qualityless being. All that there is in or of the universe may be classified under two heads: (1) Sentient, animate or conscious beings (*a*, liberated beings; *b*, embodied beings); and (2) Insentient, inanimate or unconscious things or substances. There is not an inch of space in the universe where there are not innumerable minute living beings. They are smaller than the minutest things we can see with the aid of a microscope. Weapons and fire are too gross to destroy them. Their life and death depend on their vital forces, which are, of course, related to the surroundings. Clay, stones, etc., as they come fresh from the earth have life. Water, besides being the home of many living beings, is itself an assemblage of minute animate creatures. Air, fire, and even lightning have life. Strictly speaking, the physical substance of clay, water, stone, etc., is a multitude of bodies of living beings. Dry clay, dry stone, boiled water, are pure matter, and have no life. Vegetables, trees, fruits, have life. When dried or cooked there is no life in them. Worms, insects, fish, birds, animals, human beings, are all living beings. There are living beings on stars and planets, and even beyond the starry region. "Life" is only an abstraction. It is not something concrete, superadded to the constituent elements of living beings. It is a generalization, derived from our observation of the varying modes of behaviour of such living beings. The stage of actual development of one living being being different from that of another, living beings are classified in many ways in the Jain philosophy. The simplest classification is based on the number of organs of sense they have developed.

Besides the category of living beings, there is one of inanimate substances. These are matter, two kinds of ether

(one, the fulcrum of motion, the other, the fulcrum of rest) and space. We must bear in mind that ether and space are not matter in the Jain view. Matter has various qualities and relationships which the former do not possess. Time is also called a substance in a figurative sense, a generalization of the moving activities of things and beings.

Every living being, from the minutest to the highest embodied one, is the centre of innumerable potential and actual energies, which are called Karmas in the Jain philosophy. The word "Karma" has an interesting history. In the Vedas it means the performance of sacrifices, offering of oblations to nature-gods and manes of deceased ancestors. Karma-mârga—the path of works—is nothing but ritualistic Brâhmanism. In the words of Sir Monier Monier-Williams: "Not even Jewish literature contains so many words relating to sacrifice as the literature of the Brâhmans. The due presentation of sacrificial offerings formed the very kernel of all religious service. Hymn, praise and prayer, preaching, teaching, and repetition of the sacred words of Scripture were only subsidiary to this act. Every man throughout his whole life rested his whole hopes on continually offering oblations of some kind to the gods; and the burning of his body at death was held to be the last offering of himself in fire (antyeshti)." In later literature, Karma, in addition to the above meaning, also meant duty and good and bad actions. In the Jain literature we have a fuller meaning. It is any energy which an embodied being generates—be it vital, mental, or moral—and which keeps him in the mundane world—the Sânsâra. Karma, in short, is the whole Sansâric make-up of an embodied being. It is entirely divested of the sacrifice idea. Karmas which keep the individual in a backward condition are known as Pâpa; those which help him in advancement are Punya. The Jain philosophy gives a detailed enumeration of Karmas, and explains how they are attracted (Âshrava), how they are assimilated with the individual (Bandha), how their inflow can be stopped (Samvara), how they can be entirely worked out (Nirjarâ),

and what the ultimate state of a perfected individual is (Moksha). This particular branch of philosophy, therefore, includes topics like sensations, perceptions, consciousness, pains and pleasures, moralities of life, moral depravities, building of the bodies and all factors of the individuality. No other philosophical system in India has gone into so many details of life-building as Jainism has done. Like other systems, Jainism teaches the doctrine of rebirth, the nature of which depends on the nature of the Karmas that are just ripe to manifest themselves soon after death.

It will be seen from the foregoing remarks that the ideal of the Jain philosophy is the physical, mental, moral, and spiritual perfection and (after death or rebirths if necessary) attainment of perfect spiritual individuality, which does not disappear, is not dissolved, is not merged into a supreme being, is not a state of unconsciousness, but persists for ever and consists of perfected consciousness and highest rectitude. This being the goal of every living being, life in every form is highly respected by the Jains. The universe is not for man alone, but is a theatre of evolution for all living beings. Live and let live is their guiding principle. Ahimsâ paramo dharmah — Non-injury is the highest religion. Their ceremonial, worship, institutions, manners and customs (purely Jain) all rest on this grand fulcrum of Ahimsâ. Man, in his desire to continue his life forces, so that he may do the highest good while living here, is obliged to destroy life; but the less and lower form of life he destroys, the less harmful Karmas he generates. This is the basis of the strict vegetarianism of the Jains. Acting on that idea, they have built homes for maimed or old animals in many cities and towns of India, where they are fed and taken care of until they die a natural death. The preaching of that grand principle has almost entirely superseded Brahminical sacrifices of animals.

In literary activity, Jains have held a prominent position. Their scholars and philosophers have composed voluminous works on philosophy, logic, comparative religion, grammar, prosody, mathematics, lexicography, music, history, bio-

graphy, astronomy, etc., besides works on their ceremonial and ritualism. Out of the many authors, only a few need be mentioned here. Bhadrabâhu Suri composed "Niryuktis" on ten works of the Jain canon, also a work on astronomy. Devarddhi Gani, the Kshamâshramana, is the redactor of the sacred canon; 980 years after Mahâvira, the last Arhat, Devarddhi, seeing that all the canonical works were being lost in course of time, caused them to be written down. Before that time the sacred literature was handed down from master to disciple without the help of books. Siddhasena, the Divâkara, converted King Vikramâditya to Jainism, and is the author of many philosophical works. Haribhadra, a Brâhman by birth and a convert to Jainism, composed 1,444 Prakaranas (short treatises) on various subjects. Malayagiri is another well-known author. Abhayadeva wrote commentaries on nine principal canonical works. Devendra Suri wrote works on Karma, etc. Dharmasâgara contributed a work on the history and beliefs of heterodox sects. Hemachandra, the well-known encyclopædist, brought Prince Kumârapâla of Gujrat to Jainism, and is the reputed author of three crores and a half of couplets. Yasovijaya wrote many works. Muni Âtmârâm-jî, who died only four years ago, composed several works in popular style, thus bringing home the Jain philosophy to the masses.

In the literary world of India Jains justly claim the credit of accurate recording of history. Accurate chronicling of events and history-making seldom find a place in the ancient works of Hindus. Among the Jains, however, the case is different. Since the time of their first literary activity they have been recording the most important historical events of the time. Authors and commentators mention, at the end of their respective works, the names of their spiritual predecessors and the work done by them. Jain Paṭṭāvalis' lists of spiritual heads of the community, with a short sketch of their lives and description of the leading events of the time, are well-known, and are being earnestly studied by German Oriental scholars and Professor

Bendall of London. Jacobi, Klatt, Buhler, and last but not the least my friend Professor Leumann, of the Strassburg University, have settled many points of Jain history with the aid of these Paṭṭāvalis.

The sacred libraries of Jains, established at various periods of our history for the purpose of facilitating to laymen the study of their philosophy and religion, contain thousands of manuscripts, some of which have not been allowed to be even looked at, for the reason that the Jains, not being aware of the motives of the European scholars, are still apprehensive of the consequences of Mohammedan sacrilege and destruction of everything that is holy. The libraries of Pattan, Cambay, and Jessulmir have a world-wide reputation. A portion of manuscripts, deposited in those libraries, has been catalogued by Professors Buhler, Kielhorn, Bhandarkar, and others. Distant seems to be the day when the European scholars will take an active interest in the philosophy embodied in those works. Four canonical works have been translated into English by Professor Jacobi in the "Sacred Books of the East" series. Portions of others are translated by continental Orientalists. Almost the whole canon in original with commentaries and Gujrati translations, has been published by the late Rai Dhanapatisinh Bahadur of Murshidabad. Some later works have been published by Bhimasinh Manak, the well-known Jain publisher of Bombay, now deceased. Much still remains to be done in the way of publication.

The Jains have been a powerful and influential community in the history of India. Some of them held high positions under native and Mohammedan rule. Writing so far back as 1829, Colonel James Tod says in his "Annals of Rājasthān":

"The number and power of these sectarians (Jains) are little known to Europeans, who take it for granted that they are few and dispersed. To prove the extent of their religious and political power, it will suffice to remark that the Pontiff of the Kharataragachchha, one of the many



branches of the faith, has 11,000 clerical disciples scattered over India ; that a single community, the Ossi or Oswal, numbers 100,000 families ; and that more than half the mercantile wealth of India passes through the hands of the Jain laity. Râjasthân and Saurâshtra are the cradles of the Jain faith, and three out of their sacred mounts, namely, Âbu, Pâlitânâ, and Girnâr, are in these countries. The officers of the State and revenue are chiefly of the Jain laity, as are the majority of the bankers from Lahore to the ocean. The chief magistrate and assessors of justice in Udeypur and most of the towns of Râjasthân, are of this sect ; and as their voluntary duties are confined to the civil cases, they are as competent in these as they are the reverse in criminal cases, from their tenets forbidding the shedding of blood. . . . Mewar has, from the most remote period, afforded a refuge to the followers of the Jain faith, which was the religion of Valabhi, the first capital of Rânâ's ancestors, and many monuments attest the support this family has granted to its professors in all the vicissitudes of their fortunes. One of the best preserved monumental remains in India is a column most elaborately sculptured, full 70 feet in height, dedicated to Parshvanath—in Chitor. The noblest remains of sacred architecture, not in Mewar only, but throughout Western India, are Buddhist or Jain ; and the many ancient cities where this religion was fostered have inscriptions which evince their prosperity in these countries with whose history their own is interwoven. In fine, the necrological records of the Jains bear witness to their having occupied a distinguished place in Rajput society ; and the privileges they still enjoy prove that they are not overlooked."

The Jains are advocates of education. Their benefactions to Western education and intellectual progress in India are well known. The University of Bombay owes to a Jain merchant the means of erecting a stately library and a grand campanile, which are among the chief ornaments of the city. The Calcutta University has received an endowment of two lacs of rupees from the same hand.

Another Jain merchant has recently bequeathed five lacs of rupees for establishing a Jain college. Female education in Gujerat depends almost entirely on Jain liberality. Many schools, libraries, and scholarships have been founded or endowed by Jains.

Being devotedly attached to the religion of their ancestors, they have built sumptuous buildings and magnificent temples, the style of which commands the applause of the best architectural critics of Europe. Their most sacred place is Mount Shatrunjay, situated near Pâlitânâ, in Kâthiâwâr. Its summits are encrusted with marble temples and cloisters, erected in the course of many centuries at the expense of Jain people. Several times in the year rich Jains convey large bodies of their co-religionists to this and other holy places for pilgrimage at their cost. Besides, Jain pilgrims singly and in large bands from all parts of India flock to these temples at all times of the year. It may be noted that Lord Reay, as Governor of Bombay, having, after careful study, settled the disputes between the Jain Community and the Chief of Pâlitânâ, fifteen years ago, an address of welcome was presented to him when he, with Lady Reay, visited that hill. That was the first official and public presentation to a British representative. In conclusion, I may observe that the present Viceroy of India, Lord Curzon, in reply to an address by the Jains of Calcutta, made the following remarks :

“ Among the various communities which have addressed me since my arrival in India there is none whose words of welcome awaken a more responsive echo in my breast than the Jains. I am aware of the high ideas embodied in your religion, of the scrupulous conception of humanity which you entertain, of your great mercantile influence and activity, and of the ample charities that have characterized your public and private dispensations. Previous travels in India have also familiarized me with many of your temples, in whose architectural features I have observed a refinement that reminds me of the great days of Asiatic art.”

## KOREA, THE PEARL OF THE ORIENT :

TRADITIONAL, HISTORICAL, DESCRIPTIVE.

BY CHARLOTTE M. SALWEY, M.J.S.

KOREA, or Chō-sen, the peninsula jutting out from the great Chinese Empire, and divided from Japan by the Japan Sea and Straits of Korea, is a country which is laying claims to our present interest. Since our knowledge of it as an inhabited land, it has maintained an isolated attitude towards all other nations with the exception of its three closest neighbours. Our eyes are now turned towards this interesting nation to watch the progress of its new awakened spirit, which must be full of unrest, considering the turn political events are taking in the Far Eastern regions of the globe.

Like many other countries of such an ancient foundation, Korea is inhabited by a people not aboriginal, but by invaders who conquered old settlers, and drove them forth further afield.

Dating from about the Christian era, until the early part of the sixteenth century the Koreans and Japanese kept up lively communications, sometimes helpful and peaceful, at others warlike and harassing. Frequent petty strifes are recorded in the distant annals of Japanese history, especially noted in the Nihonji and Kojiki, published in 712 A.D., the oldest books that give us information of Japanese events. Commerce and emigrants flowed from one country to the other, and the influence brought to bear upon the kingdoms of the extreme East by this, it will be seen, was of no mean importance.

The Emperor Sujin (the Civilizer) is said to have been the recipient of many beautiful presents and precious merchandise, which were safely delivered to him by many emigrants who successfully landed in the Province of Echizen between the years 97 and 30 B.C.

According to traditions, an early attempt was made to invade Korea by the Japanese, for it is stated in the books above mentioned that in 201 to 203 A.D. the Empress Jingō Kōgō headed an enterprise in person, and led her armies on to terra firma. Jingu or Jingō Kōgō, according to accounts, was the fourteenth sovereign of Japan. She reigned conjointly with her husband, Chiuai Tennō. She is said to have lived 100 years, out of which she reigned sixty-eight. Tradition tells us that this idea of conquest was suggested by the gods as a reward for her piety and devotion. The country was described to her by them as "sweet and fair as the lovely face of a virgin, dazzling bright with gold and silver and fine colours, and abounding with every kind of rich treasures." Jingō Kōgō, in her desire to accomplish this daring deed, overcame the most remarkable obstacles, and found every omen she consulted turn in her favour. Her husband, Chiuai Tennō, died while leading his armies to quell the rebellion in Kumaso that had disturbed the peace of the province, and required prompt measures to repress. His Minister, Také-no-uchi, concealed the Emperor's death from the soldiers, and thus by the aid of this faithful servant the Empress Jingō suppressed the outbreak. Flushed with the success of her arms, she longed for distant victories beyond the seas. Her enterprise was on a colossal scale. The army, headed by the Empress herself arrayed like a man, landed on Korean territory, and her ambitions were favoured on every side. It was a bloodless invasion.

In those days there were no watch-towers or search-lights, or any precautions taken to warn of the approach of the enemy from without, and isolated nations paid little attention to the possibility of complications arising through outside influences. Besides, the southern part of Korea, towards which the Empress had directed her soldiers to repair, was not only totally unprepared for this contingency, but the King was ignorant of the existence of any country outside his own. In consequence of this, he sur-

rendered immediately upon the appearance of the hostile forces. The white flag of truce was borne to the enemy's camp, and the Koreans swore henceforth to pay tribute to the Land of Sunrise. The rivers might flow backward, and the stones leap up to the stars, yet would this oath remain unbroken.

So the Empress returned in triumph to her native land, accompanied by ships heavily freighted with priceless treasures, with prisoners, and craftsmen who in course of time became valuable servants of her country. Of all the women who have ruled, or even become celebrated for deeds of daring, devotion, or self-sacrifice, Jingō Kōgō is the most beloved and venerated by this hero-loving people.

From that time to this Korea has been the connecting bridge, the highroad over which the civilizing influence of China traversed into Japan. "This conquest was of incalculable importance for the later development of Japan. The whole civilization and culture of China made their way into the Land of Sunrise, with Buddhism and the philosophy of Confucius as their vehicles, and their language, laws, and literature, the domestic animals and cultured plants, as well as their peculiar and interesting industries."

After the invasion Koreans emigrated to Japan, and became useful citizens, pursuing and teaching their crafts to the Japanese, who, with their extraordinary aptitude, soon perfected the teaching and excelled their masters. From this event also dates one of the most important experiments successfully carried through—that of rearing silkworms as a commercial speculation. This was achieved during the reign of the Emperor Nintoku (313-399 A.D.).

The prisoners brought back from Korea became sharers in the rough and hardest work of the land, assisting in the cultivation of rice and other grains, and in taking the brunt of agricultural labour. Those who refused these occupations became *Etas*, or wandering tribes, who were much

despised. They earned a scanty pittance by leather-dressing, skinning, and tanning, or they were called in to assist at executions and to remove the corpses. Leather was but rarely used in Japan, except for the mounting of chain armour, horse-bridles, and so forth ; tough paper supplied the want of the animal substance. The modern Japanese leather papers are much admired for their beauty, durability, and other peculiarities.

The stones did not leap up to the stars, neither did the Koreans adhere faithfully to their vows, and for this cause petty warfare was occasionally waged between the two nations. Sometimes, owing to a bad harvest or other failures, they begged their tribute might be delayed, or even withheld altogether ; at other times they grew lax, and did not carry through their contract, as the Japanese had a right to anticipate.

This state of things lasted more or less until the second invasion was attempted by Hidéyoshi, or Taiko Sama, as he is sometimes called. Hidéyoshi was a man of wonderful resource. Though of humble birth, he rose to great power through his ingenuity and cunning, his indomitable will and perseverance, for it was not often that men of inferior rank were chosen to receive such distinction as fell to his share. He was, however, a great patriot, and was bent on improving the condition of his country, which was during his time in a most disturbed and unsatisfactory state. The long internal warfare that had been protracted through centuries, in the struggle for the Shogunate, had thrown the land into much disorder, and his ambitions seemed to turn the tide of events into other channels. Under Hidéyoshi's guardianship arts and sciences flourished, and showed signs of promise for future development. Ships and armaments reached greater perfection than heretofore, and the name of Japan, so little known to the world at large, began to come under the notice of more distant nations. This great general was bent on the conquest of Korea for many reasons. His plan was first to impress

the Koreans, and subdue them, and afterwards by their aid and co-operation to invade China, and then finally annex the three kingdoms into one. By many writers Hidéyoshi's scheme is considered most unjust and unnecessary, and that this tremendous effort was made as much for his own glory as for the honour of his country. He never lived to carry out his strategies, neither was he able to undertake the expedition personally. His death terminated the invasion, and the army was recalled before the campaign had completed its mission. After Hidéyoshi's death, which took place at the commencement of the seventeenth century, ensued that long and glorious term of peace in Japan which lasted for more than 260 years, during which time the people directed their attention to the internal improvement of their country, shut their gates upon foreigners, excluded Christians from their shores, and governed themselves in a wonderful and successful manner. Arts flourished, and reached such a pitch of perfection that the beautiful objects produced by skilled manual labour during that epoch have become the wonder of the world, admired, coveted, and treasured by all who are fortunate enough to come across them.

Many historians discredit the invasion of Jingō Kōgō, and pronounce it purely mythical—in fact, they regard the early annals of Japanese history suspiciously up till about the beginning of the seventh century—but whether or no the invasion or raid upon Korea took place, it was at that time that many useful industries found their way into Japan. Improvement in trade and hand-made goods became noticeable, and an influence was brought to bear upon the people by strangers in their midst. Some say it was in the fifth, others in the sixth, century that Buddhism was introduced into the Land of the Rising Sun, and disseminated by the wandering and venturesome priests from China. We read through “this religious medium the highest influence upon arts was obtained, the purest forms found place among all representations of this new religion,

which extended beyond the great watery barrier formed by the China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. This faith had lost none of its intensity, in that it could yet inspire so powerfully the brush of the artist." To the hard-working industrial classes, repose, rest, absorption into a higher life, after years of honest labour in this world, was a potent creed. The calm, beatified countenance of Buddha, displayed in the pictures and idols, produced upon the minds of his followers a wonderful effect, and the priests' intertwined the tenets with that of the primeval religious system, in order that, without giving up the one, the new converts could embrace the other. There are two distinct teachings of Buddhism—the fierce and corrupt tenets, and the spiritual and artistic dogmas. It was towards the last that the hearts of these simple folk of the Sun Land were directed and inclined.

It is asserted that the peninsula of Korea is almost equal in size to that of Great Britain. It covers an area of 80,000 to 90,000 square miles, and its coast-line measures about 1,740 miles in length. It is a mountainous country; a chain, of elevated peaks occupies a large area of the interior. This lofty chain takes in a considerable and conspicuous portion of the coast; rich forest-trees of great beauty clothe these lofty ranges. In former years these mountains formed impregnable barriers against foreign invasions, and upon them the Koreans centred all their boast against intrusion. This was in the ancient days, before the invention of gunpowder, steamships, and modern deadly weapons of warfare.

The Ever-White Mountains, which divide Korea from the vast territory of Manchuria, and, except for them, make Korea as much an island as a peninsula, are much venerated by the superstitious. Paik-tu-San, the once-burning mountain, is now a grand and speaking symbol of peace and restfulness. Where the crater of Paik-tu-San once emitted its terrible fires and destructive flow of molten lava, eternal silence reigns. The Ever-White Mountains,



the name the highest peaks have earned, is not alone derived from the snow which falls and lingers near them. The lip of the crater of Paik-tu-San is of white pumice-stone, with red veins striping it here and there, and the shape of the crest is that frequently reproduced in the frilled edged vases of Chinese manufacture. Where the crater once boiled, there is now, deep down, almost unfathomable, a beautiful still lake of water, upon whose bosom stars or sunlight seek reflection in the profundity of its blue waters.

"Legends, traditions, and geological indications lead us to believe that anciently the Chinese promontory and the Province of Shantung, together with the Korean Peninsula, were connected, and that dry land once covered the space filled by the waters joining the Gulf of Pechili and the Yellow Sea. These waters are shallow; a slight rise in the elevation would restore their area to the land-surface of the globe. The Sea of Japan is narrow, and the Straits of Korea at their greatest depth have but 83 feet of water."

Korea is rich in mineral wealth, in gems, and other valuable products. These have been sadly overlooked; the historian and explorer have left unmolested this out-of-the-way corner of the earth, and the people themselves have wanted in energy to assert their place in universal history. Dense forests of monarchical trees that line the sea-border and heighten the solemn grandeur of the rock-bound coast are part of the nation's wealth. Studying the map of Korea, it is evident that, like her neighbours on the Yalu River side of the land, the convulsions of Nature have often played sorry havoc along her sea-borders, and that "in prehistoric times huge granite protuberances have separated from the mainland, and formed rocky islands of various dimensions."

In days when steam-power was untried, when boats were of the frailest make, when all means of transit were hazardous upon those stormy waters, the Koreans thought little of dangers coming from without. Deeming their

land safe from neighbouring foes, the people living in those provinces, unaffected from the invasions of the Chinese, nurtured this belief, and found rest in ignorance.

Jules Klaproth, whose work on "the Three Kingdoms" furnishes us with the earliest knowledge, describes the Koreans as of gentle disposition, humane, and possessing but few vices, not at all harsh in their punishment of crime, only taking the lives of culprits for the murder of parents, other offences being punishable by stripes of the bamboo. The Koreans are fond of eating and drinking, and are often guilty of an excess of the latter vice. They love dancing and gentle, quiet amusement. They are plodding and patient during hours of labour, and are fond of learning. They have a vocabulary of their own, but generally employ the Chinese characters. They build palaces and vast edifices, they sacrifice to the stars and constellations, and offer propitiations to good and evil spirits and local deities.

Until quite recently the Koreans would not have recourse to human aid during illness, neither would they take any medicine. It is only since the Christian medical missionaries have entered Korea that the people have understood the virtue of drugs and the benefit of medical aid. Now, we are told by missionaries in charge that when the Koreans require physic, they like to take large quantities, a pint or so for a dose. Often a sick man's relatives will consume the nourishing food, such as beef-tea or arrowroot, not understanding the theory of feeding an invalid whether or no he is hungry. Dispensaries are now in working order. At Seoul a beautiful building has been erected, well lighted and airy, one side being entirely of glass, a luxury and rarity in Korea. In 1893, 600 patients suffering from ophthalmia, abscess, diseased teeth, fever, scrofula, eczema, and other distressing complaints, received medical attendance and successful treatment. This mission-work is bearing fruit, and gaining the confidence of these poor neglected people.

The domestic arrangements of the Koreans are of the plainest description. Their homes are small and mean, furnished after the manner of the Japanese fashion—that is to say, the floors are covered with mats—and the vessels for daily use extremely small and simple. Boiled rice, beans, fish, and a variety of fruit form their daily fare. Trading seldom, even with their nearest neighbours, they are almost entirely dependent upon the produce of their own land. A bad agricultural harvest points to certain famine for the peasants; animal food does not suggest itself as an article for general consumption. In truth, there is not much demand for domestic animals in Korea. Beasts of burden are almost unknown. With the exception of the ponies used by the military classes, and the docile bulls for the heaviest farm and other work, man is the only worker. There is no means of conveyance from one part of the country to the other; all journeys must be accomplished on foot.

Articles for daily use are fragile and inexpensive; straw sandals, an endless variety of flimsy headgear, wooden, metal, or lacquered bowls, fans of unique make and pattern, beads and feather ornaments are the most striking objects.

G. N. Curzon, in his paper on the "Strange Cities of the Far East," dwells on the subject of headgear at some length, which, owing to the manifold patterns in use among all classes, is particularized as the one subject the Koreans have thoroughly thought out and settled to their own satisfaction, a particular shape, make, and manufacture being used by the various members of the community, and appropriated for their particular individual service. The national costume is picturesque and striking—white for soldiers and adults, and pink for children. The one "improvement" that has displeased the Koreans more than any other is that since the Chino-Japanese War the Japanese have insisted upon the adult Koreans adopting a national costume of black instead of white for official service.

Paper-making was understood at a very early period. The substance employed for this purpose was from the paper mulberry and the fibre of the rice-stalk. To this day they are famed for their paper, especially for a very rough and tough kind, which forms part of the annual tribute made to Peking. It is used for many purposes by the Chinese; among others, it forms part of the thickly wadded winter coat of the mandarins, an extra covering for windows, and even provides a soft armour, being capable of resisting a musket-shot.

After the invasion by Hidéyoshi, in the early part of the seventeenth century, the cotton-plant became extensively cultivated. This event proved a great comfort and luxury to the peasants, who were previous to this importation only able to procure garments made from long sea-grasses, or those of a woven hempen material. Silk was exclusively reserved for the use of the Court or the upper classes. Another advantage gained by the rupture between the two nations fell to the invaders' share; this was the introduction of Korean potteries into Japan. These are highly prized for their many and distinctive merits, for their originality, fine colouring, for their beautiful but simple forms, and for other technical details that place them with connoisseurs on a pedestal of excellence. Several Princes of Kiushiu, such as Satzuma and Hizen, brought back to their provinces valuable pieces of porcelain, and introduced with great success the foreign patterns, to which much attention was directed at that period. Many of the descendants of these Korean potters still live, and work at their beautiful craft; the Arita and Satzuma wares are the offspring of their labours. The talented craftsmen were encouraged by the Japanese, and invited to establish themselves and their kilns in Kioto and other towns, with a view of perpetuating and extending the Korean school of delicate ceramics. In return for all their knowledge and information, the Daimios granted the potters the privileges of Samurai; they were exalted to the rank of soldiers, and were permitted to wear

two swords, a much-coveted honour rarely extended to foreigners.

One of the chief products of Korea is Ginseng (*Panax ginseng*), called by the Japanese Nin-jin, and the Chinese Jin-san, a plant, according to Kämpfer, that stands next in value to tea, and most highly valued throughout the breadth and length of the Orient. As a medicine it is most efficacious. The drug is obtained from its long, carrot-like root, and its virtues are equally recognised by Koreans, Japanese, and Chinese. It is supposed to work wonders, and people who take it habitually believe their lives can be prolonged far beyond the ordinary span. Dr. Rein tells us *Panax ginseng* grows wild in the mountainous districts and forest regions of Eastern Asia from Nepal to Manchuria. Korea and Japan, as well as America, import this drug into China, but that from America is of an inferior quality. *Panax ginseng* is a plant of slow growth, taking three years to attain perfection, but when once established it will thrive unaided. In appearance it resembles the wild common carrot (*Daucus carota*). The drug is obtained by plunging the root into boiling water, and scalding it, after which process it presents a jelly-like aspect. When the scalding operation is over, the root is carefully dried in a kiln; this successfully accomplished, it is ready for the market.

Korea is rich in pearls of enormous size; their value is not understood. It is a frequent occurrence to see rows of these lovely gems lavishly displayed round the hems of dresses. Fine timber is a feature in the peninsula, and there are many rare species among the forestry. It is stated that the tomb of Hidéyoshi was made of valuable wood brought over from Korea after the invasion. Fruit is plentiful; walnuts, chestnuts, and other edibles known in England are indigenous to the land. There is an abundance of wild-fowl and pheasants; also swans, geese, teal, and other game. The feathers of these winged tribes supply material for hand-made goods, feathers always being

much in request in semi-barbaric lands, a trade too widely patronized by the fashionable ladies of Western countries of late years, to the danger of the extermination of many rare ornithological species, beside being a cruel waste of harmless, inoffensive life.

It is early days, perhaps, to prophesy the future of Korea, but to foresee many events which must follow upon the opening up of the country does not require much mental effort. When the curtain is effectually lifted from this once almost-forgotten land, it will literally pass from darkness into light. There will be no dawn of civilization or slow perception of civilizing benefits. Every change will be rapid, concise, and unalterable. That the Koreans will ever again be allowed to enjoy "the dignity of isolation" is not for a moment to be entertained. During the last fifty years the enlightened nations of the earth have insisted upon cosmopolitan interchange of merchandise and manufactures, and other traits of brotherhood. When this strenuous effort has to be made, how will it fare with Korea? We were told by an eye-witness that at the commencement of the late hostilities between China and Japan the Koreans smiled, and put on their best attire in honour of the invading army, and concerned themselves but little about the presence of these strange soldiers in their midst. Of such slight importance did they consider the sudden appearance of the foreigners, that they continued their ancient custom of ringing the curfew and closing the gates of the city, in token of peace and safety, while the armies of the Japanese were comfortably ensconced within instead of without the walls.

In the future not very far off Japan will have to cast about for colonial possessions, for an outlet for her increasing population, for a wider market for her useful industries and her manufactured goods; the nearer the market, the easier the trade. These isolated countries were formerly self-supporting, producing only hand-made goods, which more or less occupied every artisan of the community,

whole families often adopting the same trade, and making their home their only workshop. These were content with low wages for high services, for hereditary customs suggested simple living, and lengthened hours of work, with a ready demand for useful and for beautiful goods at all times. When the advantages of Western civilization and the energy of their near neighbours are fully grasped, these people of the Hermit Land may awaken to the possibilities and power of progress.

From a political point of view the position of this country is most unfortunate. Korea has many enemies to contend with in the future, who are all competitors, ready to spring upon her, or upon each other; for she is confronted by Russia's immense energy on the one side, whose ambitions are on a colossal scale; by China, eager to assert her ancient claims; and by Japan, whose traditional and historical annals have so long been bound up with this Land of the Morning Calm.

Whatever fate awaits Korea, the metamorphosis this country will undergo will be far greater than any we have known in our generation. For this reason, there will be no slow growth of progress, no medieval days with enlightenment slowly penetrating through the mist of ages, and the ever-expansive power of man's inventive genius. The Koreans will have the full benefit of past experiences of the more important nations. There will be no lighting up of towns and cities with feeble oil-lamps and rush candles. The mere bridle-paths that at present lie just outside the city precincts will not ring with the sound of the stone-hewer's axe or present the inconvenience of cobble-stone footways. When highways receive attention, they will be macadamized after the latest pattern, levelled with powerful steam-rollers, and glowing at nightfall with the full radiance of electricity. In the future not very far off Korea will build dockyards and arsenals, seaworthy vessels and men-of-war. These ships will compass the seas, and as year by year more treaty ports are open,

Korea must bring forth her merchandise, and compete successfully, as other nations in advance have done before. How eagerly we shall listen to those who will interpret for us the story of this hermit nation! With what intense and genuine interest shall we study for our own delight the literature, legends, arts, and labours of this Land of the Morning Calm! The love of novelty will be the stimulant. Korea of to-day is a territorial prize much coveted by enterprising nations for its position as a key to nearer Asian countries, as a coaling-station of much desirability, its supplies of this commodity being extensive and valuable. Other treasures contained within its unexplored regions have many attractions for its closest neighbours. Korea is in truth the Pearl of the Orient, which more than one monarch longs to possess, or at any rate to command the loan of, when it becomes necessary to display paramount power of an indisputable character for the maintenance of universal progress.

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NOTE.—Books consulted: “Corea, the Hermit Nation,” by W. E. Griffis; “Industries of Japan,” by Dr. Rein; “The Morning Calm,” missionary publication; “Les Trois Royaumes,” by Jules Klaproth, etc.



## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

At a meeting of the East India Association, held at the Westminster Town Hall on Monday, May 21, 1900, a paper was read by Virchand R. Gandhi, Esq., on "Contribution of Jainism to Philosophy, History and Progress." Sir Raymond West occupied the chair. The following among others were present: Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart.; Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.; Sir William Rattigan, Q.C.; Hon. J. D. Rees, C.I.E.; Lieut.-Colonel T. Warliker; Mrs. and Miss Arathoon; Mrs. F. Aublet; Mr. H. R. Cook; Mr. W. Coldstream; Mr. B. B. Costin; Mr. Bah Chet; Raizada Eswan Das; Mrs. Delafore; Miss Gawthrop; Miss Hertz; Mr. Shyamaji Kh Krishnavarma; Mr. Emlyn Lewys; Mr. Sayed Alay Mahomed, I.C.S.; Mr. V. J. Modi; Mr. J. B. Pennington; Mr. H. Prince, F.R.G.S.; Mr. Alexander Rogers; Mr. R. P. Roy; Mr. Kanwar Sain; The Misses Snitko; Mr. M. E. Tatham; Mr. W. T. Turton; Miss Webster; Mr. C. W. Whish; Mr. W. Martin Wood, Mr. C. W. Arathoon, hon. secretary.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced Mr. Gandhi, the paper was read.\*

The CHAIRMAN afterwards said: Ladies and gentlemen, this paper will have convinced everybody that the Jains, who have done so much for education in India, and taken so advanced a position in the liberalizing of the studies of that country, are a people whose philosophy and ideas have a claim to our serious consideration. Such a people, with such a class spirit amongst them, could not have been produced unless there were latent in the principles which govern them something raising them above our ordinary plane of everyday thoughts and aspirations. Therefore we must be grateful to the Jains, and must endeavour, if we can, to penetrate into the secret underlying motives of their mental activity. In that we shall be assisted by the paper just read, and, I hope, by further contributions in the same line of study by the distinguished gentleman who has favoured us with the paper to-day. It would be beyond my power to go into a minute discussion of the various points brought forward, which are matters only for scholars in a very special line. The most we can do is to take up a point here and there, and make a few observations with a view of suggesting a point for further elucidation, either now or on another occasion, by our learned lecturer. From that standpoint I should like to put forward one or two matters for inquiry. The relation of the Jain philosophy to the early Greek philosophy suggested several questions. Mr. Gandhi has mentioned Thales. Thales, looking out on the surface of creation, thought he detected the active principle of the universe in moisture. He was followed by another distinguished philosopher, who thought that water might be a very active force in nature, but that it could not be brought into activity without something which he could himself feel; and what he felt in his own person as being the central force was air. Then

\* See this paper elsewhere in this Review.

came Diogenes of Apollonia, who carried the speculation a step further, and said there must be something behind the air ; there must be a soul to give it this particular characteristic, and so he imagined as a *primum mobile*, or first source of being in action, the Soul of the Universe. These are views natural enough in the world of philosophy in its early stages. I should have been pleased if Mr. Gandhi had told us how far the earlier speculations of the Jain philosophers ran in this course. He takes us somewhat at a bound to the point of the development of all phenomenal existence from central real existence which lies behind, but the distinction is not to my mind quite clearly made out, of the Jain philosophy from the other systems, when he says the Jains are the advocates of the development theory, from which he springs to the notion that their ideal is physical, mental, spiritual, and moral perfection. He goes on to say that the phenomenal is on Jain principles indistinguishable from the real. I should like him to say something about the passage in which he says : "First, there is the indefinite cognition as an isolated object or idea." That, to me, is rather puzzling, because cognition to my mind means recognising something by its limits. So long as you do not assign to something limits which distinguish it from something else, the process can hardly be called a cognition ; it only becomes a cognition in so far as you mark it off by some particular signs, or limits, from other notions. Then we have the phrase, "condensation of all differences." I suppose that means a "suppression of differences." If you, in your philosophizing, in order to arrive at some comprehensive category, suppress one difference after another, at last you lose all possibility of recognition. I take it that "condensation" here means suppression—that you lose yourself if you carry that suppression of particulars and accidents and differences too far. Then the word "diffuseness" occurs. "The analysis shall not be an absolute diffuseness." I take it "diffusion" is used in the sense of "dispersion," so that the characteristics are so scattered that you can no longer recognise what it was you were proposing to deal with. I hope Mr. Gandhi will forgive me for being so critical. People are excusably critical when they know nothing of a subject and want to learn something. I take it that this phrase, "The doctrine of the inexpugnability of the inextricably combined properties and relations" in our everyday dialect means this : "A rational necessity under which we are of conceiving certain things as related to other things in particular ways." Another point struck me as being worth a word or two as to law in nature and a law as amongst human beings. Mr. Gandhi, I suppose taking the Jain view, says, "A law is not a command, but a formula to which things or beings conform precisely, and without exception under definite relations." This agrees with the view that I thought was to be gathered from the somewhat complicated statement I read a minute or two ago, namely, that things must needs be conceived as having certain relations to one another—that is, some things must. The proper way to state this would be the familiar one, it is not a command but a summary of observations. It comes to this, that law in nature is a statement in a systematic way, of the conditions of the existences of the actual phenomena, the difference between this and the human law

being that amongst natural objects it is the obedience which constitutes the law, whereas amongst human beings it is the law which enforces the obedience, or at least it is that which commands the obedience, which is enforced by a sanction behind it. There was a point which struck me as being extremely interesting. He said, "Clay, stones, etc., as they come fresh from the earth, have life." If that is a correct statement, which I do not doubt, of the Jain view, they are trespassing very much on the field of Thales, whose idea was that it was moisture which constituted the life; and the Jain idea appears to be of a universality of life existing under these particular conditions, in which you contrive to expel more or less moisture. I am afraid, however, that I am trespassing upon time which ought to be given to other gentlemen. There are a number of most interesting topics which suggest themselves in connection with this paper, and I hope that Mr. Gandhi, when he has leisure, will develop the subject more at length. To compress a statement of the Jain philosophy, and the contributions it has made to the intellectual growth of mankind within the compass of a lecture of half an hour, would be too great an effort for the greatest genius. Therefore I think it no ill compliment to Mr. Gandhi to say his paper will, in my opinion, admit of a considerable degree of expansion and development with advantage, to the elucidation of the argument, and our further comprehension of the somewhat abstruse subject with which he has dealt.

SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN would be glad if the lecturer would enlighten them on the most important questions connected with the subject. He would first observe for the information of those present, who had not been personally connected with the Jains, that they were an exceedingly interesting community, and there was no more strange or weird sight than that of the stricter Jains, with their faces bound up with white cloths to prevent the possibility of an insect entering into their mouths, and so inadvertently destroying life; and holding little brooms in their hands with which they carefully swept the ground before them, or the seat upon which they were going to sit, in order that they might not tread, or sit, on any living thing. Many of the stricter members of the community lived in monasteries or nunneries, in the most ascetic fashion, eating only food which was the refuse of the meals of others, drinking only dirty water, and performing all sorts of menial offices. He thanked Mr. Gandhi for having directed the attention of English students to the Jain philosophy and creed, and would ask to be informed regarding the difference, now somewhat obscure, between the dogmatic teaching of Jainism and Buddhism. To his mind there was amongst the creeds of the world none so fascinating as Buddhism. It was purely atheistic in the best sense of the word, with an ethical system, which provided for mankind a future of happiness or misery, according to whether the course of life on earth had been virtuous or vicious. The subtleties so ingeniously suggested by the chairman were after all of very little practical importance. The question present in the minds of most of them, he thought, was what was the differentiation between Buddhism and Jainism. Was there really any philosophical difference between the two creeds?

MR. COLDSTREAM had listened with great pleasure, and derived much instruction from the address. None of them who had lived in India could have failed to be interested in the development of this most interesting system. At the beginning of his address the lecturer had told them of the statue carved by the carpenter which needed to be clothed. They would like very much if he, the lecturer, or other competent scholar, would do something to clothe the bare statue of the abstract description of Jainism by a description of the practical life of the Jain people. There were a good many Jains in the Punjab. In the Central Punjab (he did not think they extended as a clan beyond the Ravee) they were called Bhabrahs, while in the parts about Delhi and Hissar they were known as Sāraogis. The developments of the system in everyday life formed an interesting study as to their views of the sanctity of life, and their vegetarianism. In some parts of the country it took the form of a hesitation in using vegetables of a certain kind, those, for instance, of a red colour, because, he supposed, red was the colour of blood.\* The Jains were a mercantile community, very much respected, and a people who carried weight in many ways. They had many interesting customs. In the district with which he was connected they used to put their families into ox-carts, and drive them through country by-roads to a very remote village, where there was a shrine, or place of ancestral sanctity or veneration.† He made these remarks to emphasize his feeling that the Jain people were deserving of intimate study.‡

MR. WHISH thought they owed a debt to the lecturer for having brought so important a subject to their notice. One of the first necessities for successful administration in India was to comprehend the vast congeries of races and customs, and for that comprehension tolerant and sympathetic views of religions whose tenets conflicted with their own were essential. The historical part of the question was of intense interest. It was at first thought that Jainism was an offspring of Buddhism, but later researches had shown that the fact was the other way. It would be interesting if the lecturer could give them information on this subject. The subject suggested by the chairman as to the extent to which Jainism was indebted to the Greek inspiration was also a subject of great interest. He could not follow the lecturer in his philosophical observations. It seemed

\* In Hoshiārpur, Punjab, the unwillingness of the Bhabrah women to handle raw vegetables of particular kinds—some probably on account of their red colour, and others, perhaps, because of the insects adhering to them—led them to get their neighbours of less scrupulous views to cut up their raw vegetables, and prepare them for the pot.

Again, the Jāt and “Bāgari” peasantry in the Hissar and Scosa districts are so imbued with the tenets of Jainism in the direction of the preservation of animal life, that they are seriously annoyed when a sportsman appears in the neighbourhood of their villages to shoot antelope, which there abound.

† This remote village is called Fattehpoore. He (the speaker) was never able to visit it, but it lies, he believes, twenty to thirty miles north-east of Hoshiārpur, at the base of, or in, the Siwalik hills. It contains, not improbably, some very ancient remains.

‡ The Bhabrah women are known in Hoshiārpur for their skill and industry in needlework—in the production especially of those handsome embroideries, coloured floss silks of coarse quality sown on a ground of coloured cotton cloth, called in the Punjab *phuḥkāri* or *chob*, so much in demand for domestic decoration in England and elsewhere.

almost too intricate a subject for anyone but an expert. He thought that all movements for the humane treatment of animals must be largely indebted to Jainism. When the present war was over public attention would no doubt be turned to the treatment of horses, which he believed had suffered more than the men. Another subject of interest was the correspondence between the Jain architecture and English Gothic.

SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN said that there was one part of the lecture which he thought might have been a good deal amplified, to which Sir Lepel Griffin had referred, namely, how far Buddhism was indebted to Jainism for its general precepts. He could bear testimony to what had been said of the character of the men who professed the Jain religion. They were of a very estimable character, men of high principles, keeping aloof from all other agitations which led to nothing but embroilment with other communities.

SIR ROLAND WILSON had no special acquaintance with the Jains, beyond having once visited their very beautiful temple at Ahmedabad, where what struck him most was in the first place that, as in the Mahommedan mosque, he was expected to take his boots off before entering, but that, as was not the case in the mosque, he was provided instead with a pair of slippers, and next that he there saw what he had not expected to see, priestesses taking an important part in the prayers. Pending the answer of the lecturer to the very interesting question put by Sir Lepel Griffin and others, as to the relations between Jainism and Buddhism, he thought he might assume that in those respects, which chiefly interested such an audience as the present, the two were practically identical. Jainism and Buddhism were alike in being practically atheistical, but combining with that, a very definite belief in law and personal responsibility, and a capacity for extreme self-denial in obedience to that impersonal law. In England also it was easy to meet with highly conscientious agnostics; but it did not follow that the position was intellectually tenable. He himself thought it was not, and referred to the recent masterly treatise of Dr. James Ward, of Cambridge. Another point common to Buddhism and Jainism was the aversion to the taking of life, and consequently to all forms of fighting, even when purely defensive. In that it seemed to him they had an explanation in a great measure of the presence in India, first of the Mahommedans, and then of the British. He thought that the essential contradiction between the existence of a State and the principle of non-resistance was sufficient to explain the ultimate downfall of Buddhism. True, the Jains survived, and were still (as the lecturer had shown) very useful members of the community; so were the Quakers in this country; but the existence and usefulness of both were dependent on the willingness of others, who did not share their principles, to afford them protection.

MR. MARTIN WOOD felt that there was a little deficiency in the historical part of the matter. He had not gathered personally the difference between Buddhism and Jainism in point of order. Was it not that the Jains entered more into practical life? Did not the Jains set up the system of honouring their chief men? It was new to him that Jainism preceded Buddhism.

The HON. J. D. REES said that the questions asked as to the differences

between the Jains and the Buddhists rather referred to doctrinal differences. As far as he had seen the Jains, he had not been able to see in their life and conversation any difference between them and the Hindus around them. He would like to ask to what extent Jainism was a living religion, so as to differentiate its professors from the Hindus around them.

MR. GANDHI said : Ladies and gentlemen, I sincerely thank the speakers for their sympathetic observations and their desire to have certain points cleared. The time at our disposal being limited, I hope you will excuse me if I condense my remarks. The first point demanding explanation is the relation between the Jain philosophy and the early Greek philosophy. In my view there is no relation between them. The early Greek philosophers were pure physiologists ; they mainly studied the material universe, and that in a rudely observational manner. We cannot call them materialists, for the antithesis between matter and spirit was unknown to them. The cosmic matter passed with them for something in itself living ; they thought of it as animated, just as are particular organs. It is naive hylozoism. They were in search of an ultimate ground of the universe. The earliest Jain records, on the other hand, dispense with this way of looking upon philosophical questions. They distinctly teach that the cosmos has no beginning and no end. The search for its origin is therefore futile. This does not mean that the state or modality of the cosmos is the same at all times. It is constantly changing. Any particular state is the resultant of previously operating causes, which, in their turn, are the results of other previously operating causes, and so on, without coming to a stop. The search for a cause or origin is the outcome of the inner conviction of the human mind that a state of things must be the effect of sufficient cause or causes. The cause or causes, when found, must necessarily, by the same logic, be the effects of other causes, and so on. To stop at some causeless cause is suicidal to the inner conviction just referred to. The fact is that when the mind in its search for the origin of the universe stops at something, it is because of its inability (lack of capacity) to go further, or to grasp or imagine a previous state of things. Next, the antithesis between matter and spirit is clearly drawn in the earliest Jain canonical books. These works are the records of the teaching of Mahāvira, the last Arhat, who lived about the time of the Ionic philosophers. Later, when Alexander the Great came to India, Jain philosophy was already an established system. If there is any borrowing at all, it must be on the part of the Greeks. The chairman has detected a similarity between Thales' view that water or moisture is the origin of the world, and the Jain view that moist clay, etc., have life. He therefore remarks that the Jains are trespassing very much on the field of Thales, whose idea was that it was moisture which constituted the life ; and that the Jain idea appears to be of a universality of life, existing under these particular conditions, in which you contrive to expel more or less moisture. On reference to my paper, you will see that, in the Jain view, even fire, which is a negation of moisture, has life. Besides, according to Thales, the whole cosmos is a living thing ; according to Jains, there are living as well as lifeless things in the world.

The statement that the Jains are advocates of the development theory was made to contrast the Jain view with that of the Vedanta, and not in reference to the origin of the world, nor was it in reference to the development of "all phenomenal existence from central real existence which lies behind." I think I must put the Jain view about phenomenal and noumenal existence in a clearer form. In the Kantian philosophy, noumenon is that which can be the object only of a purely intellectual intuition. To such an existence the Jains have no objection; nay, they postulate the existence of realities which are supersensuous. Such realities are a part of the cosmos, but not a cause or origin of it. There are other Western philosophers who advocate the view that behind the world of phenomena there is an impenetrable world of noumena, that behind this apparent existence there is a hidden existence, of which the varied phenomena are but fleeting manifestations, that things in themselves are necessarily different from things in relation to us. In brief, a noumenon in their view is a thing as it is apart from all thought; it is what remains of the object of thought after space, time, and all the categories of the understanding are abstracted from it. To this view the Jains give an emphatic denial. The Jain position is: First, that right knowledge is the only test or measure on our part of the existence of a reality; secondly, that knowledge is always the knowledge of relations; thirdly, that reality is never out of relations (a particular reality may not be in physical relation with another reality, it may be in the relationship of subject and object, knower and known); and fourthly, that the relations are constantly changing. To be is to be in relation. So, when we know a thing, we know the relations—some, if not all—in which it stands to us and to other things. *To that extent we know the thing as it is.* There are other present relations which we do not know, and there are other possible relations also which we may not know under our present state of development. This residuum of relationships is the noumenon. The task of our research ought to be to fix these unknown relations, and not to go in quest of the phantom "thing in itself." As Mr. George Henry Lewes says: "The illusion of an existence underlying the appearance arises from our tendency to dissociate abstractions from their concretes, and endow the former with a permanent reality denied to the latter." Noumenon and phenomenon are not two separate existences, but only two modes of our looking upon the full content of a thing, part of which is known and part unknown to us now. The fallacy in the popular mind in reference to these terms is that of confounding a logical distinction with an actual separation.

This leads me to the next point that demands explanation, namely, the difference between Jainism and Buddhism. In the Buddhist view, nothing is permanent. Transitoriness is the only reality. As Professor Oldenberg says: "The speculation of the Brahmins apprehended being in all being, that of the Buddhists becoming in all apparent being." The Jains, on the contrary, consider being and becoming as two different and complementary ways of our viewing the same thing. Reality in the Jain view is a permanent subject of changing states. To be, to stand in relation, to be active, to act upon other things, to obey law, to be a cause, to be a

permanent subject of states, to be the same to-day as yesterday, to be identical in spite of its varying activities, these are the Jain conceptions of reality. Mere becoming is as much an abstraction as mere being. In short, being and becoming are complements of the full notion of a reality. Besides, Buddhism discards the idea of individuality. Jainism, on the other hand, considers individuality in the twofold aspect of permanence and transitoriness. The individual, in the Jain view, continues to exist in different states. Next, the Buddhist idea of the *summum bonum* is undefined. The Jain idea is that of perfection of the individual. Jainism teaches the doctrine of soul, Buddhism denies it. There are many other differentiating points, but these will do for our present purposes.

Referring to Jain psychology and logic, the interpretations which the Chairman gave of certain words and expressions occurring in the paper—*e.g.*, “condensation,” “diffusiveness”—are correct, and I must thank him for his remarks in that line. I used the phrase “indefinite cognition.” By that I mean that state of the mind in which there is no clear differentiating notion about the object. It is a state in which the mind in a vague way feels that it (the object) is something. It is the state of the mind prior to analysis. In the absence of any special word which would signify this idea, I used the words “indefinite cognition,” the Greek equivalent of which is synthesis.

The historical fact now revealed about the priority of Jainism over Buddhism is, I am sorry to say, known only to a few outside the circle of Oriental scholars. I would refer those who are anxious to study this question to the learned introductions by Professor Jacobi to vols. xxii. and xlv. of the Sacred Books of the East Series.

At this stage I am bound to admire the faculty of observation which those of you who have lived in India had exercised in reference to the strange habits and customs of the people. For instance, Sir Lepel Griffin alludes to certain Jains who cover their faces with white cloths to prevent the possibility of an insect entering into their mouths, and so inadvertently destroying life. Sir Roland Wilson, when visiting the Jain temple at Ahmedabad, was struck with the fact that Jains asked him to take off his boots, but that instead he was offered a pair of slippers; also that there were priestesses in the temple taking part in the prayers. Mr. Coldstream observed the fact that in the Punjab Jains hesitated to eat vegetables of red colour. The Jains referred to by Sir Lepel are a new sect, which came into existence only 200 years ago. They are known as Dhundhiās. Their habits and life are extremely unclean. The older Jains teach that the constant covering of the mouth and nose with cloth makes the breath so poisonous that it destroys more life than open breathing would do; also that uncleanness generates and destroys more animalculæ than are destroyed by keeping clean. Such sporadic movements are likely to arise in any country and in any religion. Students and scholars ought not to form any judgment about a philosophical system from the doings of such persons. If I know nothing of Christianity, and happen to attend a Methodist revival meeting and observe the



doings of the persons present, I might as well come to the conclusion that the characteristics of Christianity are that its ministers wear frock-coats, that they raise their hands when uttering the benediction, that they stamp their feet on the floor of the pulpit when they deliver sermons, and that the congregation get religion when they shout in a wild manner. What a poor idea of Christianity! I am gratified to know, however, that there are moments in the life of you Englishmen when you patiently try to understand the subtle and doctrinal differences in the various philosophical systems. But for this fact, I could not have addressed you to-day.

I appreciate Sir Roland Wilson's remarks very highly. The reason why the Jains of Ahmedabad asked him to take off his boots when entering the temple is that leather, in the Jain view, is considered unclean. But, as we know that it is difficult for Europeans to walk unless they have some kind of footwear on, we offer them slippers of canvas, and thus try to make them comfortable when they are our guests in a temple, without wounding our religious susceptibilities. The Mahomedans acted in a different way towards Sir Roland, because, in their view, they must literally carry out their religious injunctions.

There is another remark of Sir Roland which is very pertinent, namely, relating to the aversion of the Jains and Buddhists to the taking of life, and consequently to all forms of fighting, even when purely defensive. In that he finds an explanation, in a great measure, of the presence in India, first of the Mahomedans, and then of the British. In this connection I must observe that the Jain teaching is not that of non-resistance, as it is ordinarily understood. Even a strict Jain, when he takes the vow of non-killing, does so in the following words: "I shall not deliberately kill an innocent being without a purpose." This shows what limiting conditions are joined to the idea of non-killing. As a matter of fact, non-resistance is now the characteristic of the Jains as well as Hindus. But I do not think it is the result of their aversion to taking life. Even the flesh-eaters in India have ceased to fight, except those who are paid to do so. Some persons think that the Jain preaching of vegetarianism is the chief cause of the disappearance of fighting qualities from the Hindus. The fact is, that vegetarianism does not necessarily disincline a person to fight. The conquering soldiers of Rome and Sparta, the athletes and wrestlers of Greece, were generally abstainers from flesh-meat. The true cause of the presence of foreigners in India as conquerors at various periods of its history is that the Hindus have been for centuries fighting and quarrelling among themselves, and that no sense of a common nationality was ever developed in them. Secondly, under those circumstances the conception of a modern Western State never entered into their mind. Hence, they respected the authority and laws of the sovereign ruling for the time being. For centuries they have been used to passive submission. The late Sir J. R. Seeley, Regius Professor of History at the University of Cambridge, says in his "Expansion of England": "I showed you that of the army which won our victories [in India], four-fifths consisted of native troops. That we were able to hire these native troops for service in India was due

to the fact that the feeling of nationality had no existence there. Now, if the feeling of a common nationality began to exist there only feebly, if, without inspiring any active desire to drive out the foreigner, it only created a notion that it was shameful to assist him in maintaining his dominion, from that day almost our Empire would cease to exist, for of the army by which it is garrisoned, two-thirds consist of native soldiers." The Hon. Mr. Rees wanted to know whether Jainism was a living religion, so as to differentiate its professors from the Hindus around them. The idea of the sanctity of life which permeates the Jains, and which they forced on the minds of the Hindus, is the living characteristic of the Jain religion. The sharp differentiations are visible only at the time of the birth of institutions. The conflicts they create in society are ultimately reduced to a state of equilibrium through giving and taking. So now, so far as masses are concerned, there will be found very little difference between Jains and Hindus. The philosophical part of a religion is grasped only by a few; the majority are satisfied with formalism. Still, the Hindu life has received an abiding impression from Jain teachings. As Mr. Whish suggested, all movements for the humane treatment of animals must be largely, and are, in fact, indebted to Jainism. If we search for the real difference, we shall find it only when we compare a cultured Hindu (in the Hindu sense) with a cultured Jain (in the Jain sense). The cultured Hindu believes in the offering of oblations to the manes of his ancestors, and does offer them; the cultured Jain does not. The ethical vows of a cultured Jain are stricter than those of a cultured Hindu. The record of crime in India bears ample testimony to the fact that very few Jains commit violent crimes. Sir William Rattigan has told you that the Jains are of a very estimable character, men of high principles. I have already quoted the opinion of Lord Curzon about the Jains at the end of my paper.

In conclusion, I must again express my gratefulness to the Chairman and other speakers for their helpful remarks and sympathetic criticisms, and also to the audience for the patience with which they have followed me in the treatment of an abstruse subject.

The lecturer resumed his seat amidst applause.

The CHAIRMAN, in the name of the meeting, thanked Mr. Gandhi both for his paper and for the observations he had made.

The proceedings then terminated.

On Tuesday, June 12, 1900, a paper was read by Archibald Colquhoun, Esq., on "Afghanistan, the Key to India," Joseph Walton, Esq., M.P., in the Chair. The following among others were present: Sir L. Lyell, Bart., M.P., Sir Juland Danvers, K.C.S.I., Sir Joseph Frizelle, General Sir J. Hood Gordon, Major-General Jago Trelawny, Colonel Clementi, Lieutenant-Colonel Dampier, Major Davis, Honourable Madan Gopal, Dr. Sarat K. Mullick, Moulvie Rafi'uddin Ahmed, Mr. S. Ahmed, Mr. T. A. Anderson, Miss Arathoon, Mr. H. K. Beauchamp, Mrs. Bishop, F.R.G.S., Mr. Byron Brennan, Mr. J. E. Champney, Mr. W. Coldstream, Mr. H. R. Cook, Mrs. Colquhoun, Raizada Eshwar Das, Mrs. Fennessy,

Mr. F. Hinde, Mr. S. N. Hosain, Mr. Aly Mahomed, Mr. Nugent, Mr. J. B. Pennington, Mr. J. Krishna Rau, Mr. Kanwar Sain, Mr. Christopher Taylor, Mr. S. Thorburn, Mr. N. B. Wagle, Miss Webster, Mr. W. E. Whitehead, Mr. W. Martin Wood, and Mr. C. W. Arathoon, Hon. Sec.

The CHAIRMAN having briefly introduced Mr. Colquhoun, the paper was read.\*

The CHAIRMAN said he had listened with great interest to the able paper which had been read. Personally he had no unreasoning jealousy of Russia; on the contrary, he was full of admiration for her splendid activity, and for those qualities of energy and enterprise which she had so signally displayed, especially during the last twenty or thirty years. Russia, a comparatively poor country, was engaged in railway undertakings which would probably cost considerably more than 100 millions sterling. There was first of all the Siberian Railway, stretching right across Asia down into North China. A branch of the Siberian Railway was to be constructed from Lake Baikal to Pekin; and there was the railway to which the lecturer had referred—the Trans-Caspian Railway. He did not think this country realized the fact that there was a great line of railway constructed by Russia to the frontier of Eastern Turkestan, which could easily be extended to the Upper Yangtse by a route which enabled Russia to escape all the difficulties of the mountainous country and Thibet. In connection with the Trans-Caspian Railway there was also the branch line coming down to Herat. If they had been told thirty years ago that to-day Russia would possess this railway almost to the gates of Herat, it would have been said to be absolute nonsense for Russia to dream of such a thing; but they were face to face with the fact that for reasons of her own Russia was steadily and persistently advancing her military occupation of great regions of Asia by means of railway construction. To-day Russia was in practical control of Northern Persia, and if this country were not wide awake to safeguard our interests, before many years were over Southern Persia would also pass under the domination of Russia. With the great rivers of Russia connected with the Caspian Sea, it was only natural that Russia should desire a trade-route with an outlet to the Persian Gulf. He did not know whether Russia even dreamed of sweeping the Britishers out of Asia and having Asia entirely under Russian Government, but at any rate they were face to face with the fact that whether through Persia, or in Central Asia, or across Northern Asia, Russia to-day was actively engaged in enterprises which increased her influence, and extended her dominions, whilst he felt humiliated as an Englishman to realize that comparatively speaking the British Government had pursued a do-nothing policy. Personally he did not regard Afghanistan as by any means the only key to India. He thought a graver danger to India might arise if Russia eventually acquired Persia, and had a system of railways to the Persian Gulf, and the power to construct a railway through Beluchistan to the frontier of India, escaping altogether that natural mountain frontier in the north-west which had always been regarded as safeguarding our

\* See our second article.

Indian Empire. In 1892, by the kindness of Lord Roberts, he (the Chairman) and Mr. Spencer Wilkinson had a most interesting expedition through the Khyber Pass over the frontier into Afghanistan. He had for many years taken an interest in what was transpiring on the north-west frontier of India, and he was of opinion that a great mistake had been made in not occupying and holding Kandahar. He was afraid that, taking advantage at some time of our hands being full elsewhere, we might look forward to having Russia in occupation of Herat. What further advance she would endeavour to make through Afghanistan he could not with certainty tell. It might be that she desired to threaten us in India to compel us to refrain from opposing her designs in Turkey, or other districts in Europe. However that might be, having accepted the responsibility of empire, it was our duty to be watchful, and to safeguard that empire from aggression on the part of foreign Powers. He believed that the British rule gave to the populations under it the greatest liberty, and the most just government. He rejoiced that they had this great empire, in the acquisition of which much blood and money had been spent. We threw it open to the trade of all nations, but unfortunately other great nations, such as Russia, France, and Germany, if they acquired territories, immediately instituted protective tariffs against British trade which would probably strangle it in the future. In French Indo-China in 1885 seven-eighths of the whole imports were taken from England, Germany, and Switzerland, but last year three-fourths of the whole imports went from France, and only one-fourth from the rest of the world. That was simply due to protective tariffs, in many cases of 50 per cent. If we allowed our trade rights to be filched from us in the great empire of China, it would be fatal to the future commercial prosperity of this country. He was afraid that in these remarks he had not adhered closely to the excellent paper which had been read, and which they would read again in print. It was a paper deserving of careful consideration, and about which no hasty opinion ought to be expressed. The lecturer had brought under their consideration an important matter which ought not to be lost sight of by anyone interested in the upholding of our just political and commercial rights, not only throughout the British empire, but throughout the world. He trusted that many of those present would take a part in the discussion which he hoped would follow.

MR. THORBURN considered that there was a practical means of arriving at the desired result—the arrest of the advance of Russia towards India—without making what he thought would be the great mistake of invading, or occupying, Afghanistan for the fourth time in the history of our connection with it. With reference to the approach to India through Southern Persia, he agreed with what the Chairman had said. Northern Persia was now practically within the suzerainty of Russia, and the change from that to actual sovereignty might be effected by Russia whenever she chose to put forth her hand. He doubted whether our influence inside Persia now extended beyond the range of a few obsolete guns mounted on our six or seven obsolete gun-boats which policed the Persian Gulf. In the last sixty years Afghanistan had been three times invaded by us. Twice had we made war against Persia to cause her to relax her hold upon Herat in

order to keep Herat an integral part of Afghanistan. India had in all spent something like £75,000,000 with the object of keeping Russia at a distance. The latest expenditure was upon the delimitation of Afghanistan. If all that expenditure meant anything, it meant that Afghanistan was earmarked as a sphere of exclusive British influence inside which Russia might not advance, whether the Ameer were Anglophile or Russophile. During our recent disasters in South Africa Russia had completed a branch-line from Merv to Kushk, seventy or eighty miles from Herat. The distance formerly was 250 miles by road. The branch, which was practically the Merv-Herat extension of the Trans-Caspian Railway, was 180 to 190 miles long. He had recently read in the *Times* that during our troubles in South Africa, whilst our continental friends agreed that we should be occupied there for two or three years more, Russia transferred from Tiflis and other places upwards of 20,000 men to Kushk, and had thus converted a small outpost into a very large cantonment. There was no *raison d'être* for that railway or for that large garrison except with the object of occupying Herat whenever a good opportunity should offer. Doubtless, had our troubles continued, London would have waked some morning to read that Russian troops were holding Herat. The inhabitants of the Herat Valley were chiefly Shias; they were not true Afghans; they were rather sorts of hybrids; and practically the hold Afghanistan had upon the Herat Valley was that of a military occupation. It was the same with Afghan Turkestan, the inhabitants of which were Uzbeks and others, not Afghans. Thus Russia might any day, unless prevented, advance to the Hindu Kush and, without any large expenditure of men or money, absorb the whole of Afghan Turkestan and Herat as well. On certain points he did not agree with Mr. Colquhoun. The lecturer seemed to hold that the counter-move on our part, supposing Russia were to occupy Herat, would be to move on to Kandahar. That could, of course, be done in a couple of nights; but it would, Mr. Thorburn thought, be playing Russia's game, which was the partition of Afghanistan, the annihilation of the buffer region. Her statesmen had hitherto wished that in the ultimate partition of Afghanistan the country *trans*-Hindu Kush should fall to Russia, and *cis*-Hindu Kush to England; that was, that England should have all the fighting people to trouble her, and that Russia should have all the peaceful population. He came then to a practical suggestion which he hoped would be discussed. The United States, without a fleet, without an army, and with hardly any foreign interests, and with none whatsoever in South America, had declared that her "Monroe Doctrine" applied not only to Central America, but also to South America. Now, England had the command of the sea, and a considerable army, but had not yet made any declaration as to what her definite fixed policy was in Persia or in Afghanistan. Our present agreement with the Ameer was that we guaranteed the integrity of delimited Afghanistan to the Ameer so long as he had no dealings with any Government other than the Government of India. If the Ministry of the day found this obligation inconvenient, there were many ways in which they could exasperate the Ameer, as we had done in 1892, and so make out

that he had failed to observe his part of the agreement with us. The proposal he would make was that instead of the drift policy in Persia, and the policy, or impolicy, of opportunism in Afghanistan, we should boldly follow the United States and announce a "Monroe Doctrine" of our own which would apply to a certain area as the hinterland of the Persian Gulf, and to delimited Afghanistan."

MOULVIE RAFI'UDDIN AHMED protested against the suggestion that practically Afghanistan should be annexed. In his opinion, the best policy was not to make another enemy by annexing Afghanistan, but to make a good friend and ally of the Ameer of Afghanistan, and of Persia. The making of lines of communication and military occupation was not everything; the affections of the people must be secured.

MR. MARTIN WOOD had rather wondered at the selection of the subject of the lecture, as the subject had been discussed and disposed of over and over again. There was no danger that the question of Afghanistan should be overlooked. The key to India was not in Afghanistan, but, as Mr. Disraeli had said, it was in this city, in themselves, and in their own territories. Since 1876, over £100,000,000 had been spent in making this key to India fit. Supposing Russia used this key, she would find it very rusty indeed. Lord Roberts, writing in May, 1880, had pointed out that the longer and more difficult the line of communication was the greater the obstacles which Russia would have to overcome. He objected to the matter being left to be dealt with by India. Russia should be dealt with in Europe. As to Persia, anyone who had read the address of the Vice-President on Persia would see how vain were the assumptions that Russia was going to do everything that she liked in Persia.

MRS. BISHOP said that, although she knew nothing about Afghanistan, yet perhaps she might be allowed to make one or two remarks on subjects with which she was familiar during eight and a half years of Asiatic travel. One always felt Mr. Colquhoun's facts to be unassailable, and that they were marshalled with an admirable clearness and brevity. With his conclusions, however, one might be allowed at times to differ. She was not a Russophobist, nor did she see why the two great empires should not come to a distinct understanding to civilize the Asiatic world. She thought that both England and Russia were Powers specially designated to do this great work. Wherever she had encountered Russian civilization in the East among Oriental tribes, she had considered that such civilization was worth carrying to those tribes, and that Russia had a knack of ruling conquered or acquired races which designated her as fitted for the task of civilizing them. She would briefly refer to what she had gathered in the course of a long journey in Persia as to the popular opinion amongst Persians concerning Russia. The subject of Russia was constantly coming up in conversation with the people. She travelled for a week with a large caravan of Mahomedan pilgrims from the Caucasus, and at night their leaders used to come to her tent veranda. The chief subject talked about was the probability, as they considered it, of Russia occupying Persia down to Ispahan within a few years. The gist of their remarks was that they had, under the Russian Government, got just land settlements, justice in

the Russian courts, and absolute toleration for their religion, and they would not wish a better government than that under which they were then living. The merchants and others spoke to the same effect. She never had heard anything that could be called an expression of patriotic feeling ; they did not, they said, care whether they paid their taxes to the Tzar or to the Shah. They knew that the Tzar would let their religion alone, that they would have justice, and be free from the oppression of officials ; they would know what taxes they had to pay, and so forth. The surveying party with which she travelled in Lurastom took much trouble to ascertain if, in the case of a collision with Russia, the heads of the nomad Bakhtiari Lurs would place their 10,000 light horsemen at the disposal of the British Government, irregulars well acquainted with the country, and excellent shots. It was very evident that the light horsemen, in the event of war with Russia, would be sold to the highest bidder, and that the presents which the Government of India had sent to the Bakhtiari chiefs might as well have remained at home. There were about 2,000,000 of these nomads, and in every nomad tent were innumerable articles of Russian manufacture. In the civilized states of Western Persia the people were clothed to a great extent in cottons which she recognised at once as foreign. The women said that the Russians consulted their tastes in the pattern and colouring, so that they preferred them to the English article, although the latter was cheaper. Everywhere there was indifference as to whether Russia should occupy Persia or not. Russia had relieved Eastern Persia from the annual inroads of the Turcomans. The Chairman had mentioned that a route through Persia would be of greater value to Russia than a route through Afghanistan, and certainly from what she saw she was disposed to agree with him. To bring her remarks to a close, she would observe that the knack of understanding Oriental peoples, and of dealing with them, which Russia had displayed, the result partly of her Oriental origin, was a factor which perhaps had not been sufficiently regarded with respect to Russian advance everywhere in Asia. Another factor was that there was continuity and definite purpose about the Russian policy, while necessarily, from our form of government, our own was shift and opportunist, and apt to give Orientals an impression of oscillation and weakness.

Mr. COLQUHOUN desired to make some observations in reply. Mr. Thorburn had questioned the suitability of the title of his paper, "The Key to India." By this he had meant to convey the impression that the key to India did not lie absolutely in the possession of Herat, or of Kandahar, or Kabul, but rather that Afghanistan conferred upon its future owner the key to India, and he would go still further, and say even the key to Britain, because in Afghanistan would be found the fulcrum of the lever which would enable Russia to press the English out of India unless they took the steps which he had indicated. He did not propose any rough and brutal military occupation of Kandahar and Kabul. The main proposition of his paper was that the theory of "buffer States" had long ago gone by the board. He had endeavoured to enforce the proposition that they were bound to go forward and occupy with capital, with railways,

and with enterprise, backed up, he had no hesitation in saying, by British arms. He could not favour the suggestion made by Mr. Thorburn that this country should imitate the policy of the Americans, and proclaim a "Monroe Doctrine" with regard to the territories in question, because the circumstances of the two countries (Britain and the United States) were so unlike as to make the application of the Monroe Doctrine futile. Had not Great Britain frequently proclaimed such a policy in Asia and as frequently eaten it afterwards? No mere proclamation of a Monroe Doctrine would carry any weight now unless at the same time steps were taken to back up that doctrine by force if necessary. Mr. Martin Wood had said that the subject of the paper was a very old story. No doubt that was so, but it was a story which could not be told too often. His proposals and the projects of the Russians had been spoken of as puerile, but was there anything puerile about the Trans-Siberian Railway or about the occupation of Port Arthur? The occupation of Kandahar had been referred to as being an inadequate measure, but in suggesting that he was quoting Lord Curzon, and at the same time he pointed out the futility of that measure by itself. His general proposition was that wherever we did not go Russia would go, and that our plan should be to go forward boldly with our capital and our railways. Russia and England were bound to have common frontiers, and the question, simply was where those frontiers were to be. He could not see how any understanding with Russia such as had been suggested was possible—at all events, until the Russians saw clearly that we had a policy and how far we were going to advance. The question of supremacy at Herat or elsewhere was simply one of communications; there was a race by railways to occupy territory in Asia. We were doing absolutely nothing in this direction, while Russia was driving a wedge into the heart of China as fast as it could be done. The Russian scheme for the rearrangement of the North-West frontier simply left us everything that we wished not to have, and gave us nothing which we wished to have. It gave us the difficult and turbulent section of Afghanistan, absolutely closed the Indo-European route, and of course surrendered the supremacy of the Persian Gulf to Russia. In conclusion, he would read an extract from a book which he wrote more than a couple of years ago, entitled "China in Transformation." He then said: "The movements which are in progress in the Far East are of the gravest import, and I have not been able to resist the conviction that the immediate destinies of mankind are, to a considerable extent, dependent on the issue of these movements, and although no race question be directly involved, one can scarcely avoid grouping the Powers in combinations which will ultimately place the Teutonic on one side and the Slav-Latin on the other; this would leave Japan as a mediating factor of great influence in the evolution of the Pacific States. The onward march of Russia cannot be stopped even by her own rulers unless it encounters a solid barrier, while the unchecked advance of that power seems certain to confer on her the mastery of the world."

After Mr. Colquhoun had criticised Mr. Thorburn's Monroe Doctrine suggestion,



Mr. THORBURN explained that by that term he meant a clear notification of a "hands-off" policy, with a declaration that Russian aggression inside the ear-marked area would be resisted by force. He further said that he thought the Latin and Teutonic races of Europe had more direct interests in South America than the people of the United States had, and that he expected that in actual mileage South America was about as near the coasts of Spain and Portugal as New York was. In short, what he meant was, to suggest that a solid declaration of policy which the world could understand would be carried out.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was proposed by Mr. PENNINGTON, and carried by acclamation, and the proceedings terminated.

### THE ANNUAL MEETING.

The annual meeting of the East India Association was held at the offices on June 12. In the absence of Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I., Sir William Rattigan, Q.C., presided. SIR WILLIAM said that the report which had been previously circulated was drawn up by Sir Lepel Griffin, and dealt with the work the Association had done during the period under review. The accounts had been as usual audited by one member of council and one of the general body of the Association. The Association had, since the report was issued, lost two other valuable members. General Lord Mark Kerr had been a member of the Association almost since its inauguration. It was not for him to criticise the General, who was well known. In Sir George Parker they had lost an Indian official who was well acquainted with that country, and was for some years a Judge of the Madras High Court.

MR. MARTIN WOOD more particularly referred to the death of Mr. P. M. Tait, so long and so intimately connected with the executive of the Association, and well known in the insurance world. He also expressed a hope that the aid which the Association had foreshadowed for the British Indians in South Africa to obtain their just rights would not be long delayed.

Among those present were: W. Coldstream, Esq. (late Punjab I.C.S.); Eshwar Das, Esq.; A. K. Connell, Esq., M.A.; Robert Lewell, Esq., F.R.G.S., M.R.A.S.; J. B. Pennington, Esq. (late Madras I.C.S.); H. R. Cook, Esq.; W. Martin Wood, Esq.; the Hon. Madan Gopal, Barrister-at-Law, of Lahore; and C. W. Arathoon, Esq., hon. secretary.

The President, the Right Hon. Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., and the three retiring members of council were unanimously re-elected, and the report and accounts were accepted as passed.

SIR WILLIAM RATTIGAN proposed the Hon. Madan Gopal, and the HON. SECRETARY proposed J. Krishna Rau, Esq., Vakil of Bangalore, as members of the Association, and they were duly elected.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman concluded the proceedings.

## ANNUAL REPORT OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

The Council of the East India Association submit their Report for the year 1899-1900. The work of the past season has been seriously impeded by the war in South Africa, so far, at least, as the delivery of lectures has been concerned, for it was found difficult to arouse public interest and attract audiences on any other subject than that which so completely absorbed the general attention. Several lectures of importance were, however, delivered: that of Sir Charles Elliott on the Indian Famine Report of 1899, at which the Earl of Elgin, late Viceroy of India, took the chair, coming within the year under review, although a notice of it found place in the last annual report. Sir William Rattigan gave a most interesting lecture on the Mogul, Mahratta, and Sikh system of administration, and Sir Lepel Griffin one on Persia and its present relations with England and India, which attracted a large and representative audience. The latter part of the present season will be much more fruitful in lectures of interest, no less than five having been arranged for during the next two months and a half. Among papers in preparation or promised, it is pleasing to note that no less than three are by Indian gentlemen of distinction: Mr. Virchand Gandhi on the Jain Religion; Mr. N. B. Wagle on the Industries of India; while Dr. Mallick, who has lately been elected a member of the Association, will read a paper during the next session. Mr. Maconachie, of the Civil Service, lectures on Religious Education in India, and the distinguished traveller Mr. Archibald Colquhoun on Afghanistan, the Key of India.

The arrangements which the Government will make on the termination of the war must greatly affect the question in which the Association has taken so much interest, the position of Indian residents in the South African colonies, the Transvaal, and the Orange Free State. The Association, when the proper time arrives, will do all in its power to secure for these industrious and orderly people the rights so long denied to them. There can be no doubt that the abuses and tyranny from which they have so grievously suffered under the Boer Government will be swept away, and it may be hoped that the admirable and loyal service rendered by Indians during the war may induce the British colonies to remove or modify the disabilities which trade jealousy has hitherto imposed. The Association has received an interesting communication from Mr. M. H. Nazar from Durban giving a detailed account of the war services rendered by the Indian community, no less than a thousand of whom volunteered as ambulance servants and bearers, and their admirable and gallant conduct under fire and in exceedingly hard and trying duties has earned the highest praise from the military authorities. A large Indian emigration to South Africa would probably have a most beneficial effect on the future peace and development of the country, but it could only be practicable with the full agreement of the several British colonies, and on terms just and honourable to the Indian settlers.

The Government, for reasons of great weight, has not seen fit to require the co-operation of the Indian army in the present war, although its

successful issue is of supreme importance to India. But this Association is bound to express its satisfaction at the spontaneous and general spirit of loyalty which the war has evoked in Her Majesty's Eastern possessions, and at the large and eager proffers of assistance, both in troops and money, which have been made by the great Princes of India, many of them Vice-Presidents of this Association. Should the time arrive when such assistance be asked for, the Association has assured confidence that the devotion of the Indian army and feudatory chiefs will be proved to be not less than that which has been so signally displayed by all other portions of the Empire.

The operations of the Association have been hampered during the past two years by difficulties which have arisen from the death of the trustees of the large endowment granted to the Society by the late Maharaja Takajèe Ráo Holkar of Indore. The income from this endowment has consequently accumulated in the Bank of Bombay, and the Association has hitherto failed to release it. Earnest representations have been made to the present Maharaja of Indore, His Highness Shivajee Ráo Holkar, to appoint new trustees to carry out the intentions of his father, and a satisfactory result is hoped for. Meanwhile, the Council would invite the attention of the Princes of India and wealthy members of the community to the urgent need of the Association for increased means to carry out the aims and objects of the Society, which are fully set forth in their declaration of principles, and which a larger and assured income would enable the Association to attain with the greatest advantage to all classes of the Indian people.

The Council have lost two of their members by death during the past year: Mr. P. M. Tait, one of their oldest and most respected colleagues, and Sir William Wilson Hunter, K.C.S.I., C.I.E., whose literary services to India, in a series of masterly works of the highest interest and importance, have not been exceeded by those of any writer in the present generation.

Other members of the Association removed by death are General Sir Arthur Cotton, K.C.S.I., the distinguished engineer, one of our Vice-Presidents, and Mr. Archibald Rogers.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

## "JAHANDAR THE AXE."

To this Review for April, 1900, Mr. C. R. Wilson contributed an exceedingly instructive article on the "Descendants of Oliver Cromwell in Calcutta," an article full of new matter, all of it excellently put. On page 362 he refers to one of the Mogul Emperors who reigned for a year in 1712 as "Jahandar the Axe," adding in a note that from the English records it appears that Jahandar, on account of his cruelty, was popularly called *kulhārā*—that is, the axe. I should like to make a few remarks upon this epithet.

To begin with, there is the curious fact that in a minute study of the native historians of the eighteenth century, prolonged now over more than ten years, I have never yet found any form of epithet or title attributed to Jahandar Shah bearing the remotest resemblance to *kulhārā*. As so often happens in such matters, it is quite possible that I may now come across the word in more than one unexpected place, just as I have stumbled upon the passage in Holwell's book which I quote later on. Meanwhile, until the publication of the English records from which Mr. Wilson has derived his information, the fact that there was such an epithet in use may be provisionally admitted. As to the origin assigned to it, it is possible, even now, to doubt whether the word was rightly interpreted as having some reference to an axe. No doubt *kulhārā* is a common Hindi word, of which the meaning is an axe or hatchet. On the other hand, I can find no warrant for the assertion that Jahandar Shah was in any way more cruel in disposition than the rest of the men of his race and time.

Again, still relying on English writers only, we are met with a marked discrepancy in the origins assigned to the epithet. I have just found the following passage bearing on the matter in J. Z. Holwell's "Tracts," part i., p. 30,

edition of 1766: "He was thought by his father, *Shaw Allum*, the only general capable of repulsing the dangerous annual invasions of the *Bolluccais*, which threatened the empire on the side of Persia. Prince *Manz O'din* [i.e., Jahandar Shah] was sent against these warlike people, at the head of the choicest troops in the empire; and in a continued campaign of five years he had many and signal battles with the invaders; that gave him vast renown. In one of these, when the enemy was entrenched behind a strong and thick wood, on which side only they could be attacked, he cut a passage through the wood, forced their entrenchments sword in hand, and hardly any of the enemy escaped the slaughter. No sooner were the particulars of this action arrived at Court, than the Emperor his father gave him the title of *Prince of the Hatchets*, one of the *honorary titles* ever since given to the first Prince of the blood."

We have here an Englishman who lived in Bengal hardly more than a generation after the time of Jahandar Shah offering a much more plausible explanation of the origin of the epithet than that alleged by Mr. Wilson's authority. While still adhering to the interpretation of the "Hatchet," Holwell makes out the epithet to be an honorary distinction, granted as a reward for service in the field. In his version the connection with an axe or hatchet is the vigour displayed by the Prince as a commander in causing his axemen to cut a passage through a thick wood which protected the enemy. Of course, Holwell is quite unwarranted (so far as my investigations have gone) in saying that *Prince of the Hatchets* became thenceforth one of the honorary titles of the first Prince of the blood. I have never found it yet attached to the name of Jahandar Shah himself, much less to that of any succeeding Prince of the reigning family, up to the end of the dynasty. Nor was the cutting down of the wood or jungle surrounding an enemy's fortress such an unusual incident of Indian warfare as to call for any special notice or commendation. On the whole, Hol-

well's authority for an etymology does not carry much weight. We owe to him at least two grotesque and spurious etymologies, which are sufficient to discredit him in that branch of linguistics. He is the man who derived *Begam*, بگم, from *be*, بے, without, and *gham*, غم, sorrow; and *Marhattah* from *mahā*, great, and *Rah̄tor*, the name of a Rajput tribe.

But Holwell's story, obtained, as he says, from an Armenian at Patnah, who had been in the Mogul service at Agrah and Dehli, goes to show that the title or epithet given to Jahandar Shah had something to do with the western frontier of India. The campaign in which he is supposed to have earned it took place against the *Boluccais*—*i.e.*, the Balūch. Now, we know through the native historians that from about 1700 up to 1707 Jahandar Shah was Governor of the two frontier provinces of Multān and Tattah (or Sind). One of the chiefs then most prominent in that region was Dīn Muḥammad Abāsi Leṭi, known as the Kalhorah. This is what is said about him and his family in the *Ma'āsir-ul-umarā*, vol. i., p. 825.

In the language of Sind the title of the tribe is Kalhorah. Shekh Naṣir, who succeeded to the estates about 1657-58, and founded the town of Gārhi, was the first of the family who rose to public importance. After his death his eldest son, Shekh Dīn Muḥammad, Kalhorah, became chief. In 'Alamgir's reign, the Prince Mu'izz-ud-dīn, *i.e.*, Jahandar Shah, was appointed to rule over the Multān sūbah. When the new Governor marched into Siwistān, Dīn Muḥammad, Kalhorah, neglected to appear and pay his respects. Finally, after oaths on the Qurān had been exchanged, Dīn Muḥammad and two relations came in. When the three men had reached the camp, a force was sent out to bring in as captives the remaining men and their families. Yār Muḥammad, Kalhorah, younger brother of Dīn Muḥammad, removing into inaccessible hills all the women and children, made ready for resistance. The Prince's expeditionary force was repulsed. Encouraged by

this success, Yār Muḥammad fortified the passages into the hills and awaited an attack ; but the Prince, contenting himself with retaining the three prisoners, retired to Multān. Arrived at that place, he ordered the execution of the three prisoners. Subsequently, by slow degrees, Yār Muḥammad, Kalhorah, increased his power, and secured possession of Siwistān. He took from the ancient zamindars Siwī-darah, a spacious region of Sind adjoining Qandahar, and other districts. Day by day the star of his good fortune rose higher.

One of the compilers of the *Ma,āsir-ul-umarā*, Ghulām 'Alī, Āzād, of Bilgrām, was the grandson and nephew of two men who had been official news reporters in Siwistān during Jahandar Shah's government. Ghulām 'Alī himself acted for a time as his uncle's deputy. Thus the affairs of that quarter in that time are, we may presume, truthfully reported in the *Ma,āsir*.

Major-General M. R. Haig, in "The Indus Delta Country," p. 113, relates the same events with slightly differing details. The Dehli Court had ordered an officer called Shekh Jahān to exterminate the Kalhorahs and their chief, Dīn Muḥammad. The Governor of Bhākkar also joined with his troops. The imperialists were met at Garelo, twelve miles south-west of Lārkānā, and seven miles west of Bākrānī, and totally routed, Shekh Jahān being slain. To avenge this defeat Prince Mu'izz-ud-dīn (Jahandar Shah) took the field. Dīn Muḥammad sent in a brother to make submission, whereupon the Prince retired ; but some Kalhorah rebels made a raid into Maithila and Uchh, causing him to retrace his steps. Gārhi and other towns belonging to the Kalhorahs were laid in ruins. Dīn Muḥammad eventually surrendered, but Yār Muḥammad, his brother, fled into the mountains. General Haig's narrative is founded chiefly on Captain James McMurdo's "The History of the Kalorah Family of Sind," in the *Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (1844), vol. i., pp. 402-430, this, again, being taken

principally from a work called *Wāqī'āt-i-Sind*, written after 1793 A.D., by a faqir whose name is not given. An account of the Kalhorahs will also be found in the *Tuhfat-ul-kirūm* of 'Alī Sher (Qānī'); see the Bombay lithographed edition, vol. iii., p. 105, in the chapter entitled "Rule of the Family of the Kalhorahs, descendants of 'Abās" (pp. 102-116).

After this preliminary evidence about the Kalhorahs, the point that I wish to make can now be stated, with some hope of its meeting with acceptance. Having imprisoned and killed the head of the Kalhorah house (Dīn Muḥammad), what is more probable than that Mu'izz-ud-dīn Jahandar Shah was granted or assumed the title of the ruling house, which he considered that he had conquered and destroyed? To sum up, I would suggest that "Jahandar Kulhārā" should be read as "Jahandar Kalhorah," with the meaning of "Jahandar, conqueror of the Kalhorah ruler of Sind," and not that of "Jahandar the Axe" or "Jahandar the Hatchet."

W. IRVINE.

#### THE NEW INDIAN DECORATION.

By Royal Warrant, dated May 11 last, a new decoration has been instituted and created for distinguished services to the Indian Empire. Rules and ordinances, *inter alia*, to the following effect: (1) The decoration is styled and designated "The Kaisar-i-Hind\* medal for public service in India"; (2) any persons, without distinction of race, occupation, position, or sex will be eligible, who have distinguished themselves by important and useful services in the advancement of the public interest in India; (3) there will be two classes, one (first) awarded by the Queen-Empress on the recommendation of the Secretary of State for India, and the other (second) class by the Viceroy.

#### THE PLAGUE IN INDIA, AND HOW TO GET RID OF IT.

A high medical authority in India has written a series of letters to the *Englishman*, Calcutta, on this very serious and important question. He has laid down as an axiom that the "plague is a highly contagious and fatal disease of microbic origin, favoured to a considerable extent by insanitary surroundings, and that rats are a potent factor in the dissemination of the disease." Rats feed on the filth, and, of course, if the filth disappears the rats will also soon disappear. In these letters the deplorable insanitary condition of native dwellings is described, having no regard

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\* The late Dr. Leitner was the first to suggest this title.—ED.



to cleanliness nor the ordinary laws of sanitation, and hence the author considers that sanitation ought to be made an important question, carried out on Imperial lines. He considers that the measures which ought to be adopted are: (1) anti-plague inoculation, and that all who seek Government appointments should be so inoculated; and (2) complete demolition of existing plague-haunts in native quarters, with a reconstruction of dwellings on approved sanitary principles, and subsequent official supervision. That these measures should be introduced gradually, having, as far as possible, due regard to the prejudices and habits of the people. In order to educate the people such views ought to be widely circulated.

#### JAPAN.

The British Foreign Office has issued its Consular Report on the foreign trade of Japan for the year 1899. The foreign commerce of that interesting country—whose population now amounts to 44,733,379—entered upon a new stage in the beginning of the year, when radical changes took place. High rates of duty on imports took place, and in July of that year all duties on exports were abolished. Consequently the imports for the first half of that year fell from £15,798,402 to £9,463,360, while the exports rose to £9,079,561, compared with £7,115,805. The importation of raw cotton is rapidly increasing, as also is raw wool. This is occasioned by the increase of native manufacture. The mileage of railways, both State and private companies, has been much increased. The introduction of foreign labour is restricted and left to the discretion of the local authorities, thus stimulating native industry and labour. The largest customer for Japanese goods and products is Great Britain, the value of imports and exports being £15,831,963: the United States £10,426,297, France £3,676,635, Germany £2,185,616.

#### EGYPT AND THE SOUDAN.

Lord Cromer, in his annual report presented to Parliament,\* shows that rapid progress has been made in every department in Egypt and the Soudan. The revenue of Egypt for the past year was £E11,415,000 (£E1 = £1 os. 6d.), expenditure £E11,013,000, being a surplus of £E402,000; thus, the revenue has reached during the year the highest yet obtained during British occupation, and there is every prospect, from the various improvements going on, that in future this revenue will rapidly increase. At the end of 1898 the total debt was £103,372,000, of which £7,048,000 was held by the Debt Commissioners, thus leaving £96,324,000 in the hands of the public. But during the past year £323,000—principally domains and Daira—was paid off, thus reducing the debt to £103,049,000, of which £7,494,000 is held by the Commissioners, and £95,555,000 by the public. The administrative reforms in the administration of the fishing operations on Lake Mensaleh—brackish water between Port Saïd and Damietta, covering an area of 600,000 acres—is interesting. Under the old régime the annual income per man of the fishing population did not

\* Egypt, No. 1. (1900), Eyre and Spottiswoode, London.

exceed £E5; now it is £E9. Besides this, the fishing industry has been freed from vexatious interference, and the fishermen are allowed to sell their fish at the best market. The imports during the year were £E10,909,000, being £E415,000 in excess of 1898. The Customs were £E2,093,000, being an excess of £E53,000. The revenue from this source has doubled during the past ten years. The exports were £E15,351,000, an increase on the previous year of £E3,546,000. The reservoirs at Assouan and Assiout are being rapidly constructed. The number of men employed at each of those places is about 10,000. The mass of weeds which blocks the channel of the Bahr-el-Jebel between Lake No and Shambe has been removed at a cost of £E10,000.

Slave-dealers and kidnappers have been tried. More convictions have been made during the past year than in the last five years. Education is also progressing both among the Muhammedan and Coptic populations. In short, every department shows satisfactory results. The Dervish power has disappeared, sanitary arrangements have been made which have averted the danger of the plague, and cordial co-operation exists between the Egyptian and European elements of administration. H.H. the Khedive, accompanied by his staff and the Sirdar, visited England at the end of June.

#### SOUTH AFRICA: ITS PEOPLE AND TRADE.

The most recent authorities give the following figures, which will be of interest to many of our readers. The population of Cape Colony and Bechuanaland is 460,000, of which 265,200 are Dutch, 194,800 British; Basutoland 650, of which 300 Dutch, 350 British; Orange Free State 93,700, of which 78,100 are Dutch, 15,600 British; Natal and Zululand 52,000, of which 6,500 are Dutch, 45,500 British; Transvaal 203,650, of which 80,000 are Dutch, 123,650 British; Rhodesia 10,000, of which 1,500 are Dutch, and 8,500 British—making a total: Dutch 431,600, British 388,400. The aggregate trade of imports and exports for the past five years is £220,000,000. The exports of purely British goods amounted to £62,801,203, and that of British possessions £5,799,783. The rate of quinquennial progress of South Africa, compared with other British possessions, is indicated by the following: Natal 121 per cent., Rhodesia 94, South African Republic 61, Cape Colony 49, Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Fiji 40, Dominion of Canada 8, India (including Burma, Straits Settlement, and Ceylon) 0.2. Average for South Africa 71, of other British possessions 16. The ratio of progress in imports alone of South Africa compared with those of our chief colonies and independencies—India, Australia, and Canada—is not less instructive. As against a total for South Africa of £108,000,000, Canada has only an import of £26,000,000, Australia £97,000,000, while the vast continent of India only surpasses South Africa by her £157,000,000 of imports on the five years. We are indebted for these important statistics to the *Canadian Journal of Fabrics*, Toronto, for April, 1900.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

— CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS; 1900.

1. *Palestinian Syriac Texts*.—These "Texts" in Palestinian Syriac are printed from the palimpsest fragments existing in the Taylor-Schechter collection, and they are edited by Mrs. Agnes Smith Lewis and Mrs. Margaret Dunlop Gibson. The manuscript fragments from which the Texts have been copied are all palimpsests, and they formed part of the great collection of Hebrew parchments so long stored in the Genizeh of the synagogue of Old Cairo, which Dr. Schechter received from the Grand Rabbi of Egypt in 1897. In 1898 those parchments were presented by Dr. Schechter and Dr. Taylor (Master of St. John's College) to the University of Cambridge.

The graphic account given in the Introduction of the way in which these fragments were first discovered is, unfortunately, too lengthy for transcription into our pages. It may here suffice to say that they were picked out from the heap of miscellaneous scraps by Dr. Schechter himself, partly for the sake of the upper Hebrew script, and partly because he suspected the under script to be in Syriac. The fragments were found in what was practically a mere rubbish-heap situated in a lumber-room in an unfrequented part of the above-mentioned synagogue; they were afterwards carefully cleansed with chemicals from the accumulated filth of centuries of dust and damp, and they were then sorted out and placed in proper consecutive order. The task evidently involved infinite patience and a stupendous amount of dauntless painstaking. As the title indicates, the bits of parchment were *literally* "fragments"; they were all separate, excepting such of them as had become stuck together by the moisture of their own decay, and all of them were more or less broken. What this means the specimens given on the plates (eight in number) clearly show. The various scraps of the material on which the manuscripts are written are frayed, worm-eaten, torn, and broken in holes in such a way as to render it impossible to present a complete restoration of the text as it was originally written. In some instances a single word or letter in a line was all that could be procured or deciphered. The fragments are from Deuteronomy, Jeremiah, Joel and Hosea (in the Old Testament), and from John, Corinthians, Thessalonians, Timothy and Titus (in the New). The distinguished ladies who edit the volume remark: "We feel justified in saying that no earlier specimen of the language" (Palestinian Syriac) "is known than these texts." Each of the fragments is described (as to dimensions, condition, contents, etc.) with loving minuteness, and opposite each page containing the text has been given, for the Old Testament passages, the Septuagint rendering, and for the New Testament passages the Greek text of Westcott and Hort. The fragments add nothing to our knowledge of the Sacred Text of the Canonical Scriptures, nor is the date of the writing ascertained, but they are interesting as *bonâ-fide* examples of palimpsest writing—and this in diglott, the Syriac beneath and the Hebrew over it—

and as examples of the ancient Palestinian Syriac dialect. The printing and the plates are beautifully executed. Those scholars who have been following the researches of these noble toilers for a series of years past in connection with their discoveries in the Sinai monastery will be interested in this further contribution of theirs to the important work of Biblical learning and antiquities.

B.

CHATTO AND WINDUS ; LONDON.

2. *Ainslie's Ju-Ju*, by HAROLD BINDLOSS. Mr. Harold Bindloss has written another book, under the above title, on that ever-interesting subject the wilds of Central Africa, about which none is better qualified to instruct and interest us, after a life of adventure spent in all parts of the world, notably America, Morocco, and the Canaries, etc., and of late years the less known parts of Africa, Liberia, and the Niger country. His varied experiences have taught him to depend on himself alone, and from amongst the medley of human kind with whom he has been brought in contact he has learned there is good in all, and recognised there is a divine spark in many a degraded being, of whatever colour he may be. A villain may be covered with a white skin, and a heart of gold may beat within the breast of a negro. It is easy to recognise that this book is more or less of a personal narrative. If the various adventures related, the different characters delineated, all genuine types, true situations, complications, misadventures, which have arisen in the course of a long and hazardous life, were better known and appreciated, it would be an easier task to reclaim and civilize "Darkest Africa." It is refreshing to find such types as are here described still existing at the end of this prosaic nineteenth century, which, however, none may dare any longer call "prosaic," after the deeds of daring, the heroic deaths, the patient endurance, of these latest scions of our race. From whatever clime they hail—the snows of Canada, the boundless plains of Australia, or from our most favoured shores—their record is the same, and it seems to us that, in view of recent events, and all the latent qualities of energy and fortitude called forth by the nation's need, this love of adventure has induced many a true and noble soul like Harold Bindloss, and many others of that ilk, to undergo hardship and suffering, forego the sympathy of their fellows, all the social amenities of life, and the happiness which might have been their share, which is a thing to be encouraged, since it fosters the feeling of independence and self-confidence that animate the born leaders of men, who make the path easier for the feet of those who come after them. Before us is Africa, the country of the future, awaking from its long night of grossness and superstition, about to enter, under the experience of England, upon a new day, the light of which is already dawning, after the blood-stained clouds of war have lifted, and the land been restored to peace and "liberty for all." The African scenes and colour are vividly depicted; the horrors of the dismal swamp, the wearing vigils, the pestilence that walketh in darkness—all seem to live before us, so that the meagre thread of story might well have been eliminated altogether without detriment to the subject. But perhaps there is a class of readers who cannot be reached without a tale of hardship.

and misfortune; but the "Ada Whittinghams" of society are not worth reaching, and the "Constance Hesseldines" (evidently meant as the embodiment of all that is best in women, according to the author's standard) require no such weak dialogues or commonplace situations to make them ready to share the fate of a true man, and there are few indeed who could be brought to care for a man of Antony Glazebrook's character. J.

3. *Greater Canada: The Past, Present, and Future of the Canadian North-West*, by E. B. OSBORN, B.A., with a map. The author has resided in the West for nearly five years, and has endeavoured, in his history, to hit the truthful mean between the pessimism of the unsuccessful settler and the optimism of the migration agent. The work embraces the history of the Yukon discoveries, the fur trade and its company, the North-West, the Far West, past and present, the Far North, the future of the North-West, and stories of the fur trade. The appendices contain the Royal Charter for incorporating the Hudson's Bay Company, the treaties with the Indians, the irrigation plans in the North-West, and chronological tables of North-Western history, and statistics of agricultural products and mineral outputs, including gold, silver, copper, and lead from 1890 to 1898. At the former period the estimated value was \$2,608,608, at the latter it was \$7,172,766. In regard to the prospectors of the Far West, the author says there are two kinds, "the gambler pure and simple," and the man of business, which is "somewhat hazardous and speculative." The volume will be found interesting and useful to those who desire authentic and reliable information on these vast regions of the dominion of Canada.

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CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, LONDON, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, AND  
NEW YORK.

4. *The "Oxford English Dictionary" on Historical Principles; founded mainly on the materials collected by the Philological Society*. Edited by Dr. James A. H. Murray, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. Vol. v.: *In—Infer*. April 2, 1900. The vast majority of the words treated are of Latin origin or derivation. The only simple word of Old English age is *inch*, ultimately the Latin *uncia*, but possibly adopted in West Germany before the English settlement in Britain, and hence treated in all respects as a native word. The explanation of this word occupies more than two columns—as a measure of length; a unit of rainfall, atmospheric pressure, flow of water; small islands in Scotland; in movements by small degrees and notations, etc. The words of historical interest are carefully and minutely traced between ancient Latin and modern English, which has required minute and recondite research, not only in Old French, but in late and mediæval Latin. This is especially the case with formations which do not occur in ancient Latin, but appear first in Christian authors or philosophical writers, such as Boethius, or were introduced in mediæval times by the Schoolmen. Of numerous words of this class, e.g., of the common word *individual*, no accurate history has been given before. The explanation of this term occupies no fewer than

seven columns. We need not say that the explanation of words and phrases continues to be erudite, highly interesting, and most exhaustive.

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GEORGI'S UNIVERSITY PRESS ; BONN.

5. *Geschichte Sibiriens und der Mandschurei*, by ALBERT WIRTH. This fascicule of 200 odd pages is a very able *rechauffé* of nearly all that specialists have written concerning "High Asia," from the Yalu River on the frontiers of Korea, to the Vistula and the Danube. In this broad sense "High Asia" may be defined as "those parts of Europe and Asia which were practically unknown to the Romans at the commencement of our era." The original authorities for the earliest period are of course the Greek and Chinese historians, who hold equal quantitative rank in point of specific fact, and qualitative in point of accuracy. There can be very little question that (contrary to the opinion of specialists cited by Howorth) the Huns, the Scythians, and the Hiung-nu were practically re-shuffles of the same hordes of people, under different tribal nuances in the way of leadership. In this first portion of his work Herr Wirth has apparently been somewhat betrayed by the reader or the printer's devil, for there are numerous typographical errors such as might easily mislead anyone not specially acquainted with the subject: thus, *Ineh-tschì* instead of *Yüeh-tschì*, the I having replaced the German equivalent J for Y, and the *ü* having first been transformed into *u*, and then into *n*. Herr Wirth alludes to the doubts I have elsewhere expressed as to the identity suggested by Gibbon of the Avars with the Chinese Jwan-jwan, or "Geougen." I do not know whether Professor Bury in his new edition of Gibbon has touched upon this point, as I noticed quite casually he had done upon the question of true Turkish origin; but, any way, it seems to be a serious misconception, originating, no doubt, with the French Jesuits of the seventeenth century, from whom Gibbon manifestly took his data; and it will be a long time before the error is knocked completely on the head, seeing that such a giant as Gibbon has lent to it the sanction of his illustrious name.

The author skims rather hastily over the history of the Turks and Onigours; but his account of Hungary, Novgorod, Early Russia, and the various Mongol, Kirghiz, Kara-Kirghiz, and Kalinuck empires in Siberia, is intensely interesting, though in many places lacking in clearness. Here, again, it is necessary to bewail irregularities of spelling, which are often the more misleading in that two really different foreign words occasionally resemble each other closely. *Porphyrogenitus*, *Kalinuck*, and dozens of other Greek, Latin, Persian, Arab, or Tartar proper names are spelt in two or three different ways, sometimes on the same page. Excellent though the work is, I am disposed to say what I said of Herr Wirth's quasi-namesake Dr. Hirth's *Nachworte* on the Turks: "Reconstruct and re-edit." In one or two places Herr Wirth must be cautioned in the same way that Dr. Hirth has cautioned Richthofen, *i.e.*, for the indiscretion of offering independent opinions in purely Chinese matters. For instance, the syllable *hwan* of the U-hwan or U-wan Tungusis is for some mysterious reason supposed by Herr Wirth to be the Chinese word *fan*, "barbarians," which

(apart from the fact that the Chinese tell us the dissyllable was the name of a mountain and tribe) is etymologically impossible on four grounds, both in tone and "series," as well as in initial and final. There is also a regrettable tendency on the part of Herr Wirth to imitate a fault of Dr. Hiith, and suggest the wildest identities on score of sound alone. Thus, having turned the U-hwan into the Ure "or Wo" barbarians, he hints that they may be etymologically connected with the Wo, or Japanese, whose history is given by the Chinese together with that of the U-hwan! And he compares the Tungusic "Dzimu," or "Great Khan," with the mythical Japanese Emperor Jimmu, whose name was *only invented* in the eighth century of our era, and is probably a mere imitation of the name *Shên-wu* arrogated by the Chinese-Tartar Emperor of the North Ts'ü dynasty, just as the semi-mythical Japanese Empress Jingo was at the same date supplied with the name *Shên-kung*, borne by the Chinese Empress of that period. Upon the utter untrustworthiness of Japanese early history, I must refer Herr Wirth to the *China Review* for 1899, where the subject is threshed out.

In touching upon these weak points in Herr Wirth's "plan of campaign," I do not disguise from myself that they are of trifling import compared with the general excellence of the whole. The author is not an independent authority on any one issue, and, indeed, he himself states frankly to us his standpoint.

E. H. P.

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WILLIAM HEINEMANN; LONDON.

6. *A History of Sanskrit Literature*, by ARTHUR A. MACDONELL, M.A., PH.D., of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, Boden Professor of Sanskrit, and Fellow of Balliol. A learned, minute, and an exhaustive history of a literature which, up to a very recent date, was not known, and could not therefore be duly appreciated by the English reader. The volume thus occupies a unique position, as it exhibits in a special way the religion, theosophy, laws, manners and customs of ancient India long before the Christian era, but much of which remain at the present day. It therefore ought to be studied by everyone connected with our administration in India, both civil and military, for it presents in a variety of ways a key to not only specific departments of Oriental research, but also produces materials for the guidance of social and legal administration.

The author has spent more than twenty years of continuous study of his subject, and while very valuable treatises have been published, much new light has been thrown on various branches of Sanskrit literature since their appearance, and the materials thus prepared have enabled the author to produce a historical guide, setting forth in a clear and trustworthy manner the results of research down to the present time, in a very attractive form. In writing his history he has dwelt more on the life and thought of ancient India, which Sanskrit literature embodies, than would perhaps have appeared necessary in the case of a European literature. He has done this partly because this literature, as representing an independent civilization entirely different from that of the West, requires fuller explanation, and partly because, owing to the remarkable continuity of Indian culture, the

religious and social institutions of modern India are constantly illustrated by those of the past.

The volume treats of the Vedic period, the Rigveda, its poetry and philosophy, the Vedas later than the Rigvedic age, the Brāhmaṇa, the Sūtras, the epics, lyric poetry, the drama, family tales and fables, philosophy, and Sanskrit literature and the West. There is a very valuable appendix, throwing light on law, history, grammar, mathematics and astronomy, medicine, arts, and other subjects; also bibliographical notes and an elaborate index.

The quotations given have been carefully selected by the author from the original works. We shall give one example, and regret that our space does not permit us to give more. The following is a poetical account of the nature of the Ātman as given by the *Kāthaka Upanishad*:

*That whence the sun's orb rises up,  
And that in which it sinks again :  
In it the gods are all contained,  
Beyond it none can ever pass.  
Its form can never be to sight apparent,  
Not any one may with his eyes behold it :  
By heart and mind and soul alone they grasp it,  
And those who know it thus become immortal.  
Since not by speech and not by thought,  
Not by the eye can it be reached :  
How else may it be understood,  
But only when one says "it is"?*

Referring to *Ātman* and *Brahma*, he considers that "these two conceptions are commonly treated as synonymous in the Upanishads. But strictly speaking, *Brahma*, the older term, represents the cosmical principle which pervades the universe, *Ātman* the psychical principle manifested in man, and the latter, as the known, is used to explain the former as the unknown."

7. *The Mysteries of Chronology*, by F. F. ARBUHNOT. This work contains what the author calls a "proposal" for a new English æra, for which he suggests as the designation "The Victorian Æra." He moreover advocates the commencement of the new "Æra," not from the year of the Queen's birth (1819), but from 1837, the year of her succession. He begins his Preface by describing the book as "this very slipshod work." He is hardly fair to himself in so describing it, for the plan and conception of the work do credit to his ingenuity, while the amount of information he has here brought together does credit also to his industry. It may safely be asserted that no man could have elaborated such a work who was not in love with his subject. He divides English history into positive, probable, and possible. By "positive" the author appears to mean *trustworthy*, and English history of this nature dates back, he thinks, no earlier than the beginning of the sixteenth century. Prior to that date (1501) he teaches that our national annals shade away into the apocryphal



or the mythical. In support of this view he cites the case of the Bayeux Tapestry, of which, though it is said to have been wrought by the wife of the Conqueror, he states that the earliest trustworthy record we have of its very *existence* is as late as the year 1730. But even so, be "History" ever so untrustworthy, we are quite unable to realize the force of this as an argument in favour of giving up "Anno Domini." The idea would never be adopted by the Legislature, nor would it ever be accepted by the nation. It is too fanciful. It would affect all business men and business transactions, and the inconvenience of it would be felt in all banking, shipping, and commerce, and all school-books containing dates would have to be re-edited with the view of educating the mind of the rising generation into familiarity with the new system and its symbols and terminology. For many a day the Old Style and the New would have to be written in all business documents and correspondence in one and the same entry, thus "V.E. 65 (1901)," or some such way.

As to the idea of starting a new "Æra," the author is, to be sure, not without precedent. Occasion has repeatedly been taken in past ages to revise the Chronology, to reform the Calendar, and to re-name the Æra. In most of such instances, however, the movement has arisen from the existence of some marked defect in the systems of time-reckoning, as when there has come to be some more or less serious and inconvenient discrepancy between the solar year and the accepted date. These reforms, however, have not in all instances by any means been inaugurated by the Sovereigns after whom they have been named, nor during their reign, for we understand Mr. Arbuthnot's to be a suggestion for the commencement of the approaching century. The "Christian" Æra (so named) was not instituted by Christ; nor, again, was the "Muḥammadan" Æra founded by Muḥammad. This latter-named Æra was not instituted till many years after Muḥammad's decease, while the phrase "Anno Domini" did not come into use till many centuries after the Gospel narrative had become a matter of history. But we most of us fight shy of drastic reforms, and it may be that the author's suggestion is only a little before its time. On opening the work we expected to come upon a careful review of the various systems of chronology in the past, and of the circumstances under which they were found to be necessary. But not so much as a word do we here find of the well-known "Æras" of Shālivāhan and Vikramāditya—a subject which would have added much interest to the volume. But, in truth, the whole conception (of thus superseding the "Anno Domini" phraseology) is too late in the day—it belongs to a past age; we nowadays are living too fast to entertain such an idea, and all men have matters of much more pressing importance to think about. The "proposal" is too insular and parochial. Other nations would not take to it, and this would give rise to endless complications, and they would in all probability resent it. England would more than ever be laid open to the charge of insularity and isolation.

B.

8. *Innermost Asia: Travel and Sport in the Pamirs* (with maps and illustrations), by RALPH P. COBBOLD, late 60th Rifles. It is difficult, in the short space at our disposal, to give an adequate idea of the value and

importance of this work to British statesmen, travellers, and the commercial community. The author's original object in visiting the vast regions of the Pamirs was sport. He minutely describes his travels and adventures stage by stage. He visited a considerable stretch of country which has never before been seen by an Englishman, and with a single exception, perhaps, has been the only European, other than Russian, who has traversed the banks of the Oxus in the regions of Roshan and Shighnan; and he has thus made public the result of his experiences for the information of those who may desire to follow in his footsteps, or who are interested in the political questions connected with one of the most interesting corners of the world. His route was through Gilgit to the Kilik Pass; over the Pamirs to Kashgar; thence to Vierny, Balkash, Tashkurgan; through the Bartang to Kala-i-Wamar, where he was detained a prisoner on parole, whence, on release, he travelled back to Kashmir. He enters into details as to the Russian position and policy in the Pamirs, and points out, in his opinion, the future of "Innermost Asia," both in relation to Russia, China, and Great Britain.

He tells an amusing story of the etiquette he met with of the Chinese officials. He says: "The Taotai received me very courteously, coming to the door of the yamen to bid me welcome. We then passed through a number of doors, arriving at length at the entrance of his reception-room; and here occurred a delay, which was almost farcical, as neither of us would be the first to enter. It is Chinese etiquette invariably to assume an air of inferiority, and to pretend that you are unworthy to precede your neighbour. So when the Taotai bowed to me and pointed towards the entrance, I in turn repeated his pantomime, and after going through this performance many times I passed it on to another mandarin, and so the performance was prolonged until at last we pushed the Taotai through, and followed him."

His descriptions of his hunting exploits are interesting and amusing. On stalking the wild sheep or *Ovis poli* in Kilik Pass, and hiding behind large boulders, he saw two great sheep coming up the nullah; and seeing that they must pass within fifty yards of him, he sat down and covered the whitest of the two, which he knew would be the largest. "On they came pell-mell until, almost abreast of us, they halted out of breath. My hands were quivering with excitement as I pulled, half expecting to miss from sheer eagerness; but the ram fell dead, and the second beast, pulling himself up, suddenly turned and made off across the ravine. Another shot, a miss this time; but the 200 yard sight was instantly slid up, and a third shot claimed him, thus justifying the reputation of my little Mannlicher, which is indeed in every respect a perfect weapon. My shikari's delight forthwith got the better of him; he became delirious with joy at the sight of so much good meat in front of him, and he seized my hands and kissed them and my feet. Then we went over to see our quarry, measured the horns, spanning them with our hands, and found them both handsome trophies."

• From the author's intercourse with the Russian officials, he finds that they are more conversant with our plans and movements in India than we

are ourselves. He says "the fact remains that only a very small minority of our politicians and publicists appear rightly to appreciate the policy of Russia" (the duplicity of Russian methods), "the majority refusing to look facts squarely in the face, to quote a happy phrase, intelligently anticipate events." "The object of Russia in her occupation of the Pamirs was to obtain a vantage-ground from which, time and opportunity offering, a descent might be made on other and more desirable realms. The scheme, brilliant in its inception, was ably developed, and Russia holds the whole of innermost Asia in her hand without having lost a life in the attainment. In itself the Pamirs is a white elephant." However, "As a fulcrum on which to work the lever of expansion, the Pamirs are likely to prove of the utmost possible value, for, commanding Kashgaria on the one side and Badakshan on the other, they afford the means for the acquisition of both." The snare has long been set, and the quarry is at her mercy. At any moment she can seize her prey, and close her hand on what remains of innermost Asia outside the limits she has already set her around her own." And he justly observes: "It is a fact not perhaps generally appreciated, that Great Britain is the largest Mohammedan country in the world! The Sultan of Turkey, known throughout the East as the Protector of the Faithful, the head of the faith and Mohammed's representative upon earth, rules over a population of rather less than 24,000,000, of which the great majority follow Islam. Russia, notwithstanding her sway over more than one-third of Asia, governs a total Asiatic population of merely 19,000,000, of which number less than 8,000,000 are followers of the Prophet; while England, in her Asiatic possessions, has the supervision of 290,000,000 souls, of which 58,000,000 are Mohammedans, who enjoy under her sway greater personal liberty, and are better and more justly governed, than either their Turkish or their Muscovite neighbours. This fact, which is apt to strike the novice as startling in itself, is one which cannot in the interests of our national well-being be lost sight of."

The work is beautifully illustrated with well-executed photographs of persons and places, and excellent maps. In the appendices there is a chronology of landmarks relating to events from 1758 to 1897, two papers on (1) the commerce and (2) the mineral wealth of innermost Asia, the treaties respecting the Russian-Afghan frontier, and the agreement between the Governments of Great Britain and Russia with regard to the spheres of influence of the two countries in the Pamir regions; also a bibliography of the most important works which may be consulted on the subject, and a minute and copious index.

KUSHNEREFF AND CO. ; MOSCOW.

9. *Ornaments of the Tajiks from the Highlands of Darwaz*, by COUNT A. BABRINSKI. Darwaz, a tributary of Bokhara, stretches from the Darwaz Mountains across the Pyanj to the highlands of Badakhshan. Its inhabitants, of whose industries the learned author gives such an interesting account, are mountaineers of a powerful physique, and are Mussulmans of the Sunni sect. Darwaz is divided into two wide valleys, where trees and vegetation generally are very scarce, but there is a rich zone of grass

along the river Khing-ab to which great herds of sheep and goats are driven during the summer pasturage. Their chief industry is wool-weaving. The book before us contains drawings of fine specimens of carpets, shawls, portions of their dresses, etc. (see Plates I., IV., and VIII.). The patterns on them illustrate ancient ornamental designs that can be traced back to Persian originals. They are remarkable for their beauty and other meritorious qualities, reminding one of the beautiful Kashmir shawls, which are woven in different pieces, and so skilfully joined that the "junction" is imperceptible. Advantage ought to be taken of the aptitude of these people in the various branches of industrial art in the interests of commerce and industry, and the importance of books like that of Count Babrinski cannot be overrated.

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SAMPSON LOW, MARSTON AND CO. ; LONDON.

10. *The Romance of Australian Exploring* (with maps and illustrations), by G. FIRTH SCOTT. A remarkably interesting work, not intended as a reference book, but as a pleasant story of some of the brave deeds and adventures of the pioneers of the Australasian world, by whose efforts the boundless wealth of these regions is being developed, and whose adopted sons are now playing an important part in the expansion and consolidation of the British Empire. The maps are very distinct and striking. The following description of the first discoverers of the Brisbane will give an idea of the style and fascination of the writer. Referring to the *Mermaid* (cutter) and Oxley, he writes: "Scarcely was the anchor let go at the entrance to Pumice Stone Channel, when a number of natives were perceived advancing rapidly towards the vessel. One appeared to be very much larger than the others, and of a light copper colour instead of black, and as soon as they came opposite the vessel he hailed the ship in English. A boat was put off, and as it approached the natives danced, shouting round their light-coloured companion. He turned out to be one of a party of men who had left Port Jackson to seek for cedar in the previous March, and had been wrecked on Moreton Island, which lies at the ocean side of Moreton Bay. When found he was quite naked, and daubed all over with red and white paint, and was so excited at meeting some of his own race again that for several hours he could only express himself in disjointed sentences. He explained that he and two other companions had been saved from the wreck of their boat, and that all three had been well and kindly treated by the natives." The information given by this sailor and the friendly natives induced Oxley to persevere in his explorations, which ultimately led to the source of the Brisbane, so named after the then Governor, and later when a township was laid out on its banks, that also took the same name, becoming in subsequent years the capital of Queensland, and one of the richest and most beautiful cities of the continent.

The narration of adventures is more interesting than fiction, and will arrest the attention of all those who take an interest in the continent of Australia and the extension of the British Empire, and whose sons are nobly helping to fight our battles in South Africa.

LUZAC AND CO.; LONDON, 1900.

11. *The Dhammapada: being a Collection of Moral Verses in Pali*, edited by V. FAUSBÖLL. Second edition. The first edition of this work, published in 1855, being exhausted, the eminent Pali scholar, Professor Fausboll, has now issued a second edition of the text with a Latin translation, in a small volume of only ninety-four pages. The notes, which in the first edition more than doubled the size of the book, have been omitted because in the period of nearly half a century that has elapsed since the first edition was published so many works in aid of the study of Pali have appeared that the information contained—not, it must be confessed, in the most convenient form—in those notes is now accessible in dictionaries, grammars, and commentaries of various kinds. The Latin translation has been revised where necessary, though not, as a comparison with the first edition shows, to any very great extent. *Kāsāva*, for instance, in i. 9 and elsewhere is now rendered *fulva* instead of *lutea* as formerly; neither word quite expresses the colour. *Khaṇati* in xviii. 247, is now better written *Khanati* (with dental *n*), and rendered *eruit* instead of *ledit*. In xi. 146 *pajjalite sati* is *incendio oriente* instead of *exardescit recordatio*; a decided improvement, though perhaps *passionis*, *libidinis*, or some such word, might advantageously have been added in brackets. Occasionally a revised reading of the text has necessitated a change in the translation, as in xi. 148, where *maranantam hi jīvītam* is now read for *maranam tamhi tīvanam*, and in consequence in the Latin *finitur enim morte vita* replaces the abrupt *mors(est) vita ejus*. In determining the correct readings a specially valuable feature has been introduced. Not only have “analogy and parallelism” been considered, but the metre has been taken as a guide in determining the correct form of the verses, many of which have evidently been corrupted by careless or ignorant transcribers. This process has had the effect in some cases of restoring archaic forms, in others later forms, and this may give a clue to the text from which the verse is taken. For the “Dhammapada” is really an anthology or cento, composed of passages selected from the Buddhist canonical writings. Much progress has been made in tracing these verses to their origin. Out of the 423 verses of which the work consists, 181 have been found in the Jātaka and other Scriptures, and the learned editor hopes in time to find them all, though the bulk of Buddhist sacred literature is so vast that the task somewhat resembles the proverbial search for a needle in a bushel of hay.

In its present form the “Dhammapada” makes an admirable text-book for the use of those who are commencing the study of Pali, and it is with this object that the present edition has been issued in an abbreviated form. The style is simple and easy; it yields a great *copia verborum* for the learner, and the very literal Latin translation—literal even to baldness—affords a valuable guide to the meaning of even the occasionally obscure passages. It may, perhaps, be asked why the translation was not given in English, as in all probability a large majority of students will be better acquainted with that language than with Latin; most native students, in fact, are ignorant of Latin. The editor, moreover, has a very high opinion of our language, which he expresses in the following quaint and striking

words: "As certain as the Roman character will be universal, the English language will in time likewise be the universal language of the world, for it is a well-known fact that in the beginning the Lord took all the languages, boiled them in a pot, and forthwith extracted the English language as the essence of them all" !

J. B.

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED; LONDON.

12. *Impressions of South Africa* (third edition, revised throughout), by JAMES BRYCE, M.P. The value of this volume is enhanced by a new prefatory chapter, containing the opinion of the eminent author on the various questions which led to actual hostilities. The text of the Conventions of 1881 and 1884 is also given, with three excellent maps and a minute and copious index.

He says: "The President of the Transvaal and his advisers had a golden opportunity before them of using the credit and power which the failure of the Rising and the Expedition of 1895 had given them. They ought to have seen that magnanimity would also be wisdom. They ought to have set about a reform of the administration, and to have proposed a moderate enlargement of the franchise, such as would have admitted enough of the new settlers to give them a voice, yet not enough to involve any sudden transfer of legislation or executive power." He sums up the position of Britain by saying her legal right rested on three grounds: (1) The Convention of 1884, which entitled her to complain of any infraction of the privileges thereby guaranteed to her subjects; (2) the ordinary right, when her subjects are wronged; and (3) the fact that Britain, as the greatest Power in South Africa, from her territories and otherwise, was interested in preventing any causes of disturbance within the Transvaal, which might spread beyond its borders and become sources of trouble, either among natives or among white men. Hence he concludes, "that Britain was justified in requiring the Transvaal Government to redress grievances," but deprecates haste in resorting to arms, and considers that Britain ought to have waited until the President and his advisers had retired from the arena of administration !

13. *South Africa of To-day* (with illustrations), by CAPTAIN FRANCIS YOUNGHUSBAND, C.I.E., Indian Staff Corps, late special correspondent of the *Times* in South Africa. This important work appeared in 1897, was reprinted in 1898, and now a second edition is demanded. We rejoice to see it, and can only repeat what we said of the work in our notice in October, 1898 (p. 435). The author, from his literary abilities, is well qualified to write on the subject. His two visits to the country enabled him to see it in a most interesting crisis. He describes minutely the relations of the Boers, the Dutch in the Cape Colony, the Orange Free State, and the Indian immigration in Natal, the condition of British settlers at the time, the trade, agriculture, and the products of the country in gold, coal, iron, and other mineral wealth, as well as a statement of the Jameson Raid and the difficulties which the British had to contend with with the Boers. The work is accompanied with a copious index and excellent illustrations of towns, routes, and places.

WALTER SCOTT, LIMITED; PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON.

*The Contemporary Science Series.*

14. *The Races of Man: An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography* (with 176 illustrations and two maps), by J. DENIKER, sc.D. (Paris), Chief Librarian of the Museum of Natural History, Paris, etc. A very interesting and important summary of facts of the human race throughout the world, drawn from no fewer than upwards of 500 authors, with excellent representations of various races, male and female, in all parts of the globe. The object of the work is to give a condensed statement of the essential facts of the twin sciences of anthropology and ethnography. There is an admirable introduction and thirteen chapters covering the somatic, morphological, physiological, ethnic, linguistic, and sociological characters, and a classification of races and peoples of Europe, Asia, Africa, Oceania, and America, with an appendix of the average height of men under the above classification, and cephalic and nasal indices. The author sums up his investigation as follows: "On examining attentively the different 'ethnic groups,' commonly called 'peoples,' 'nations,' 'tribes,' etc., we ascertain that they are distinguished from each other, especially by their language, their mode of life, and their manners; and we ascertain besides that the same traits of physical type are met with in two, three, or several groups, sometimes considerably removed the one from the other in point of habitat. On the other hand, we almost always see in these groups some variations of type so striking that we are led to admit the hypothesis of the formation of such groups by the blending of several distinct somatological units." It is to these units that we give the name "races." The printing is excellent, and the illustrations are very distinct and striking.

G. C. SHAW, CINCINNATI, OHIO; C. D. CAZENOVE AND SON, LONDON.

15. *A Self-verifying Chronological History of Ancient Egypt, from the Foundation of the Kingdom to the Beginning of the Persian Dynasty: a Book of Startling Discoveries*, by ORLANDO P. SCHMIDT (569 pp., 8vo.). It will readily be inferred from its title that this book is not an ordinary one, but the intending reader need not be discouraged by any fear that its contents are of a purely sensational description. The author has minutely studied all but the very latest published results of Egyptian exploration (which, indeed, moves so quickly now that only an exceptionally fortunate minority of students can be quite up-to-date), and his conclusions, whether accepted or not, deserve respectful consideration.

Mr. Schmidt's main proposition is that the key to Egyptian chronology is to be found in the division of the period of 1,460 years, which is so well known to all Egyptian students, into 365 "days" of 4 years each, and into 12 "months" of 120 years each, with 20 years (or 5 "Sothiac" days) added. Whenever the 120 year epoch arrived, the reigning king, according to Mr. Schmidt, assumed a new title, which had a reference to the supposed position or condition of the sun in the calendar month of which the epoch-month of 120 years was an enlarged representation. "It usually happened," as the author observes, "that the reign of an epoch-

king did not begin with the epoch, but was divided by it into two unequal parts. In such cases we have the reign before the epoch (the epoch-reign according to the Turin papyrus and Eratosthenes), the reign after the epoch (the epoch-reign according to Manetho), and the entire reign. Thus Zet, or Saïtes, the Sethon of Herodotus, reigned 44 years, of which 6 years were before the Sothiac epoch, 724 B.C., and 38 years after it; all these numbers survive in the lists, and appear as three distinct reigns." This confusion has arisen, according to Mr. Schmidt, partly from the ignorance of copyists, and partly from wilful alterations made by some of them to support special theories. Fortunately, a clue has generally been left by means of which the author, on comparing the various lists, has been able to reconstitute them to his satisfaction; and nowhere has the ingenuity with which he has done this been more brilliantly displayed than in reference to the various dark periods which occurred between the better-known dynasties, and concerning which the more or less mutilated and transposed lists of Manetho, etc., are almost the only information we possess.

With regard to Egyptian antiquity, it is, however, always risky to prophesy until you know, because so much exploration is going on at the present time that something unexpected may turn up at any moment, and ruin the most promising theory. Thus Petrie, who in the first volume of his "History" expressed doubts whether the first three dynasties ever existed in the Manethonic form, has just been able to produce, from his discoveries at Abydos, a connected account of the first dynasty, and of some kings or princes before it; but their names, as found on the newly-discovered monuments, seem to require some further exercise of Mr. Schmidt's peculiar talents to fit them into his scheme, and in his next edition he will also have to find room for Sharu, a king just discovered by Professor Sayce to have reigned between Snefru (who is now relegated to the third dynasty) and Khufu. This, however, may be rather helpful to him than otherwise. Mr. Schmidt's "prediction that when Mena-Athothis established the kingdom over the united countries, about 4244 B.C., the civilization of ancient Egypt had already attained its full perfection, and, further, that this era marks the noonday and not the dawn of civilization," does not seem to be quite borne out by such material fragments of the period as have yet come to hand; but as he says (p. 110) "that the solution of the riddle of the sphinx was reserved for the close of the nineteenth century, so that it might follow immediately after the opening of the sealed book of ancient Egypt, and the advent of the ancient of days in the new world," we may suppose that he considers he has received some special enlightenment on the matter.

One of Mr. Schmidt's startling discoveries is that Noah was not an individual, but an allegorical personification of the Theban Government; and that Shem, Ham, and Japheth were local Governments set up in Egypt by foreign races 100 years before the Flood—that is to say, before the Nyksos invasion, which, in the author's opinion, was what was really meant or typified by the Noachian deluge. These views may be as well founded as any others upon the same subject, but they have no necessary connection with the author's chronological scheme, so that it is quite possible for any reader of his book to accept either, while rejecting the other. Whether,



however, any or all of Mr. Schmidt's conclusions be accepted or rejected, his book displays so much ingenuity and research that it should not be neglected by any student or collector of the literature bearing upon ancient Egypt.

A. L.

SMITH, ELDER AND CO., WATERLOO PLACE ; LONDON.

16. *Southern Arabia*, by THEODORE BENT, F.R.G.S., F.S.A., and MRS. THEODORE BENT, with a portrait, maps, and illustrations. A very readable and highly interesting volume of their travels in portions of Southern Arabia and the Soudan, scarcely ever explored by English travellers. The book is published under a very sad circumstance, as Mr. Bent died four days after their return home from their last journey ; hence the burden of producing the work was thrown upon Mrs. Bent, who has performed her task with excellent results. Besides having recourse to ancient authorities for special information in bygone times, the book for the most part is collected from Mr. Bent's note-books, and from the "Chronicles" that Mrs. Bent always wrote during their journeys. The regions explored were Manamah and Moharek, the mounds of Ali, Rufa'a, Maskat, the Hadhramout, Dhofai and the Gara Mountains, the Eastern Soudan, the Mahriplaud of Sokotra, Beled Fadhl, and Beled Yafei. In the authors' narratives and descriptions there is much to interest the English reader, and their routes and troubles, difficulties and discomforts, will form an excellent guide to those who desire to follow in their footsteps. Some of the interviews are rather amusing. At Khaila and Sief, for instance, Mrs. Bent tells us : "We saw among others a boy who had a wound in his arm, and therefore had his nostrils plugged up ; bad smells are said not to ' so injurious as good ones." Some women came and asked to see me, so I took my chair and sat surrounded by them. They begged to see my hands, so I took off my gloves, and let them lift my hands about from one sticky hand to another. They looked wonderingly at them, and said "Meskin" so often and so pityingly, that I am sure they thought I had leprosy all over. Then they wished to see my head, and having taken off my hat, my hair had to be taken down. They examined my shoes, turned up my gaiters, stuck their fingers down my collar, and wished to undress me, so I rose and said, very civilly, "Peace to you, O women ! I am going to sleep now," and retired. We have only space for another scene. On leaving by boat to Aden from the harbour of Kosseir, and looking quietly at the ship being laden off the shore with all manner of things, animate and inanimate, she says, "A man came suddenly behind me and whipped me up, seated me on his shoulder and carried me off into the sea. It required all my balance to keep safe when so suddenly seized. I did not know I was being scrambled for as the lightest person. I hate that way of being carried, with my five fingers digging into the skull of my bearer, with one of his wrists lightly across my ankles, while he holds up his clothes with the other ; and I do not like being perched between the elbows of two men whose hands are clasped far beneath me, while I clutch their dirty throats. It is much better to be carried in both arms like a baby."

A very singular natural phenomenon is recorded with respect to the water-supply of the islands of Bahrein lying near the Persian Gulf, remarkable for pearl fisheries, now under English protection. "The town of Moharek gets its water-supply from a curious source, springing up from under the sea. At high tide there is about a fathom of salt-water over the spring, and water is brought up either by divers, who go down with skins, or by pushing a hollow bamboo down into it. At low tide there is very little water over it, and women with large amphoræ and goat-skins wade out and fetch what water they require. They tell me that the spring comes up with such force that it drives back the salt-water and never gets impregnated. All I can answer for is that the water is excellent to drink. This source is called Bir Mahab, and there are several of a similar nature on the coast around, the Kaseifah spring and others. There is such a spring in the harbour of Syracuse, about twenty feet under the sea."

The fauna and flora, as well as the other natural productions and scenery of the various regions are pleasantly described. In an appendix there is a list of plants communicated by Mr. Bent to Kew Gardens in May, 1895, and a list of land and fresh-water shells collected by Mr. and Mrs. Bent in Sokotra, as well as inscriptions and other fragments. There is also a list of Sokoteri and Mahri words compared with the Arabic dialect of South Arabia and the literary Arabic, of much interest. The maps and illustrations are distinct and remarkably well executed.

THACKER AND CO., LIMITED ; BOMBAY, 1899.

17. *My Jubilee Visit to London*, by SUBADAR MOHAMMAD BEG, SIRDAR BAHADUR, 1st Madras Lancers ; translated by K. SRINAVASA RAO, B.A. ; edited by LIEUTENANT-COLONEL E. E. M. LAWFORD, 1st Madras Lancers. We have seldom read a book which gave us more genuine pleasure than this simple little Diary of a gallant Madras lancer. It is flattering, no doubt, most people would say far too flattering, to the ruling race ; but the flattery is so hearty and so evidently sincere, whilst the criticism is often so friendly and yet so acute, that one cannot but be pleased with both. It may seem absurd exaggeration, but we doubt if any book of its size has ever been published so well calculated to bring about a better feeling between the Indian and the Englishman.

We learn from Colonel Lawford's genial preface that Mohammad Beg, a lineal descendant of the great Tipu Sultan, rose from the ranks of the 1st Madras Lancers after ten and a half years' service, and that "he is one of the most loyal, honest, and devoted soldiers." It is for this reason that he was selected to represent the Madras army at Her Majesty's Diamond Jubilee. What inspired him to write a Diary of his trip to England and to put it into language of such fascinating simplicity we are not told, and can only attribute it to his innate kindness of heart. No wonder the translator (who has evidently done his share of the work most admirably) was "irresistibly drawn to him," and was much struck with his keenness of observation and correctness of judgment." Both author and translator are entitled to the gratitude of everyone, no matter what the colour of his skin may be, who takes a genuine interest in that great though

much-afflicted country. The mere fact that a Brahmin should co-operate with a Mussulman—and on terms of such enthusiastic good fellowship—is of itself most encouraging, and Mr. Srinavasa Rao's reasons for undertaking the task of translating this unique work do him the greatest honour. He was not only much impressed with Mohammad Beg's "breadth of mind and freedom from prejudice," but it was, he says, his "strong conviction that intelligent Indians who have the good fortune of visiting England, and who could form a correct estimate of the great English nation as seen in that land of liberty should do everything in their power to make the Indian public understand them aright." All honour to Mr. Srinavasa Rao for such an admirable sentiment! One is all the more impressed with the strength of his goodwill towards the English when one knows that he and his family have suffered much from what many besides themselves believe to have been grievous injustice at the hands of certain English officials.

As we have said before, the picture of the English is all too flattering; but if such evidently genuine affection for the ruling race can be so easily implanted in the Indian breast, it is a thousand pities we cannot have a jubilee every year and have our Indian fellow-subjects over by the score to be converted!

We have spent so much time over the preface and the translator's introduction that we have very little space left for the Diary itself. Fortunately it is not too long, and there isn't a dull page in it, so that one can read every word of it without fatigue. It is so fresh and so naive that no one who takes it up will lay it down till he has finished it, and no one can read it without feeling the better for it, or without a deeper and fuller sense of the true brotherhood of man.

It would be impossible to give an idea of the peculiar merits of this little book by extracts, but we must call particular attention to a few of the author's remarks which struck us most forcibly. Familiar as he must be with poverty and even famine in his native land, it will surprise many to hear him say of the Italians at Brindisi, that he had "*never seen in his life a more miserable-looking people*"; and yet it is certainly true that *except in the case of actual famine*, which, alas! is far too frequent nowadays, poverty is not so terrible in India as it is in Europe, nor do the people suffer so much from it as they do here. Surely, too, our rule in India cannot be quite so bad as some few say, when a native gentleman can speak of it as our author does at the end of Chapter XIII.

What better proof can be given of the good of foreign travel and of the necessity for Indians to come to England for their education than that given by him at page 51? "The slow, difficult, and, after all, doubtful process of learning by books is nothing compared to the quick and striking way of learning by visits to great countries. The result is truly magical, and one is spellbound. . . . Why fight these jungly tribes? Take them all to England and show them England but once. They will never fight any more."

Mohammad Beg's remarks on male and female dress in England are well worth quoting, and show his usual shrewdness and sound common-sense, though we do not know where he found the "old rule" that men

should "wear black suits in London"; and his "keenness of observation" must indeed be as great as the translator says it is if he can distinguish between the military, the civilians, and the naval officers' degrees of fatness!

We most cordially recommend this captivating little volume to all lovers of India and England.

J. B. P.

CHARLES T. THYNNE, WYCLIFFE HOUSE; GREAT QUEEN STREET,  
LONDON, W.C.

18. *Two Thousand Miles through South Africa; or, The Transvaal from Without*, by REV. W. T. MCCORMICK. This racily-written volume is dedicated to General Sir George White (the hero of Ladysmith), bringing the state of matters in the Transvaal up to April last. In the appendix are the prayer issued by the Primate, his letter, by command of the Queen, to every diocesan Bishop in the province of Canterbury, and Lord Roberts's telegram to the Secretary of State for War, after the defeat of the Boers at Bloemfontein. The author says, "Although there are honourable, humane, educated, and sensible Christian men amongst the Boers, yet, as a rule, they are ignorant, dogged, and determined. Books are rarely to be seen in Boer houses." They "have always hated missionary work among the Blacks, whom they have ever looked upon as little better than vermin, and animals without souls." The reason of Kruger's obstinacy in resisting all reforms was the belief that England would never go to war. He thought "the Liberal party will not permit it, and if the Liberal party permit it, the Queen will never allow it." And since the "Great Trek" in 1839 he has been a persistent and uncompromising enemy of everything British. He became President in 1883, and from that time we may say our great troubles in South Africa began, which have culminated in war." The volume contains very interesting information as to the manners and habits of the people, their places of abode, and the bravery and struggles of our men since the commencement of the war.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Chahâr Maqâla* ("Four Discourses") of *Nidhâmi-i-'Arûfî-i-Samarqandî*, translated into English by EDWARD G. BROWNE, M.A., M.B., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge (Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London). A volume of nearly 140 pages, being a reprint of papers from the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for July and October, 1899. The volume contains an interesting preface by the translator, exhibiting the care he has taken in consulting the principal MSS. in the British Museum and otherwise. Mr. Browne gives a short biographical sketch of the author, and an analytical introduction of his four discourses, which treats of a class of men deemed indispensable for the service of kings in his time, viz., (1) scribes or secretaries, (2) poets, (3) astrologers, and (4) physicians. The publication is accompanied with a useful and minute index of persons, places, and books.

*The Kasidah* (Couplets) of *Hâjî Abdû Al-Yazîdî*—a Lay of the Higher

*Law, translated and annotated by his friend and pupil, F. B.,* by CAPTAIN SIR RICHARD F. BURTON (H. J. Cook, Golden Square, London). This is a limited edition of only 250 copies of Sir Richard Burton's famous work, beautifully printed and got up, and is uniform with the subscribers' sets of the world-famous *Nights*. It consists of forty-two pages, printed on one side of the sheets.

*Manual of the Maru Language*, by Lieut. W. B. T. ABBEY, 2nd Bombay Lancers (Rangoon: American Baptist Mission Press, and Luzac and Co., Great Russell Street, London, W.C.). The Maru language is as yet unwritten. The Marus are a race of people inhabiting the basin of the Nmaikha River, on the Eastern branch of the Upper Irrawaddy. The country has become important to England because by an arrangement with China the whole country lies within our political frontier. The grammar is very simply constructed, giving (1) the construction of the language, (2) colloquial exercises, and (3) a vocabulary of about 1,000 words. It will prove handy and useful for travellers in this unexplored and unknown region, and officers and others, who may be called upon to administer the affairs of the country now under British rule.

*Theal's Little History of South Africa* (T. Fisher Unwin, London). This work was written three years ago, in simple language fitted for schools. It has passed through three editions. The present edition brings statistics down to the present date, and contains a short chapter on the origin of the present war. There is also a chronological table of events in South Africa from its discovery in 1486 down to the events in May, 1897.

*The Siege of Ladysmith*, described in sixty-four pictures from the only complete set of photographs taken during the siege by a resident photographer. These pictures are taken from the first photographs brought to England after the relief of the town, with descriptions in letterpress by H. St. J. TUGMAN, an eye-witness (George Newnes, Limited, London). Defenders, guns, camps, neighbouring mountains held by the Boers, buildings, views of Ladysmith from various points of view, are all described. A highly interesting and well-executed production.

*A Zulu Manual or Vade-Mecum*, being a companion volume to "The Zulu-Kafir Language" and "The English-Zulu Dictionary," by the REV. CHARLES ROBERTS (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Limited, London). The object of this handy small volume is to throw more light on some of the difficulties of the Zulu-Kafir language, and forms a useful companion to the author's former works. In it will be found botanical and geological terms, as well as those relating to natural history, physiology, disease, sickness, and remedies. The missionary and the traveller will find it a very useful work.

*Japanese Notions of European Political Economy*; being a summary of a voluminous report to the Japanese Government by TENTEIRO MAKATO, Commissioner of Japan to make the investigation. Third edition, revised (John Highlands, Philadelphia; Scottish Single Tax League, 13, Dundas Street, Glasgow). This is a translation and summary of the Japanese's report on his investigations as to the opinions and teachings of European authors on the various questions connected with political economy. The

compendium is valuable as gathering together the opinions of many authorities in England, America, and elsewhere. It shows the intelligence and shrewdness of the Japanese Government in appointing such a Commission for the investigation of such an important and national subject.

*Conty's Practical Guides* (12, Rue Auber, Paris)—*The Paris Exhibition of 1900*. This little, handy, and well-got-up pocket guide has been specially compiled for the use of English visitors to the Universal Exhibition in Paris. It contains much information, in a brief compass, of the sights of Paris, more particularly of the Exhibition. It has two distinct maps, which will be very helpful to English visitors.

*Pocket Guide to Belgium*. We welcome this guide-book. It consists of three parts. The one containing the text is printed on white paper, the others in blue and pink, giving hotels, restaurants, cheap excursions, circular tours by rail and steamers, with numerous maps and illustrations. The volume is published under the patronage of the railway companies. The routes described follow the railway lines starting from Brussels, and the principal cross-lines connecting the chief towns. The volume will be found handy, useful, and interesting to visitors and travellers.

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following: *A List of the Photographic Negatives of Indian Antiquities in the Collection of the Indian Museum, with which is incorporated the list of similar negatives in the possession of the India Office* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1900);—*Imperial Telegraphic Communication: a Report of the Debate in the House of Commons, May 22, 1900* (Eastern and Eastern Extension Telegraph Companies, 50, Old Broad Street, London);—*Climate*, vol. i., No. 3, a quarterly journal of health and travel, by C. F. Harford-Battersby, M.A., M.D. (Travellers' Health Bureau, Salisbury Square, and Simpson, Marshall, Hamilton, Kent and Co., London);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing "Hebraica"), April, 1900 (University of Chicago Press);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. xxx., Part II.;—*The Indian Review*, April (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Indian Magazine*;—*The National Magazine*, New Series, a monthly review, vol. xiii., December, 1899, January and February, 1900 (The Muhammadan Orphans' Press, Calcutta);—From George Newnes, Limited, London: *The Strand Magazine* for April, May, and June—*The Captain* for April, May, and June—*The Wide World Magazine* for April, May, and June—*The Sunday Strand Magazine* for April, May, and June—*Tit-Bits*, weekly—*The Royal Atlas*, Parts 19, 20—*The Arabian Nights*, Parts 16-19—*Unbeaten Tracts in Japan*, by Mrs. Bishop, Parts 5, 6;—*Khaki in South Africa*, Part I., to be completed in about 12 fortnightly parts;—*Biblia*, the American monthly of Oriental Research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*Rivista Minerva* (Rome);—*The Contemporary Review* (Isbister and Co., London);—*The National Review* (E. Arnold);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (A. Constable and Co.,

London);—*The North American Review*, April, May, and June (New York);—*The Madras Review* (Thompson and Co., Minerva Press, Madras);—*Le Tour du Monde* (Hachette, London and Paris);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires* (Paris);—*Revue Tunisienne*, organe de l'Institut de Carthage, April (Tunis);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (The Open Court Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Die Kultur*, vol. i., No. 4, April, 1900 (Vienna and Stuttgart);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* vol. xxxi, Parts V.-VII. (The Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund*, Quarterly Statement, April, 1900 (38, Conduit Street, W.);—*The Light of Truth; or, Siddhanta Deepika*, March, April, May, 1900 (Black Town, Madras).

For want of space we regret we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue: *In Moorish Captivity: an Account of the "Tourmaline" Expedition to Sus*, 1897-98, by H. M. Grey (Edward Arnold, London);—*Leading Points in South African History*, 1486, to March 30, 1900, by Edwin A. Pratt, author of "Pioneer Women in Victoria's Reign," etc. (John Murray, London, 1900);—*Four Months Besieged: the Story of Ladysmith*, being unpublished letters from H. H. S. Pearce, the *Daily News* special correspondent (Macmillan and Co., Limited, London and New York, 1900);—*The Story of the Australian Bushrangers*, by Geo. E. Boxall (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, London);—*The Practical Study of Languages: a Guide for Teachers and Learners*, by Henry Sweet, M.A., PH.D., LL.D. (J. M. Dent and Co., London);—*Notes on the Law of Territorial Expansion, with especial reference to the Philippines*, by Carman F. Randolph, of the New York Bar (The De Vinne Press, New York City);—*Below the Surface*, by Major-General Fendall Currie, barrister-at-law, late Commissioner in Oudh (Archibald Constable and Co., London, 1900);—*Voices in the Night*, by Flora Annie Steel, author of "On the Face of the Waters," etc. (William Heinemann, London, 1900);—*A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics of the Fourth Century, B.C.*, with introductory essay and notes, by Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, M.A. (printed and published under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society, and sold at 22, Albemarle Street, London, 1900);—*Facts and Fancies about Java*, by Augusta de Wit, second edition (The Hague: W. P. van Stockum and Son; London: Luzac and Co.);—*The Civilization of India*, by Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E. (J. M. Dent and Co., London);—*British America*, with two maps, "The British Empire Series," vol. iii. (Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Limited, London, 1900);—*The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company*, including that of *The French Traders of North-Western Canada, and of the North-West, XY, and Astor Fur Companies*, by George Boyce, M.A., LL.D. (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London);—*L'arabo parlato in Egitto*, by Carlo Alfonso Nallino, professore nel Regio Istituto Orientale di Napoli (Ulrico Hoepli, Milan, 1900).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Lord and Lady Curzon left Calcutta on March 28 on a tour to the North-West Frontier. His Excellency held a durbar at Quetta, and addressed the chiefs and sirdars, amongst whom were the Khan of Khelat and the Jām of Las Bela. They met with a very cordial reception.

The Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjāb has announced that, in addition to the money spent in archæological conservation, he intended to make moderate contributions from the public revenues for the repairs of famous mosques and temples, still in daily use, in cases where the worshippers were unable to meet such repairs.

Representations have been made by the Calcutta Chamber of Commerce to the Government that the coinage has not kept pace with public requirements, and that it is difficult to obtain rupees in exchange for currency notes, while discount is also charged when sovereigns are offered in exchange for rupees, thus seriously affecting the interests of commerce and of the State.

The revenue for the present year has been estimated at £68,549,061, the previous financial year having amounted to £67,595,815.

The expenditure for the current year will be £65,876,663, against £64,954,942 in 1898-99. Thus the surplus for this year is estimated at £2,672,398, against £2,640,875 last year. The gross receipts from railways will, it is estimated, be £14,464,130, as against £13,075,980 in 1898-99.

The Post-office, Telegraphs, and Mint should be answerable for a sum of £2,466,356, against £2,048,535 in the previous year.

The estimated expenditure on the relief of famine is £2,053,217, against £26,703 expended in 1898-99.

The estimate for the Indian army is £14,990,207, against £16,001,326 last year.

The celebration of the Queen-Empress' birthday was made the occasion for a very fervent expression of loyalty, coupled with general rejoicing over the relief of Mafeking.

The following table will show the number of persons in receipt of relief at the time we go to press : Bombay, 1,181,000 ; Panjāb, 162,000 ; Central Provinces, 1,951,000 ; Berar, 444,000 ; Ajmir Merwara, 144,000 ; Rajputana States, 516,000 ; Central India States, 201,000 ; Bombay Native States, 512,000 ; Baroda, 99,000 ; North-West Provinces, 2,000 ; Panjāb Native States, 36,000 ; Central Provinces Feudatory States, 68,000 ; Haidarabad, 461,000 ; Madras, 19,000 ; Kashmir, nil ; Bengal, 6,000 ; total, 5,802,000.

Over 5,000,000 marks have been forwarded to the Viceroy by His Majesty the Kaiser, as Germany's contribution to the Indian Famine Fund. The King of Siam has also sent a contribution of Rs. 5,000, and expressed his sympathy with the sufferers. Hong Kong has made a handsome donation of Rs. 30,000.

A sum of 58 lacs has been distributed from the Famine Fund in India,



principally in gifts for the purchase of cattle and seeds. The Government has allotted 75 lacs in repayable advances.

Plague riots occurred during April at Cawnpore. Troops were called out, and several constables and people lost their lives.

By a royal ordinance a new order has been established, called the Kaiser-i-Hind Medal (see our note, p. 191). There have been already 33 recipients of the gold medal and 81 of the silver medal, nearly all being public servants or private individuals who have done good service in famine and plague work.

Great satisfaction has been expressed at the proposed early reduction of the telegraph rate between India and England to half-a crown a word.

The formation of two Moplah regiments in the Madras command has been sanctioned. (The Moplahs make good soldiers when they have submitted to discipline.)

The monsoon has not yet established itself.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—Some unrest still exists among the Waziris, as no responsible maliks exist who can control the bad characters among the tribe, so that all the regular troops cannot be withdrawn from the Tochi Valley until it is decided what policy should be adopted.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—A son and heir has been born to Sir Mansinghji Sursinghji, K.C.S.I., the Thakore Sahib of Palitana.

His Highness the Maharaja of Patiala has appointed Captain Keki M. Mistri to be guardian to the heir-apparent (H.H. Ticca Sahib).

The Government of the Nizam has borrowed some 80 lacs of rupees from the Exchange Banks on six months' bills at 5 per cent.

The ceremonies in connection with the marriage of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore were very successful. The Governor of Madras, Lieutenant-General Sir George Wolseley, and staff, with many other civil and military personages, were present.

BURMA.—After the Burmo-Chinese Boundary Commission had left, the Laos burnt a portion of Meng-tun, where Major Kiddle and Mr. Sutherland were murdered. The Shan peasants are likely to emigrate.

The value of private imports into Burma for the year ending March 31, excluding treasure, was 1,081 lacs, as compared with 1,176 lacs for the preceding year. The exports represented 1,831, against 1,646 lacs.

BALUCHISTAN.—A telegraph-office was opened at Nushki, on the Quetta-Seistan route, in May. The line will probably be continued across the desert to Nusratabad.

PERSIA.—His Majesty the Shah is now (July) on a tour in Europe, and is expected in England as a guest of the Queen this month.

A new passport law has been put into force throughout Persia, which provides that every traveller must show his passport on entering the country. If the passport does not contain the *visa* of a Persian Consular officer, the holder must pay the fee for the *visa*, which amounts to about five shillings.

AFGHANISTAN.—The Amir, in a recent letter on the subject of Russian aggression, said he must inform the Government of India that the present is a time for deeds and not for talk.

His Highness is in Kabul in good health, and everything is quiet. Sirdar Habibullah Khan has returned to the capital from Jallalabad.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—It is reported that the strength of the Russian garrison at Kushk, north of Herat, is about 3,000 men.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—Fiscal persecution, systematically applied, has procured for Islam nearly 500 Armenian converts in the sanjak of Hekkiari, and similar tactics are being followed in Kharput and Diarbekr.

Ismail Kemāl Bey, who was lately appointed Vali of Tripoli in Barbary, being convinced that foul play awaited him there, has refused the appointment, and through the intervention of the Ambassadors has obtained permission to retire to Europe with his three sons.

An Imperial *Irādē* has been promulgated granting the three following points: The cessation of the difficulties exceptionally created in regard to the Armenians; the preservation of the rights of the Armenians in Turkey, including the election of the Catholicos of Sis; the remission of the arrears of the military tax in the case of the Armenians who have suffered misfortune, and the granting of facilities for the payment of the tax in future: The Patriarch has been ordered to resume his ecclesiastical functions.

BRITISH NORTH BORNEO.—On April 28 Kudat was raided by 200 natives, who captured the powder magazine and a Maxim; several persons were killed and wounded. Subsequently the magazine and gun were recaptured by the police under Mr. Malcolm; 20 raiders were killed, and several prisoners taken.

Mr. Hugh Clifford, C.M.G., the Governor, has arrived at Kudat from Sandakan with reinforcements under Commandant Harrington.

STRAITS SETTLEMENTS.—The new harbour at Singapore has been renamed Keppel Harbour, in honour of Admiral the Hon. Sir H. Keppel.

Sir F. Swettenham, with Mr. Hore, the Administrator of the Chinese in Malaya, have proceeded to Hong Kong and Wei-hai-Wei to report to the Imperial Government on the administrative methods to be adopted.

CHINA.—On May 3 an attack was made on the two camps of the Wei-hai-Wei Boundary Commission. Major Pearce and four men of the British-Chinese regiment were wounded. The assailants were repulsed, with a loss of thirty killed. The Chinese regiment behaved well. The disturbance was probably connected with the taxation instituted by the British Administration, and the action of the Chinese officials in inciting the natives against the British. The Taotais Li and Yen and Captain Liu have been rescued by the Chinese regiment; the Chinese troops, which had been sent to release them, arrived after their release by the former. The natives are now becoming quiet and friendly.

The "Boxer"\* anti-foreign movement has attained alarming proportions. A serious anti-Christian outbreak has occurred in the district between Pao-ting-fu and Peking. There has been great destruction of property, and many native Christians have been murdered. (The "Boxers" are a gang of Hooligans, who disguise their looting raids under the mask of religion and politics. Fostered by Chinese officialdom during their two years of existence, they have increased in power.)

\* See our article on the "Boxers."

On May 21 the Diplomatic Body at Peking addressed a conjoint Note to the Tsung-li-Yamên, calling on the Government to suppress the "Boxers" and the anti-foreign propaganda.

Chinese troops were thereupon sent to the disturbed districts, with instructions to rigidly suppress all agitation; but the rebellion having increased, and the destruction of railway property and massacre of native Christians continuing, a force composed of 356 British, American, Italian, French, Russian, and Japanese officers and men was sent into Peking.

The attitude of the Chinese Government towards the insurgents is apparently one of friendliness. Prince Ching, President of the Tsung-li-Yamên, has been superseded by Prince Tuan, father of the Crown Prince, and a powerful supporter of the "Boxers."

A relief column, consisting of foreign troops, under Admiral Sir E. Seymour, left Tien-tsin for Peking, but owing to the complete destruction of the railway it is isolated half-way. The Chinese are now bombarding Tien-tsin, and a relief force has been sent there from Taku. Chaos reigns in Peking, and it is reported that all the Legations have been destroyed and the German Minister killed. The Ministers are unable to communicate with the Admirals and other officers in charge of the relief column.

On June 17 the Taku Forts opened fire on the combined fleets, which returned the fire and blew up two forts, and carried the other by assault.

An expeditionary force, consisting of six battalions of native troops from India, under the command of Genl. Sir A. Gaselee, is proceeding to China.

KOREA.—An agreement has been concluded between Russia and Korea whereby the latter grants to Russia a site for a coal depot and a naval hospital at Masampho Harbour, and pledges herself not to alienate the island of Ko-je-do at the mouth of the harbour.

JAPAN.—The attitude of the Government in regard to the "Boxer" movement is to co-operate with the European Powers on the spot.

EGYPT.—His Highness the Khedive left Alexandria on June 2 on a European tour. He arrived in England for a stay of about ten days on June 21, attended by Sir R. Wingate, Sir R. Rodd, Hassan Pasha Assem, Zeki Pasha, and De Martino Pasha.

The Government has asked the Great Powers to give their assent to the issue of £1,700,000 preference stock for the improvement and extension of the Government railway system.

The Nile is rising steadily.

SUDAN.—Major Peake, who has been engaged in opening the White Nile, has reported that whilst he was in the Lado region he met Commandant Chaltin, of the Congo Free State Military Service. He went as far as Lado in a gunboat, and thence proceeded in the Uganda launch to Gondokoro, Réjaf, and Fort Berkeley, one of the northern posts of the Uganda Protectorate.

The river appears navigable for gunboats up to Bedden. The clearing of the *sudd* has now been completed in accordance with the wishes of Sir William Garstin, the Under Secretary of State for Public Works.

EAST AFRICA.—The causes of the Uganda railway strike were disaffection at the dilatoriness of the Pay Department, the insufficiency and discomfort of the accommodation provided for the employés, the bad quality

of the rations, and the arbitrary detention of supplies in transit over the line.

Sir H. H. Johnston, Her Majesty's Special Commissioner in Uganda, has drawn up a draft agreement with the Regents and chiefs of the country. The frontiers of the kingdom of Uganda, as distinct from the Protectorate, are defined. The King will in future receive an allowance from the Government, and salaries will be paid to the Prime Minister, the Chief Justice, and the Treasurer of the King's revenues. A new Native Council will be appointed and a definite system of taxation drawn up. The chiefs seem to be favourably disposed towards these projected changes.

CAPE COLONY.—Mr. Schreiner tendered the resignation of his Ministry on June 13. Sir J. Gordon Sprigg then formed a new Cabinet, with Mr. Rose-Innes as Attorney-General. This will be supported by Messrs. Schreiner and Salomon and their followers.

SOUTH AFRICA.—The last news we recorded on going to press in our last number was the entry of Lord Roberts into Bloemfontein, and the opening of regular train service between that place and the Cape, *viâ* Bethulie.

The annexation of the Orange Free State was proclaimed on May 28 at Bloemfontein by the Military Governor, General Pretymann, under the name of the Orange River Colony.

General Joubert died at Pretoria on March 27.

ORANGE RIVER COLONY.—Several isolated Boer commandos have been giving trouble in the colony. Their number in the Bethlehem district is stated to be 7,000. Generals Rundle and Brabant are opposing them. Another large commando of Free Staters under Commandant de Wet destroyed several miles of railway north of Kroonstad, thus interrupting Lord Roberts' communication. General Kitchener and Lord Methuen engaged the commando at Rhenoster River on June 11, and gained a complete victory, taking their camp and scattering them in all directions.

A Boer force attacked Roodeval on June 7 and surrounded and overpowered the 4th (Militia) Battalion of the Derbyshire regiment, a total of about 650, including killed, wounded and prisoners.

One thousand five hundred Boers have surrendered to General Brabant in the Ficksburg district.

In an engagement at Rooikrantz Commandant Olivier was killed and General de Villiers mortally wounded.

TRANSVAAL.—The British invasion of the Transvaal began on May 24, when Lord Roberts' army crossed the Vaal River at Parys. Colonel Henry's mounted infantry occupied Vereeniging.

The enemy had prepared several positions where they evidently intended to oppose us, but all were abandoned on the approach of our troops, during which advance Generals French and Hamilton had some sharp fighting on the Rand.

Johannesburg surrendered on May 31, and Lord Roberts entered it with his army the next day. The number of British prisoners released was 148 officers and 3,039 men; about 900 others were taken away by the Boers to Nooitgedacht.

On nearing Pretoria the enemy under General Botha resisted our advance,

but after a twelve hours' fight was defeated and Pretoria occupied. Mr. Kruger fled to Machadodorp, whither all the stores were carried from Pretoria for removal to Lydenburg, which had been selected as the seat of the Boer Government.

After the surrender of Pretoria General Botha retired fifteen miles east on the Middelburg road, where Lord Roberts attacked him on June 11, and drove him eastward.

**WESTERN FRONTIER.**—Mafeking, which under Colonel (now Major-General) Baden-Powell had withstood a siege of seven months, was relieved on May 17 by a flying column from the south, under Colonel Mahon, which had been joined two days previously by Colonel Plumer's force from the north. Nine miles from the town they were opposed by 1,500 of the enemy, who after five hours' fighting were driven off. On reaching the town the combined relieving and invested forces attacked and drove the Boers from their laagers.

Sir Charles Warren, with 700 men, were surrounded at Faberspruit on May 30 by 1,000 rebels. The enemy were repulsed.

Colonel Mahon's force entered Ventersdorp on June 9, and is now close to Potchefstroom.

Colonel Plumer is advancing along the Elands River.

Sir A. Hunter has completed the pacification of the Marico, Lichtenburg, and Bloemhof districts. He has now received the surrender of Klerksdorp together with General Cronje.

Major-General Baden-Powell is administering the Malwani and Zeerust and Rustenburg districts, and has already received the submission of nearly a thousand burghers. He has paid a visit to Pretoria.

**NATAL AND EAST FRONTIER.**—On May 12 General Buller advanced on the Helpmakaar Road, occupying Dundee and Glencoe on the 15th, and Newcastle on the 17th. His advance had been delayed on account of the destruction of the railway. The enemy were found to be in considerable force about Laing's Nek and Majuba, which were bombarded by Genl. Clery.

Fighting occurred from June 6 to June 9, which resulted in the capture of Botha's Pass and the entrance of the army into the Orange River Colony. The enemy, seeing that their positions were turned, retired on Standerton, which place Generals Hillyard and Clery are now nearing. The Boers are estimated to be 8,000 strong, and commanded by Generals Christian Botha and Lucas Meyer.

General Lyttelton received the formal submission of the town and district of Wakkerstroom.

**WEST AFRICA: KUMASSI.**—On March 31 Sir F. Hodgson sent a detachment of constabulary to make an attempt to obtain the "golden stool," which failed. In the meantime opposition was organized at Kumassi when it was too late to recall the detachment, and a collision occurred, in which several were killed and wounded. Kumassi is still closely invested by the Ashantis. A relieving force reached the town, making the total number of troops about 450; 450 others were between Cape Coast and Prahshu, and 500 more were on their way from Jebba.

Disaffection has spread among the northern tribes; Kings Tachie and Eudjoe of Accra have been approached by the Ashantis.

At the end of May the advance guard, a relieving force under Lieut.-Colonel Willcocks, commanded by Captain Hall, was repulsed at Kokofu, and withdrew to Esumeja. Colonel Willcocks, at Prahso, cannot move for want of carriers. The river Prah is in flood and hinders transport. Lieutenant Slater was also defeated and killed near Kwisu. On June 6 Colonel Wilkinson from the south, and Captain Hall from the north, joined forces, but were repulsed with 100 casualties at Dompooasi.

The latest advices from the Governor of Gold Coast, dated Kumassi, June 4, is that the garrison is composed of 700 native troops under the command of Major Morris, who entered the town from the north. Europeans and all the troops are on half-rations; their state of health is good, but the native community is in a state of destitution.

The Central Sudan expedition, under Bishop Tugwell, has safely arrived at Ukusu, a place 420 miles in the interior from Lagos, and 180 from Kano, which was expected to be reached about last April.

MOROCCO.—Sid Ahmed ben Musa, the Grand Vizier, who has absolutely ruled Morocco for the past six years in the name of the young Sultan Mulai Abdul-Aziz, died on May 13 last in the city of Marakesh. Haj El-Mukhtar Walid Abdullah ben Hamed has been appointed Grand Vizier. Abd-es-Salām el Tasi, the Minister of Finance, is dead.\*

ALGIERS.—A geologist has examined a tract of country, 120 miles in length, in Oran, proving that it is exceedingly rich in petroleum, resembling the rich districts of Baku and Galicia.

CANADA.—An attempt was made on April 21 to destroy, by means of dynamite, a lock on the Welland Canal, the connecting link between Lakes Erie and Ontario, and much damage was done.

On April 26 a terrible fire broke out at Hull, closely adjoining Ottawa, and spread to the capital itself, while it destroyed an enormous amount of property. It was overcome the following day, after having destroyed the whole city of Hull and burned out a large area of the western part of Ottawa. Fifteen thousand persons were rendered homeless, while some lives were lost. The damage is estimated to exceed £3,500,000.

In the Commons Sir W. Laurier and Sir C. Tupper both spoke of the fearful nature of the calamity, and commended the vote of £20,000 which had been passed for the relief of the sufferers as one which the entire country would endorse. A relief fund has also been raised by the Lord Mayor of London.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—Last April's Budget showed that the revenue for the fiscal year is the largest in the history of the colony. The surplus of \$95,000 is the first *bonâ-fide* surplus for twenty years. The outlook for the future was never better. The totals of the seal fishery are 350,000 seals, the value of which is \$600,000, the largest since 1882.

The official organ of the Bond Ministry strongly advocates union with Canada.

Mr. Reid, the great concessionaire, has quarrelled with Mr. Bond's Government, and has stopped all industrial work except what is obligatory under his contract.

\* See our article, p. 63.

**JAMAICA.**—The final decree transferring the Jamaica railway to the Government was made in April by Chief Justice Livingstone.

**AUSTRALIA.**—In April last Mr. Chamberlain telegraphed to the Governors of the Australian colonies, setting forth objections to the clause of the Commonwealth Bill restricting the right of appeal to the Privy Council, pressing for amendment of the clause, and stating that it was the earnest desire of the Government that such an amendment might be carried out in the way most agreeable to Australian sentiment. To this the Premiers replied that the postponement of the Bill would be more objectionable than its amendment. They did not dispute the Imperial right to amend the Bill, but urged that the voice of Australians should receive the consideration which a weighty *referendum* demanded. They were not authorized to accept amendments. Popular feeling favours Mr. Chamberlain's amendment. The right of every subject to appeal to the Queen for justice is a principle of the constitution of the Empire, and unless the Bill were amended Australia would be deprived of this great privilege.

In May the Premier of Perth introduced a Bill proposing that the Bill, as amended by a conference of Premiers, should be submitted to the people. After a second reading of the Federal Enabling Bill in the Western Australia Legislative Assembly on June 3, it was decided to fix the date of the *referendum* on the Commonwealth Bill for July 24.

Public opinion throughout Australia is strongly opposed to subjecting the right of appeal to the Privy Council to the consent of the Executive Governments.

A British Protectorate over the Tonga Islands was proclaimed by Mr. Basil Thompson, the British Commissioner at Tonga, on May 19, and at Nine Island on April 21. Sites for a coaling-station and a fortified port have been secured at Vavan Harbour.

The revenue of New South Wales for the last eleven months of the financial year shows an increase of £445,547 on the figures of the corresponding period of the preceding year.

The Tasmanian Parliament was opened on April 24. The Governor, in his speech, expressed his pleasure at the loyalty of the Tasmanians in sending troops to South Africa. He also congratulated the colony on its continued prosperity.

**NEW ZEALAND.**—The receipts for the past year show the following increases on the previous year: Customs, £142,550; stamps, £81,500; land and income-tax, £8,920; beer duty, £4,680; railways, £156,100; registration fees, £550; marine revenue, £2,330; miscellaneous, £9,500. There is a decrease in the territorial revenue of £11,570. The following increases in the Customs department are to be noted: spirits, £29,200; tobacco, £12,850; sugar, £11,240; goods *ad valorem*, £68,400; goods by weight, £10,900; other duties, £9,960.

**SAMOA.**—It is anticipated that Germany will have trouble in dealing with the natives in Upolu and Savaii. Mataafa expected a kingship under German sovereignty, and is greatly annoyed at his failure to secure it.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of the following :—Field-Marshal Sir Donald Stewart, one of the most distinguished Anglo-Indian soldiers of the reign ;—Colonel L. H. S. James, late R.A. (Afghan war 1879) ;—Colonel L. B. Bance, Indian Staff Corps, retired (Bellary 1858, Afghan war 1880, Burma 1886-88) ;—Mr. Archibald Forbes, the well-known war-correspondent ;—Mr. A. H. Gunter, I.C.S., District Judge of Peshawar ;—Major R. Molesworth, a Military Knight of Windsor (Crimea) ;—General H. Renny, C.S.I., late 81st Regt. (Mutiny, Sittara expedition 1858) ;—Colonel F. Knowles, late Bengal Staff Corps (Mutiny campaign, Egypt 1882) ;—Captain and Brevet-Major A. W. C. Booth, 2nd Northumberland Fusiliers, in South Africa (Hazara campaign, Nigeria) ;—Colonel John Briggs (Crimea, Mutiny) ;—Lieutenant-Colonel R. P. Pennefather, R.E., Madras (Abyssinia) ;—Mr. J. G. Cordery, C.S.I., late I.C.S. ;—Colonel W. R. Lluellyn, late R.A. (Abyssinia) ;—Lieutenant-General H. Wray, C.M.G., late R.E. (Japan 1864) ;—Commander G. Gore-Browne, R.N., D.S.O. (West Coast of Africa) ;—Sir Alonzo Money, British member of the Caisse of the Public Debt (for 35 years in the Indian Civil Service) ;—Captain P. A. Scott, R.N. (Antarctic expedition 1839) ;—Rear-Admiral H. Champion, C.B. (Crimea) ;—Major-General H. J. Bell, late 105th Regt. ;—Diwan Bahadur Manibhai Jasbhai, a distinguished member of the Gujarati Hindu community ;—Captain W. P. Dimsdale, 2nd Batt. Royal Irish Rifles (Tirah) ;—General J. W. S. Smith, C.B. (Crimea) ;—Major C. F. Sprenger, Cape Mounted Rifles (Galeka and Gaika campaigns 1877-78, Basutoland 1880-81) ;—Colonel W. M. Dunbar, late 34th and 24th Regts. (Crimea, Mutiny, Kaffir war 1878) ;—Major-General F. M. Haultain, late Madras Staff Corps (Southern Mahratta campaign 1844-45) ;—Major F. T. Jones, late of the Buffs (China 1860) ;—Sir Jacobus P. de Wet, formerly Solicitor-General at the Cape, afterwards Chief Justice in the Transvaal in 1880-81, and latterly acting Chief Justice of Ceylon ;—Mirza Hassan Ali Khan, the Amir Nizam, the oldest and ablest of the Shah's Ministers ;—Sir N. John Hannen, formerly Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for China and Japan ;—General J. A. M. Macdonald, C.B., late Bombay Staff Corps (Persia 1857, Central India 1859, etc.) ;—Sir John Hawkins Hagarty, formerly Chief Justice of Ontario ;—Sir Francis Marindin, K.C.M.G., R.E., Senior Inspector of Railways ;—Captain F. L. Prothero, 1st Batt. Welsh Regt. (Tirah expeditionary force 1897-98) ;—Colonel E. Y. Peel, formerly 85th Foot, afterwards British Consular Service ;—General Sir R. Wilbraham, K.C.B., (Syria 1840-41, Crimea) ;—The Zamorin of Calicut ;—Haji Abdul Hussein of Shiraz, head of the Bombay Persian community ;—Captain A. B. Bennet, Royal Warwick Regt. (Burma 1887-88) ;—Colonel R. Reid, late 98th Regt. (Panjāb campaign 1848-49, Eusofzai frontier 1858) ;—Lieutenant-General J. E. T. Nicolls, late R.E. (Gwalior campaign 1843-44, Sutlej 1845, Mutiny campaign) ;—Major-General T. B. M. Glascock, late 1st Bengal Cavalry (Mutiny campaign, Bundelkhand, Bhutan campaign 1865-66, Afghan war 1878-80) ;—Colonel R. Ouseley, Bengal Army, retired (Panjāb-campaign 1848-49, Mutiny campaign) ;—Mr. R. W. Liebschwager, Indian P.W.D., and Deputy Sheriff of Bombay ;—Sir R. T. Goldsworthy, late Governor of the Falkland Islands (Mutiny,



Central India);—Major J. W. D. Adair, late 5th Regt. (Mutiny campaign);—The Nawab Ghulam Ahmad Khan, Ahmadi, formerly on the Gwalior Council;—H.H. the Rana Sahib of Porbandar;—Colonel A. S. L. Hay, C.B. (Crimea, Mutiny campaign, Oude 1858-59);—Major-General H. R. Hope, C.B. (Afghan war 1878-80, Burma 1886-89);—Commander the Hon. W. Grimston, R.N. (Egypt 1882);—Colonel Cuthbert Barlow, late Lancashire Regt. (Panjāb 1848-49, Mutiny campaign);—Colonel W. A. H. Hare, R.E. (special service Turkey, Syria, and Cyprus);—General Lord Mark Kerr, G.C.B. (Crimea, Mutiny campaign);—General C. C. Drury, Bengal Staff Corps;—Major-General J. F. Richardson, C.B., Bengal Army (Multan 1848, Burma 1854-56, Mutiny campaign);—Captain L. Barstow, R.N. (China 1853-56);—Brigadier-Surgeon Lieutenant-Colonel W. Center (Lahore Medical School);—Captain D. G. Seagrim, Royal Garrison Artillery (Burma 1885-89, Zhob Valley expedition 1890, Isazai Field Force 1892, Waziristan 1894-95);—Professor W. Vasilev, Professor of Chinese at St. Petersburg and an authority on Buddhism;—Colonel Sir D. Davidson, K.C.B., late Bombay Army;—Lieutenant-Colonel Sir F. T. A. Hervey-Bathurst (Crimea);—Captain T. A. Fischer, 22nd Madras Infantry (Burma 1885-89);—Lieutenant-Colonel A. E. Hayes, late R.A.M.C. (Afghan war 1878-80, Sudan 1889);—Lieutenant Colonel J. C. G. Price, formerly Bengal Artillery (Mutiny campaign);—Major W. H. Allen, I.S.C. (Afghan war, North-West Frontier of India, Masud Waziri expedition 1881, Sudan 1885, North Frontier of India, Lushai and Chin-Lushai expeditions 1889-90, Isazai 1892, Chitral relief 1895);—Captain J. M. Middlemist, Deputy Inspector-General of the Gold Coast Constabulary;—Surgeon-Major T. A. P. Marsh (Burma 1885-87);—Mr. C. H. Crauford, C.M.G., lately Sub-Commissioner for the East Africa Protectorate;—Colonel J. Rogers, C.B., A.S.C., Director of Supplies of the Egyptian Army (Egypt 1882, Sudan 1884, Dongola 1898);—Sir G. A. Parker, late Madras Civil Service;—Miss Mary Kingsley, a distinguished authoress and West African traveller;—Admiral H. J. Blomfield (Syria 1840, Baltic 1854);—Lieutenant-General Sir F. Marshall (Crimea, Zulu war 1879);—Major-General T. L. Still (Crimea);—Mr. Alfred Caillard, C.M.G., Director-General of Egyptian Customs, and formerly Postmaster-General of Egypt;—Dr. J. F. Easmon, Acting Chief Medical Officer of the Gold Coast Colony;—Rev. F. G. Lugard, one of the oldest clergymen on the ecclesiastical establishment of the old East India Company;—Captain C. E. Maguire, Gold Coast Constabulary, killed in the Ashanti operations;—Captain Hugh Galloway, Royal Lancaster Regt., attached to the States Guides of the Malay Peninsula;—Lord Loch (Sutlej, Crimea, China);—Lieut.-Colonel A. Adams, M.D., F.R.C.S.I., Administrative Medical Officer in Rajputana;—Lord Monson (Indian Mutiny);—Captain C. E. Maguire, Gold Coast Constabulary;—Major-General H. D. Slade (Crimea, China, 1860);—Major-General J. Still, R.A. (Crimea);—Captain M. Wilson, West African Field Force of the Niger Territories.

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THE DESIRABILITY OF A  
DEFINITE RECOGNITION OF THE  
RELIGIOUS ELEMENT IN GOVERNMENT  
EDUCATION IN INDIA.\*

BY R. MACONACHIE,  
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<sup>1</sup> Introductory  
—Intention of the  
Paper, and View  
of the Writer.

I CAN hardly hope when soliciting your readers' attention to a difficult and thorny subject to go far without evoking criticism, without meeting perhaps strong opposition to the views advanced. It seems well, therefore, to say at the outset, and to earnestly beg them to believe, that my purpose in starting such a discussion is with the view of promoting a direct and practical benefit to India. And in pursuing that purpose, I shall not wittingly say anything calculated to hurt the religious sentiments of any of your readers. My own religious position, indeed, is that of a humble believer in the simple evangelistic truths of the Bible, accepting the Lord Jesus Christ as my Saviour from sin and its consequences, and holding the execution of His command to evangelize the world to be the greatest and most necessary of all human duties. Yet the preaching of the Gospel must ever be carried on with meekness and patience no less than

\* For the interesting discussion on this paper, see the "Proceedings of the East India Association," elsewhere in this Review.

with boldness and frankness; it is a spiritual work, which must be undertaken and prosecuted in entire dependence on the Holy Spirit, and no real help can be obtained from the arm of earthly power or official influence. It is my conviction that the cause of religious truth in India would be injured, not advanced, if Government should attempt either directly or indirectly to proselytize. This statement of personal opinion, which might otherwise seem unnecessary, may be condoned as intended to prevent misunderstanding, and so to clear the ground.

2. Reference to the Historical Aspect of the Question — 1793 and 1813.

Soundness of view and a well-balanced conclusion on the subject proposed for consideration will be facilitated if we briefly refer to the policy pursued from time to time by the British Government in India with regard to religious questions generally. The East Indian Company had been in India for eighty years before it was thought necessary to have a church even for its English servants. When the Charter of the Company was renewed in 1793, an attempt was made by Mr. Wilberforce to provide for the "religious and moral improvement of the inhabitants of the British dominions in the East"; but though a resolution to this effect was carried in the House of Commons, the Company succeeded in having the clause struck out which was drafted to give expression to the resolution in the Act, and the Bill passed without it. From that date till 1813 there actually reigned a Government policy forbidding the presence of missionaries at all in British India, and the consequence was that the first attempts to reach non-Christians there under our rule had to be made from the Danish settlement at Serampore. In 1813, however, on the renewal of the Charter, the efforts of Mr. Wilberforce were more successful than before. A resolution was carried in the House of Commons, and embodied in the new Charter Bill, "That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India, and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction among them of useful knowledge and of

religious and moral improvement. That in furtherance of the above objects sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to, and remaining in, India for the purpose of accomplishing those benevolent designs.

“ Provided always that the authority of the Local Governments respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the country be preserved, and that the principles of the British Government on which the natives have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion be inviolably maintained.”

This was the time, according to Professor Seeley, “ when the Brahmanical period comes to an end, and England prepares to pour the civilization, Christianity, and science of the West into India.” It is to be noticed, however, that while the defeated clause in the Bill of 1793, and the clause actually passed in 1813 alike recognise (1) the duty of this country to promote the interests and happiness of the peoples of India, and (2) the duty of adopting such measures as may lead to their religious and moral improvement, there is no mention in the later Act of requiring the Court of Directors themselves “ to send out fit and proper persons ” to act as missionaries. These words were actually used in the draft clause in 1793, but the idea of official missionaries was wisely given up. There still remains the reaffirmation of the duty of England to see to the “ religious and moral ” improvement of the peoples of India. So far as I am aware this principle has never been repudiated by the British Parliament.

3. Later Pro-  
nouncements—(a)  
Educational De-  
spatch of 1854.

There have been, however, two later pronouncements of great importance, the first in point of time being the Educational Despatch drafted by Sir C. Wood and issued by the Court of Directors in July, 1854. This notable document has been now for nearly fifty years the basis of the official policy of Government education in India, and its leading provisions are (1) the recognition of the duty of Government to promote

education ; (2) the preference given to European rather than to Oriental arts, science, philosophy, and literature ; (3) the establishment of Universities in India ; (4) the establishment of an adequate system of primary schools throughout the country ; (5) development of the grant-in-aid system in the hope and with the intention that it will eventually do away with the necessity of having Government schools under direct management ; and (6) the maintenance of religious neutrality. It is this last point with which we are at present primarily concerned.

4. "Religious Neutrality" in the Despatch of 1854. Dealing with a social problem which affected so many hundreds of millions, it was absolutely necessary for our Government, as a prudent and conciliatory benefactor, to write over its school portals in unmistakable character the policy of "No official proselytism"—to abstain from all such acts in its educational policy as might lead the Indian peoples to fear that its power as a Government was going to be used to constrain them to give up their hereditary religions in favour of Christianity. The public outcome of the principle must depend on two factors : first, the intention of Government, which may be taken as constant ; secondly, the fears, or suspicions, or apprehensions, of the people, which certainly are a varying quantity, diminishing generally, however, with every increase of intelligence, and with growth of confidence in the good faith of our administration. The leading passage on the point is paragraph 84, which begins thus :

"84. Considerable misapprehension appears to exist as to our views with respect to religious instruction in the Government institutions. Those institutions were founded for the benefit of the whole population of India ; and in order to effect their object it was, and is, indispensable that the education conveyed in them should be exclusively secular."

A little consideration will, I think, show that the object of the whole paragraph is to allay any apprehension lest the Government school should be used as an official prose-

lytizing agency ; in fact, this is mentioned in so many words a little further on. The Government was ready to recognise and allow the practice of putting the Bible "in the libraries of colleges and schools," and the pupils being able "freely to consult it," with the remark "This is as it should be." There is, in fact, throughout the despatch no trace of hostility to religion, or to the influence of religion. The history of missionary work in India shows at times unfair and unworthy hindrance and opposition offered to Indian converts by Englishmen forgetful of the highest traditions and privileges of their race, but these have been only partial and isolated acts. Yet this is better, and better, too, the cruel and persistent persecution undergone in many cases at the hands of relatives and neighbours, than the dangerous gift of official help. Truth shines out the purer and clearer through the discipline of pain.

5. The same further considered. Paragraphs 28, 32, and 34 all contain expressions showing, I submit, that "religious neu-

trality" is considered to be abstinence from religious proselytism. Paragraphs 53, 56, and 57 in the same way all refer to "religious neutrality" as avoiding any appearance of proselytizing in favour of any particular religion, and nothing more. The remark may be ventured that the negative lurking in the word "neutrality" might give rise to the idea that Government itself had no religion of its own, but this conclusion is not warranted. "Religious impartiality" would be a clearer term, expressing, as it appears to me, all that was intended.

6. The Attitude of the Court of Directors as to Morals in Education. But the point I wish to press on your kind attention is that this time-honoured declaration of educational policy gives great prominence to the education of morals, as being even more important than the mere instruction of the intellect. Paragraph 2 says : "It is one of our most sacred duties to be the means, so far as in us lies, of conferring upon the natives of India those vast moral and material blessings which flow from general diffusion of useful knowledge, and which India may under Providence derive from her connection with

England." Again, in paragraph 3, we read: "We have moreover always looked upon education as peculiarly important, because calculated not only to produce a higher degree of intellectual fitness, but to raise the moral character of those who partake of its advantages." Paragraph 7 has "the education which we desire to see extended in India is that which has for its object the diffusion of the improved arts, science, philosophy, and literature of Europe—in short of European knowledge." Paragraph 77 speaks of the high moral tone which pervades the general literature of Europe. Paragraph 83 emphasizes the importance of female education as giving a special impulse to the educational and moral tone of the people.

7. Conclusion  
drawn from these  
Quotations.

Surely, in view of these quotations, it is clear that the framers of the despatch regarded the moral side of education as an essential object and feature of their great scheme, and it does not seem too much to say that they would have shrunk from the idea of developing an educational training which should have immoral effects on the people they desired so heartily and generously to benefit. Further, if we look at the repeated mention of the help and guidance of Providence, in paragraphs 2 and 99—that is to say, both at the beginning and end of this State document—it is obvious what they considered to be the basis of all morality. The first main point, then, of this paper is that the Educational Despatch of 1854, while intended at all costs to clear the Government from any suspicion of proselytizing in favour of Christianity, was written with full consciousness of the necessity to secure, for the people a moral education as distinguished from mere instruction of the intellect, and we are warranted in believing that the authors would have regarded it as a lamentable result of their system if youths studying in the Government institutions should develop, as a consequence of instruction received from Government teachers, immorality in principles of thinking, to say nothing of scepticism or atheism.

8. Later Pro-  
nouncements—(b)  
Queen's Pro-  
clamation of 1858. The other pronouncement of religious policy is, of course, Her Majesty's Proclamation, issued on the transference of the Government of India to the direct rule of the Crown. The well-known words must be once more quoted :

“Firmly relying Ourselves on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, We disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose Our convictions on any of Our subjects. We declare it to be Our Royal will and pleasure that none be in anywise favoured, none molested or disquieted by reason of their religious faith and observances, but that all alike shall enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law ; and We do strictly charge and enjoin all those who may be in authority under Us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of Our subjects, on pain of Our highest displeasure.” There is an interesting passage in Mr. Stock's admirable work, the “History of the Church Missionary Society” (Chapter XLVI.), in which some side-lights are thrown on the preparation of the Proclamation, and its reception among those interested in the evangelization of India. It must ever be a joy to all Christians to know that the simple and clear avowal of the Christian belief of their Queen was made by the hand and in the words of the Queen herself ; and with reference to the remarks made above about “religious neutrality,” it is instructive to learn that Her Majesty struck out the word “neutrality” in the draft submitted to her. The word “interference” must, as Mr. Stock rightly observes, be interpreted by the leading word “impose,” used in the first sentence of the paragraph ; both refer to the use of authority or of official influence to put pressure or compulsion on the minds of Indians. The Proclamation is not unfavourable to the cause of truth, but truth must win its own way ; and this is sound and good.

9. How far has  
the Policy been  
carried out in  
General Adminis-  
tration ? After these remarks on the professed policy of Government in educational matters, the inquiry naturally arises, How far has that policy been carried out in practice ? Part of



the reply to this question is obvious. If by observing religious neutrality is meant doing nothing which in the natural course of human affairs shall have an adverse effect on any religion prevalent in India, then it must be said that the British Government has not been religiously neutral. But it is equally plain that it never can be neutral in this sense. The abolition of Suttee in 1830 under Lord William Bentinck was carried out in spite of the protests of at least some Englishmen, who said that the change was a distinct interference with the Hindu religion. Instruction in even the common facts of physical geography is dangerous to the authority of any religious system which teaches as a matter of faith that the world is flat. The railway regulations, which, as an ordinary thing, allow men of high and low caste to sit on the same seat; the municipal water supply, which provides water from one hydrant for the Brahmin and Sudra alike; the liberal and levelling spirit of the Law Courts, which treats the liberty and civil rights of a Pariah with the same respect as those of a Raja—all these, and other administrative measures of which these may be taken as instances and types, have a strong though quiet effect in weakening the influence and working power of the institution (which is quite as much religious as social) of "caste." Whether we will it or not, our English system of governing India must of itself prove a strong solvent of many points of the Hindu if not the Muhammadan religious system. This fact alone is sufficient to show that the extreme meaning put on the phrase "religious neutrality" by some controversialists was never intended by the authorities who gave it currency.

10. Special  
Effects of the Edu-  
cational System  
on Hindu Re-  
ligion.

The special effects of the educational system go beyond this indirect influence—they are so marked, and so generally prevalent as to be fairly reckoned the normal and natural consequences of the teaching given in Government schools. The testimonies on this point are numerous and worthy of respect. Macaulay himself declared that "no Hindu who has received an English education ever remains sincerely

attached to his religion." Many others speak even more strongly than this, but it will be sufficient to quote a passage written long ago in a Bombay native paper, the earnest tone of which proves its sincerity. "Education provided by the State simply destroys Hinduism ; it gives nothing in its place. It is founded on the benevolent principle of non-interference with religion, but in reality it is *the negation of God in life*. Christians holding a faith pure and rational in its essentials may receive the highest education, and be only the more confirmed in their faith. But education must destroy idolatry, and State education in India, benevolent in its idea, practically teaches atheism." This utterance of a non-Christian thirty-six years ago has been more than once quoted in England, but it is so reasonable, as well as pathetic, that it is still worth hearing. The sad fact is that it accords only too closely with the personal experience of those of us who have been in India, and have been interested in the students of Government schools. What can be worse for a country than that its youth, just at the age when impulses are naturally generous and warm, should have its instincts of reverence and worship undermined, and nothing given for those instincts to stay on—nothing positive supplied to the mind at a stage when it specially craves and needs positive teaching and help ? It must be always remembered that our Government in India is in a unique position : analogies drawn from the liberal constitutions of Western states are entirely misleading. England has a tutelary relation towards India which carries with it a special and very heavy responsibility. It is difficult to imagine a graver piece of unintentional irony than the utterance of a benevolent Governor-General like the Marquis of Ripon, who, presiding over a system of education which teaches no religion, earnestly declares (as he did on his first tour after taking office) that no system of education is satisfactory without religion.

Reverting now to the positive aim professed in the Educational Despatch, viz., the "education of morals," which was to be pursued under the negative condition of "religious

neutrality," I do not propose to dwell at length on the thesis that there can be no education of morals in the truest sense without religion. It is a narrower but sufficiently wide proposition to state that as a fact under the Government system of education no appreciable rise in morality can be observed. Undoubtedly, and we cannot be too thankful for this—undoubtedly the system of education pursued in mission schools has had a far-reaching effect on the state of popular morality even among those who have not openly professed themselves Christians. But this only throws into darker relief the evil wrought by the Government schools—the success indeed of the one is as marked as the failure of the other. Statistics on such a point are not to be had, but I think it right to give my personal testimony that whenever I met any young man in India who seemed above his fellows in morality, inquiry always, as far as I can remember, elicited the fact that he had either been at a mission school or had come in some way under the personal influence, if not the teaching, of a missionary. I do not wish to impose my experience on anyone; it may be taken for what it is worth. I will only add that throughout my twenty-five years' service in India I felt strongly drawn towards students as a class, and I received from time to time expressions of their sense of freedom and sympathy in our intercourse.

12. Results thus far — Failure in "Religious Neutrality," Failure to raise Morality.

The results thus far of our consideration of the facts would seem to be that while our Government professed honestly its intention to observe "religious neutrality," it has not been able to do so, and that while the hope was honestly entertained of important improvements in public morality, this, so far as attempted by the education in Government schools, has not been realized. Other beneficial influences may have accomplished something, but the official system of education has done nothing, or worse than nothing. Let us now try to see whether there is not "a better way." In offering the suggestions that follow, I, of course, must expect criticism. The matter is undoubtedly difficult, but

no progress is possible without discussion, and I hope I have made it clear that I speak in no heat or bitterness. But I do feel this. I am deeply—I will even dare to say intensely—interested in the welfare of India. No one can spend the best years of his life among its people without having them very near his heart. And I see what seems a gigantic evil growing in the country—acknowledged as such in many quarters. The question must plead at least for an attempt at answering. Is there no remedy?

Forty years ago the question was publicly argued whether the Bible should not be taught in the Government schools, attendance, of course, being voluntary during the Bible lesson. This was answered in the negative, not by reasoning, but by authority. When the Duke of Somerset had made an elaborate speech in the House of Lords in favour of the measure, it was defeated without discussion by Lord Brougham moving the previous question. Sir Herbert Edwardes, himself a thorough-going advocate of Bible teaching, said of the controversy “there was a good stand-up fight, and our party were defeated, mainly, I think, on two grounds—a fear of even the appearance of religious pressure, and a fear of drifting into a State Church in India.” Much as I should prefer this plan, were it practicable, I am reluctantly driven to the conclusion that under present circumstance it is not so.

In offering an alternative suggestion I do not claim—rather I wish to disclaim—any originality. Personal experience, verified in this respect over and over again in questions of public interest, shows that in the present state of widely diffused and educated intelligence the same idea strikes many minds independently at or about the same time. This has become such a fixed impression with me, that whenever I seem to gather new light in thinking on a public question, the expectation also arises of seeing my

13. Adopting the Bible in Government Schools is now not practicable.

14. Something short of this should be tried—viz., Theistic Teaching to be given dogmatically.

ideas mooted in the press from some other quarter. In the present instance I should like to think that I am merely voicing what is passing in many other minds, as this would increase the chance of something practical being attempted. And this hope has received striking confirmation during the last few weeks, as I find that my main suggestion has also occurred to no less a person than the Metropolitan of India, who has spoken about it in public at Calcutta. The remedy for the present lamentable state of things is that Government, acting, as it were, *in loco parentis* toward all students in Government schools, should dogmatically teach the existence and the active government of God as the Moral Ruler of the world. These facts should be treated as principles underlying and governing all other teaching; reference to them should be habitual, though not needlessly obtrusive. What is wanted is rather to fill a noticeable and hideous gap in our system of instruction than to push religious teaching to the front with any idea of further aggression—to resume, as it were, a normal and natural mode of teaching rather than to choose a new one. It is well known that hitherto the reading of English books has given some difficulty to Government teachers; many passages have had to be modified, and in some cases, especially in poetry, the effect has been grotesque, not to say ridiculous. The “high tone” so emphatically praised in the Despatch of 1854 as characterizing European literature depends for its value and constancy on the diffused atmosphere of religious influence which, thanks to Christianity, pervades for the most part our famous English books. How to teach English literature effectively without reference to religion is indeed to me a puzzle. Not one of our greatest authors, none of our finest poems, none even of our first-class novels can be understood without habitual reference to the Divine Creator, the Maker and Sustainer of all things material and spiritual. Difficult as religious teaching may be, its difficulties are at least honest, whereas at present our policy is both ineffective and inconsistent. The Christian consciousness of our nation, as

embodied in the historic utterances of our rulers, is not content (thank God that it is so !) with anything less than the moral and religious improvement of the people of India ; and yet our educational system, by its timid exclusion of the name of God from its books, and its refusal to use the religious instinct in training the schoolboy mind, renders itself unable to accomplish one of the chief purposes, if not the chief purpose, aimed at by its originators. You can never by teaching a boy the ordinary facts of intellectual instruction make him really better morally ; you can give him quicker perception as to what is beneficial to him in a worldly way ; you can make him a cleverer man, and if he is bad, you can make him a worse and more dangerous man, but as for real morality, unless you are allowed to refer to God as the ultimate power, the Judge whom no liar or thief can escape, the Father whose love and approval are worth far more than any triumphs at school or in the world, unless you can give a solid basis to the idea of duty, the "Categoric Imperative" which whispers, and will take no refusal, "Thou must"—unless this is allowed to the educator, he wants, as has been well said, the fulcrum on which the lever of any moral teaching can act. All this is, I hope with many of us, the A B C of education ; but it needs to be asserted persistently in connection with our present subject. The Government of India, professing to seek certain ends in education, have taken a course which can never obtain those ends. Their policy is absolutely ineffective.

15. Present Policy Inconsistent. The present educational arrangements are also inconsistent. By our support of grant in

aid schools we do in effect, though not in theory, give assistance to mission—that is, to religious—education. I do not want to see this changed ; it is fair, and distinctly economical, as Government obtains in return for the very moderate grants allowed a far better system of teaching, and a far more extensive social influence of the highest class than they will ever do in any other way. I only point out that the method is inconsistent with the

mistaken and timid policy in the official schools. Again, our leading rulers and statesmen never hesitate publicly to acknowledge the overruling and beneficent power of Providence as effectuating all their efforts for the good of the Indian peoples, and yet we mutilate our school books to prevent them from seeming to persuade too strongly in favour of God's existence, His goodness and truth. A more "lame and impotent conclusion" for a Government which really desires to be beneficent can hardly be imagined.

16. General Position of our Government in India as Moral Trustee. Before referring to the practical difficulties (so far as I can see them) that may be raised against this proposal, I should like to note

what I conceive to be the general position of the British Government in India as arising from the facts of history. It is entirely unfair to liken it to the administration of a country like Great Britain, or the United States of America, which must be more or less democratic. We English in India are the working delegates of Providence, put there for certain purposes, which it is our wisdom, and our safety, to carry out. Among these the moral enlightenment of the peoples "committed to our charge" (the phrase is, so to speak, Parliamentary) is one of the chief, and we are to pursue that purpose in the best way we can. Popularity of procedure is irrelevant except so far as unpopularity, or popular suspicion, might hinder our plans. I deprecate any such *a priori* objection as that "we have no right," etc. We have not only a right, but it is our duty, to do what we can for the moral benefit of India, the only question being, What are the practical difficulties?

17. The first Difficulty — Suspicion on part of the People. The first point is, How far would popular suspicion prevent success? This factor of

suspicion has already been alluded to as inconstant and varying; its real power has often been mistaken; disturbances at times prophesied as certain to arise from it have not occurred, while at other times, it must be admitted, unreasoning panic has been exhibited which could not have been foreseen. We are, I think it

may be said, more inclined on the whole to over-cautiousness in our proceedings, through an habitually exaggerated idea of this element in our administrative problems. But as matters stand nowadays we are probably in a better position than we ever have been. The people of India have had a long experience now, not only of the power, but of the general fairness, of our Government, and so far as there is any intelligent opinion at all in India, it is able to understand that we do not officially proselytize. There is, however, something more, and something much to our purpose. Directly opposite to the negativeness of Government teaching, the positive system of religious education in mission schools has among other indirect benefits produced such a comparative enlightenment that hardly any who stand forth as public teachers at the present day, whether through the Press or otherwise, care to profess principles other than those of theism. There are, it is true, a few erratic utterances in the way of Agnosticism, borrowed mostly from a certain not very influential class of writers in England, but as a factor of public opinion they may be wisely disregarded. In this respect we stand at a distinct advantage just now, that while the Muhammadan from his religion ought always to be a firm theist, the Hindu (I wish to speak without offence), studying his religious books under influences of English thought, also declares that they teach the existence of a supreme Being who rules the world. It is a significant and pleasing fact to read in the Press that lately, on the receipt at Delhi of the news of the relief of Ladysmith and the capture of Cronje at Paardeberg, a crowded meeting was held in the Town Hall with great enthusiasm, and loyal speeches were made leading to a resolution which was carried unanimously: "A vote of thanks to the Deity for having granted victory to the British arms." If this represents the better side of public feeling—and we believe that it does—surely our Government would not be too much in advance of popular opinion when dogmatically teaching theism in its schools. I believe that if done



quietly, without any concealment on the one hand, and without any unnecessary parade on the other, above all, without sounding big trumpets to herald a revolution in Government policy, the matter could and would be effected without any disturbance worth regarding, even in the noisiest part of public opinion—the newspapers. The measure should be treated, not as a revolution as regards the aim and idea of Government teaching, but as a change in the method of accomplishing its aim. A judiciously framed circular might issue in the Educational Department drawing attention to the complaints made by natives of intelligence and moral worth of the tendency in Government scholars to become irreligious, pointing out that this was very far from what was ever wished by Government, that the basis of all morality must be based on the acknowledgment of a Divine Governor of the world, and that while Government must inflexibly adhere to its often proclaimed policy of not using official influence in the direction of favouring any particular system of religious doctrines, there is no reason why Hindus and Muhammadans in coming to Government schools should miss the only sound basis of ethics, and should be misled to think that the influence and prestige of Government inclined to the side of irreligion. Heads of departments and educational officers generally might be directed to take care that this does not happen, and while abstaining as before from teaching the special doctrines of Christianity, they should be careful that no encouragement to irreligion should be wrongly derived from Government school education. Together with this negative declaration there should be issued in every province either a New Moral Reader, drawn up in English, or where, as I believe is the case in some provinces, there is such a text-book already, it should be carefully revised so as to bring into systematic prominence the great facts of God's existence, His power and benevolence toward His creatures, and His all-wise, all-righteous government of the world.

18. Practical  
Difficulties as to  
Form of Teach-  
ing.

No doubt there will be practical difficulties in settling the actual form of the teaching—the 'how much and the proportion of each fact to be given, the style of composition to be adopted; whether it should be catechetical, a series of quotations or extracts from great English authors, or whether it should be only a brief summary of categorical statements. Probably the best form would be a combination of all three. But these are questions of detail, and in dealing with them, as really in the treatment of the whole matter, if taken up with prudent determination, difficulties would prove much smaller in practice than in theory, affording another instance of the maxim "Solvitur ambulando." Once let us realize the seriousness of the present state of things, and the needlessness of it—that is to say, that we have a remedy to our hand if we will only use it, given these facts, and there will be no difficulty in the way that cannot be easily got over.

19. Instance of  
what can be ac-  
complished—  
Chester Mac-  
naghten's Teach-  
ing at Kathiawar.

Meanwhile, as an instance of what has actually been done under circumstances of even more than ordinary difficulty, when the right man gives the teaching, I would cite the lectures of the late Chester Macnaghten, Principal of the Rajkumar College, Kathiawar, from 1870-1895. Some, probably many of you, know the book; but if so you will, I am sure, pardon my reference to it. It speaks of a life not blazoned on any conspicuous page of the world's history, but given up with a noble, unshrinking devotion to patient work in that corner of the world-vineyard where the man was put, and it tells of a reward better than fame—of gratitude and love from those for whom and among whom he worked—the princes and nobles of Kathiawar. The lectures were given Sunday by Sunday (the day of leisure in the College), and they deal with subjects which to ordinary ideas might seem beyond the limit of school-teaching. They are thirty-three papers, and they include among their topics "The Presence of God," "Faith," "Prayer," "Duty,"

“Purity,” “Home,” “Money,” “Enjoyment,” “Meditation,” “The Last New Year.”

This is how he treats the fact of God's existence :

“We all alike believe that God exists—I may say we are sure of it. Whether His name be Parameshwar or whether His name be God, we all believe that there is one omnipotent holy Creator of all things, who is not only King over heaven and earth, but also the Father and loving Protector of us and all whom He has created. We believe that whatever is good and pure, whatever is holy and true, comes from Him who alone is perfection, and that all that is good in us He cherishes and loves, and all that is bad He hates and resists.”

Listen once more to what he says about prayer :

“I wish to-day to speak about prayer. And this naturally follows close on our consideration of faith, of faith in God. For what is prayer? It is nothing else than talking or holding conversation with God. And if we truly believe in God, we shall surely feel it a glorious privilege to be constantly (as it were) asking His counsel, relying (as it were) on the help of His hand, watching (as it were) for His approving smile. We shall feel that to have such companionship with us is to have heaven here upon earth.”

My purpose in quoting these passages is not to put them forth as satisfying in all respects the disciplined theologian, or to mark my own approval or disapproval of them—a matter of little importance, but to illustrate the fact that in one great and notable Government college at least matters of religion were freely and honestly handled by an Englishman teaching high-caste and high-born Hindus, and with the result not merely that there was no protest, no “conscientious objection” raised, but that the very tone and manner of teaching adopted seems to have endeared the preceptor to those whom he taught.

20. Two Criticisms—the First, Can we “live up to” such Teaching? Two criticisms may be offered; the first is that of a cynic: By giving such teaching would not the Government be only pointing a contrast to the belief and practice of many Englishmen in India? There is just enough truth in the taunt to make it rankle. There are, it must be confessed with humiliation, some among our countrymen who do dishonour to any religion. But they are not typical men. And while, on the one hand, the higher tone given by judicious teaching of the kind advocated would enable the Indian student to appreciate more fully nobleness and goodness in the English character when he saw it, so, too, on the other hand, the body of moral opinion which it might be hoped would be called into existence by such teaching would exert an indirect influence on Englishmen themselves. It would become more than ever evident that personal immorality on the part of an English administrator in India, apart from all reference to religion, is the most unworthy service he can offer to his Queen.

21. The Second Criticism—Can Christians recommend Theistic Teaching? The second criticism, of quite a different kind, is one which personally I feel it more serious to answer. The question may be asked, Supposing that this teaching be adopted, are not you, as a Christian, afraid of seeing the peoples of India remain in Theism, which, according to your religious views, is not satisfactory? This *argumentum ad hominem* I have no wish to repel as irrelevant; it is indeed worthy of much consideration. I think a reply might be made as follows: I admit Tennyson’s dictum, “A lie which is half the truth is ever the blackest of lies”; but this refers to a statement which though partly true is essentially false by claiming to represent the whole truth. But no one (in the present connection) is claiming that Government should attempt or profess to set forth the whole truth of religion. This would mean official proselytism, which, I believe, is not God’s way of evangelizing India or any other country. But what would be taught would be truth as far as it goes, and to

avoid misunderstanding, it might be well officially to admit in the Manual of Instruction the incompleteness of the teaching afforded.

22. Summary of  
the Matter.

The whole matter may, it appears to me, be summed up briefly as follows : our Government, which from the extraordinary circumstances of its origin and continuance occupies a tutelary position in India of unique responsibility, has repeatedly recognised, in official utterances of the most deliberate kind, both its duty and its wish to raise the moral (to say nothing of the religious) condition of India. In pursuance of this aim, it addressed itself to a comprehensive system of popular education ; but, misled by a mistaken fear of seeming to proselytize in favour of the Christian religion, it excluded all reference to religion from its scholastic curriculum. This mistake is one of method, not of principle. The principle which affirms the duty of Government to raise the moral condition of its people remains the same, but a change of method is proved to be advisable. By pursuing its former method, Government has brought about a condition of mind among its students the very reverse of what was desired. The absence of all reference to religion in the Government teaching has induced a tendency to general infidelity in the student. Though not at all so intended, it brings about a negation of God in his practical life. This is morally poisonous, and it is politically dangerous, inasmuch as without the belief in God the most potent of all ethical agents in the formation of moral habits among the people is entirely taken away. At the same time, it can be safely affirmed that the people are less inclined to unreasonable suspicion of Government than they have ever been before, and this points to the present time as advantageous for taking action in the direction recommended. The remedy is to teach dogmatically and firmly in all Government schools the great facts of God's existence, and His supreme moral government of the world, implying the ultimate and absolute responsibility of every human being to His omnipresent

jurisdiction. In teaching these things we shall be honouring Him in some measure as He ought to be honoured by us ; we shall be doing His work as His servants, and working representatives in India ; and so far from exciting suspicion and disturbance, we shall, I believe, when the purpose and limits of our teaching are known, receive the gratitude and respect of all respectable men in India.

23. Conclusion. In conclusion, I cannot but think that this matter is the most momentous of all the problems affecting our rule in India. It is far too big a subject—and too difficult—for me to handle satisfactorily ; but I should be glad indeed if the considerations now urged might serve to recommend, as more practicable than seemed before, a policy which is nothing less than our national duty. The present time has many advantages for action ; some of them may soon pass away, never to return ; and national duty, if neglected, must in any case bring upon us the guilt and the Nemesis of national sin. By continuing in our present educational policy of ignoring the existence of God, we shall be continuing a grievous wrong to the many millions entrusted to our care, and, to use the wise and warning words of one who was a poet before he was Governor-General of India :

“ Until redressed, all wrongs are prophecies.”

## THE GARTON LECTURES ON COLONIAL AND INDIAN AGRICULTURE IN EDINBURGH UNIVERSITY.

BY ROBERT WALLACE,

Professor of Agriculture and Rural Economy.

THE closing year of the nineteenth century has been more productive than any former year of important events which have materially contributed to the consolidation of the British Empire. It has witnessed the drawing of her widely-distributed units of population and local self-governing communities into closer union and greater harmony. The consummation of Australian Federation has been triumphantly completed, after simmering in the caldron of the Empire-moulders for the better part of two decades. The Boer and Chinese Wars have demonstrated the depth of the racial, loyal, and Imperial feeling which pervades the vast majority of the people in every section of the Empire. While these important events shape the framework of the Greater Britain of the twentieth century, we must not lose sight of the minor circumstances which are silently and surely contributing in their own peculiar, unostentatious, and peaceful way to the consolidation of the foundations of the greatest Empire which the world has ever seen. When the passing interest of bloody wars has vanished, the succeeding times of peace will allow full scope for the influences of mental discipline, and in the industrial struggle, which has already begun, and which may safely be expected to grow in intensity, the empires or nations which are united by common interests, and which fully realize the benefits of education, are those which are likely to become the "salt of the earth."

One of the greatest problems of the future will be the supply of food for the rapidly-increasing, teeming millions of population. The haphazard method of production by

which the accumulated resources of temporary fertility have been drawn upon as successive new unpopulated areas of virgin soil have been placed under requisition must sooner or later cease, and more scientific methods of cultivation and better systems of management must extract more bountiful results from new and improved breeds of plants and of domesticated animals. The expected era implies a more accurate knowledge of agricultural details, and a wider and more Imperial conception of the greater kindred questions than the present time affords.

The expiring century seems an auspicious occasion for the new departure which has been made by the establishment and liberal endowment by Mr. Robert and Mr. John Garton, of Newton-le-Willows, Lancashire, of a course of about fifty lectures on "Colonial and Indian Agriculture" which are to be initiated in the current month in connection with the chair of Agriculture and Rural Economy in Edinburgh University. The first half of the course, which will be delivered by the Professor of Agriculture before the end of December, will be inaugurated on October 18 by an address on "Famine in India," a subject likely to prove of peculiar interest at what, let us hope, may be the closing epoch of the most prolonged, if not the most disastrous, of the recurring trials of physical endurance from starvation to which our Indian peoples have been periodically subjected. The ordinary work of the class will begin with a general view of the agriculture of India, including the main features of the Presidencies and other great political divisions, with special reference to geology, soil, climate, peoples, and chief products. The splendid suitability of the numerous native tillage implements will then be discussed, and their superiority over European implements pointed out, when local circumstances are fully considered. The section on cultivation of crops will deal with the native methods of rotation and the growing of "mixed" crops, the tillage, sowing, harvesting, and preparation for market, diseases, classification, and the production of the plants common to India, and



specially the valuable grasses of India. Interesting references will be made to the Government grass and dairy farms at Allahabad and other military stations in Northern India. Irrigation will be dealt with from the points of view of the land and other conditions suitable and unsuitable for the purpose; the relative advantages of canal, well, and tank irrigation; the quantities of water required, and the inexpensive native methods of lifting it. A description of native practices in supplying manure, and the various materials employed, will follow, and the Indian section will conclude by a discussion of the points and characteristics of the various breeds of zebu or humped cattle, buffaloes, horses and mules, goats and sheep, with mention of the diseases common to the domesticated animals of the country.

Similar subjects will be referred to, though not so exhaustively, in connection with the agriculture of Egypt. The rise and overflow of the Nile, along with a description of the ancient "basin" system, and the modern "canal" system of irrigation, drainage, and the methods of washing salt land, will receive special consideration, together with the available means of the manuring of land, and the division of crops into winter, spring, and autumn species, of which the most important will be separately described.

The third and last division of the first section of the new course deals most appropriately this year with South Africa. Under the heading of Political Divisions, Cape Colony, Natal, the Transvaal, Orange River Colony, and Rhodesia, will be briefly described, and their chief orographical and land-surface features pointed out. The population, consisting of British, Dutch, and other white nationalities, as well as the black races, along with labour and wages, will be discussed. The chief crops enumerated, viz., wheat, barley, oats, mealies (maize), millet, lucerne, sugar-cane, potatoes, and root crops, will receive attention, without neglecting the questions of rotations, manures, and the possibilities of development by means of irrigation.

Under viticulture and fruit-growing will come the production and exportation of grapes, oranges, and various tropical and semi-tropical fruits, and the wine industry. The subject of live stock will include the large wild game, antelopes, etc., as well as the ordinary species of domesticated animals, and ostriches, while special reference will be made to the diseases known as horse-sickness, anthrax, rinderpest, red-water (Texas fever), and scab in sheep, all of which have led to serious pecuniary loss to South Africa. The consideration of the general prospects of South Africa as a country for immediate agricultural settlement will close the course for the present year.

The second section of the course of lectures will probably open in October, 1901, and the Dominion of Canada will first come under review. Lectures will be delivered on the Eastern Provinces, and will treat of the leading features of the country, the agricultural practices of these older settled areas, the dairy industry, and exports of cheese and butter. Manitoba and the North-West Territories will occupy a prominent position in connection with the system of land-survey into townships of six miles square, wheat-growing on the prairies, the elevator system of handling grain, cattle-ranching, sheep breeding and feeding, the advantages of mixed farming, and the Scotch crofter settlements. The grazing capabilities and agricultural resources of British Columbia will come next, and the Peace River district will receive special notice. Government aid to agriculture will follow, as illustrated by the experimental and demonstration farms, and agricultural education, prominence being given to the Guelph Agricultural College, Ontario.

The second subdivision—that of Australasia—will begin with the distinctive features of the federated Colonies, along with New Zealand and Tasmania. The subject of crops and pastures will precede the very important matter of water-supply, especially in the more arid regions, where irrigation and well-sinking are practised. Under reclama-

ion of land will be described fencing, "ring-barking," "bush-falling," "fern-crushing," the draining of swamps, the burning off of withered growths, and the sowing down of grass and other pasture "seeds," and even thistles on newly-cleared land. The greatest industry of federated Australia, viz., live stock, will receive special consideration under merinos and long wools and their crosses for the production of mutton for freezing and exportation, and finally the wool trade. Horses, cattle, and dairying will all receive the attention due to their importance. The agricultural colleges of Australasia will supply the last, though not necessarily the least interesting or instructive, part of the subject in this division.

The smaller Crown Colonies will not be neglected, and the second section of the course will close with a discussion of such miscellaneous subjects as exports of agricultural produce from the Colonies and India, and the relations of the agriculture of the Colonies and India to that of the Mother Country.

The reader would doubtless like to know how it came about that funds were provided to create and permanently endow this unique link between Great Britain and her Colonial and Indian Empires. Many years ago the brothers Garton began their system of cross-fertilizing crop plants which in Nature are self-fertilizing. The patient and arduous labours of twenty years have resulted in the production of hundreds of grains and other plants, many of which have been already shown to be superior in certain important characteristics to any of their known cultivated prototypes. The artificial cross-fertilization of grains had long been practised, and by a good many experimenters, without any very important results having been obtained, chiefly owing to the fact that these pioneers employed ordinary varieties for their purposes, and were contented with first crosses as final results. It has been reserved to the brothers Garton during the final twenty years of the expiring century to demonstrate the enormous economic

value of such work, when dexterity, perseverance, and judgment are in combination. They have achieved success by collecting from all quarters of the globe species and varieties of different genera, not only of cultivated plants, but also of allied weeds and worthless plants of great constitutional vigour, and, after many trials and many failures, mating skilfully selected pairs of these together as a first step. The crossing of pairs of the selected, though not necessarily the most promising, progeny, after it had been shown that they had assumed fixed types, formed a second step. Much greater variation resulted from the second or subsequent multiple crosses than from first crosses. Nature's ordinary course of events was thrown into infinitely greater confusion in the later than in the first crosses, and in this, together with the skill exhibited in making useful selections, rested the Gartons' success. The great majority of the compound results were either sterile or worthless, but the, comparatively speaking, few prizes are vastly superior to anything that can be produced by a first cross.

The great scientific triumph was speedily followed by financial success, although only a few of many valuable results have yet been put on the market. The substantial endowment of the lectures has been given as a thank-offering to Science for the success attained, and Edinburgh University was chosen as the appropriate instrument by which to accomplish the object, because of the sympathy and encouragement which was extended from that quarter to the workers at an early stage of the experiments, when a cold and indifferent world, and even leading representatives of Science, declined to smile upon their efforts.

## THE CHINESE IMBROGLIO AND HOW TO GET OUT OF IT.

BY E. H. PARKER.

"Although man is the essence of treachery, I believe every man wishes to be honest ; his interests prevent him."—GENERAL GORDON.

IF it were possible for nations, or rulers as the representatives and embodiments of nations, to swallow their pride, resentment, and ambition, acting solely according to what the natural instinct of all men secretly feels to be honourable and right, there could scarcely be a shadow of doubt in anyone's mind that we ought one and all of us to pack up our traps and clear out of Kiao Chou, Port Arthur, Talien Wan, Wei-hai-Wei, and Kwangchou Wan, leaving the hoary old Empire of China one more chance of regaining its dignity, and giving it every reasonable assistance towards mending its mistaken ways. The whole leasehold, or "sphere" business is, as the lawyers say, vitiated by a savour of initial fraud, and it is this sense of elementary justice denied to it by powerful foes that has nerved up the venerable old carcass to run amuck and make one desperate final bid for unfettered and independent existence in the shocking way we now see. Unfortunately, with nations it is even more difficult than with individuals. A man who flatters himself he is honourable sometimes does not hesitate, when he discovers he has made a mistake—or, at all events, has reason to fear that on inquiry it may turn out to be so—to shuffle basely out of his plain duty to examine into the true facts ; and he will rather go down to the grave with the dishonour of having wronged a defenceless colleague upon his head, than manfully apologize for his mistake, or, at all events, do his best to provide a formal remedy for it, without leaving any sense of unredressed wrong to rankle in the mind of his victim. It is infinitely more difficult with the assemblages of men dealing with

colleagues called nations. Amidst the screech of multifarious irresponsible or interested advisers, they may well be quite incapable collectively of logically focussing their own issues, even if, granted that their corporate intentions were unimpeachable, one or two individuals at the helm were not influenced by a greed, a timidity, or an ambition of their own sufficient to counterweigh the good resolves of the governing body or of their multitudinous counsellors or their constituents, as the case may be. And this is the psychological attitude of Europe at this moment *vis-à-vis* of China—the word “Europe” including America and Japan.

The whole history of European relations with China has, like most other human histories, been one of faults on both sides. Exactly three centuries ago the earliest missionaries from the West were fairly well received by the decrepit Court of Peking, notwithstanding the violent filibustering of the first European merchant traders on the Chinese coasts, coupled with the ravages of Japanese pirates, which two phenomena were of themselves sufficient to create suspicion and alarm. Still, even a eunuch-ridden and corrupt court, such as that of the last Ming Emperors, was sufficiently reasonable to see that the pretentious dogma of Western religion might, after all, have some solid substratum of human good in it, whilst Western arts and sciences undoubtedly proved themselves to be of value. And so James Rho and Adam Schall ultimately received Imperial civilities and substantial employment at the Chinese Court. A “Boxer” rebellion ushered in the fresh and lusty Manchus, just as another such is, after an interval of 260 years, now ushering their degenerate descendants out. Yet the first two Tartar Emperors were exceedingly well disposed towards religion; and if Jesuits, Franciscans, and Dominicans had not incontinently taken to squabbling together about trifles of empty dogma, dragging in the personalities of the Pope and the Emperor to make matters worse politically, both the Christian religion and European

progress generally would have had a promising outlook all over China. But persecution cut the Gordian knot. Then followed nearly two centuries of practical confinement to Peking, Macao, and Cantón. The Dutch had been ignominiously turned out of Formosa, and had brought both themselves and their religion into contempt all over the Far East by accepting the basest of apostate conditions in the miserable patch of land called Decima, in Nagasaki Bay. The Portuguese had obtained, through the connivance of corrupt mandarins, a not very creditable foothold in Macao, where they were partly endured by the weakness, and partly tolerated as a necessary evil by the venality and corruptness, of the Canton Government. The bloodthirsty massacres of Chinese by the Spaniards in Manila make up the tale of Celestial wrongs and just suspicions; or, if we prefer to take the European point of view, of Chinese treachery and its well-merited castigation. However, it was a fair exchange of give and take on both sides. Manchu officials and Chinese traders were suspicious and corrupt. Spaniards, Portuguese, Dutchmen, and at last Englishmen, were greedy, rude, and violent. The situation, if unsatisfactory, was as good as either party deserved. Trade dragged on its corrupt course at Canton, and, figuratively and literally, no bones to speak of were broken on either side. Meanwhile the population of China had shot up in two centuries from 60,000,000 to 400,000,000, and the total revenue collected from this huge mass of humanity amounted to about one shilling per annum per head, peculation included; so that, whatever the faults of the ancient and exclusive civilization really were, things could not have been so very bad, even though the people were totally deprived of the consolations of Christianity which we were so anxious to thrust upon them.

The next turning-point was the "opium war." Many object to this cant term, as connoting a responsibility of ours which, they say, did not actually exist. It is unnecessary to press this point, for the Chinese themselves give a

very fair account of it all, avoiding the straining of traders and of missionaries alike. They say opium had for a very long time been imported as a drug, and that the habit of smoking it, and consequently of importing it in ever-increasing quantities, grew to alarming dimensions before any responsible persons became aware of it, or, at all events, realized its importance. Moreover, they admit that, even after the evil influences of wholesale opium-smoking were discovered and realized, they themselves were largely to blame for the supineness, connivance, and corruption of their officers. There is nothing much to be proud of in our importing opium into China for the benefit of our Indian revenue ; but, on the other hand, it was a perfectly natural thing to do from a mercantile and political point of view, and, therefore, the Exeter Hall outcry about our lasting shame is quite unjustified. Moreover, at this time the extensive use of opium in Turkey, India, and elsewhere had exhibited no particularly evil effects ; and even if adventurous traders could be expected to go into heart-searching questions of commercial morality, they could have had no reason to suppose that the Chinese temperament would be so utterly exceptional as to lend itself to an undue indulgence unparalleled in the rest of mankind. The Chinese even go further. They perfectly well know, and they officially admit, that Commissioner Lin's want of tact and fairness was greatly responsible for the failure of the great opium destruction movement in 1835, when 20,000 chests were surrendered and destroyed. The British Government had practically given way when they found that the Chinese reformers were in earnest. Captain Elliott had surrendered every package of opium he could lay his hands on, and it only wanted a little generosity, tact, and patience on the part of Commissioner Lin to put a stop by degrees to future importations from India altogether. However, misunderstandings and conceit led to war, and after the cession of Hong Kong, the Chinese were so frightened at having to pay six millions of dollars



for the opium destroyed, that they neglected to make any restrictive stipulations about the opium traffic. On our side, having "got our backs up," we rather shabbily took advantage of Chinese stupidity to legalise the trade—at least, in this negative way, that it went on unchecked by us, as before. To counterbalance this, China has since taken to growing opium, and the combined result has undoubtedly been to sap the empire's strength.

The shiftiness of the Chinese in carrying out the various provisions of the Nanking Treaty generally, and the particular difficulty about our getting entry into Canton, were, of course, unsatisfactory. I am far from denying grave Chinese faults, but, on the other hand, I try to test the claims to virtue of our own, and to state a fair case for China. We all know that the Chinese are shifty, and often untruthful too; they are by no means alone amongst nations in these respects. But the Nanking Treaty was forced upon them, and we have plenty of instances in European politics of Western nations shuffling, not only out of compulsory treaties, but out of treaties made in good faith and voluntarily. Moreover, our own European ways, even if tactful, were often misunderstood by, and offensive to, the Chinese; and it is quite certain that they thought us all then, as they feel they have reason to think us all now, shifty, violent, and greedy. The final result of these smouldering feelings on both sides burst out into flame in the shape of the second war, in which the French found a specific reason for taking part as allies owing to the cowardly murder of their missionary Chappedelaine, following, as it did, upon a long series of persecutions. The Americans and the Russians took the opportunity to press their own claims amid the clash of our arms. The results to the Manchus were even more humiliating than those of the first war, and therefore no one can be surprised that the Chinese as a nation do not love us in consequence. The English and French they have to thank for driving the Emperor out of his capital and burning the Summer Palace; the Russians for having,

in 1855, summarily annexed the lower Amur ; for having, in 1858, secured by treaty the left bank up to the Ussuri ; and, for having, in 1860, secured by a second treaty the parts between the Ussuri and the sea. The Americans were able to appear in a more friendly capacity, but the Chinese regarded their motives as jealous and self-interested, none the less. Treaties with nearly all the Powers now followed, and General Gordon lent his services towards propping up the Manchu throne, though it is well known that he later on considered China's best hopes to lie in the extinction of that Dynasty.

And so things went on. The first rat to leave the sinking ship was Siam, which discontinued sending tribute. The French put Saïgon in their pockets as they sailed home ; but although the legal owner, Annam, was a vassal of China, Saïgon was a province too far south to matter much for the moment. In 1865 Bhutan was placed under our official ken ; but in this case, too, China had the Nepaul precedent, and did not mind much so long as the two Himalayan states were not occupied by our troops. The next thing was the temporary occupation of Ili by Russia in 1871, after the Chinese had been expelled from Kashgar in 1863, and Yakub Beg's power had gradually become threatening to his neighbours. In 1874 disputes with the Japanese touching shipwrecked seamen led to the temporary occupation by the latter of Formosa, whence they were coaxed out partly by the good offices of Sir Thomas Wade. The same year the Loochoo Islands were summarily placed under the Japanese Home Office, though for many centuries they had sent regular tribute to China, and had kept up relations with Foochow. By the treaty of 1874, Annam opened Tonquin to French trade, and the Chinese now found to their horror that they had the French knocking at their very gates. In 1880, after first beguiling the Manchu envoy Ch'unghou into surrendering Ili, Russia thought better of it in view of the threatening attitude of progressive China, and ultimately gave back that province

in consideration of expenses paid. It has been said that this action was inspired by fear, which is very possible; but, none the less, Russia is fairly entitled to the credit of an honest fulfilment of her promise, no matter what her motives may have been, which there is no title in others to question. The French now began to push their way up to the Chinese frontiers in Yün Nan and Kwang Si. This gradually led to hostilities, French attacks upon Formosa and the Pescadores, the French disaster at Langson, and finally the arrangement of a "drawn" peace by Sir Robert Hart. Corea next slipped away, and China, instead of being her Suzerain, condescendingly receiving exclusive homage, now found herself merely *primus inter pares*, intriguing for her rights at Söul in company with a miscellaneous assembly of foreign officials of all countries, whose diplomatic status was as vague as that of her own "resident." During these interludes Great Britain suddenly occupied Upper Burma, and claimed to trade with Tibet, compensating China, as pretended Suzerain, with promises of a periodical Burmese "mission with presents," which never came off once, and never will come off. Little nibblings of territory by ourselves and the Russians in the Hunza and Aktash directions also caused a slight flutter of Chinese feathers, and in 1890 we obtained from China a protectorate over Sikkim. For three or four years after this poor China did pretty well, nothing more alarming taking place than a few British, French, Swedish, or Russian missions of inquiry into Manchuria and Tibet. But Jeshurun waxed fat, and kicked aggressively during this short respite: the result was the war with Japan, which severed Formosa and the Pescadores definitely from the Empire, made Corea independent, and very nearly cost China Liao Tung as well.

Thus, from the Tonquin frontier town of Monkai, on the Gulf of Tonquin, to the mouth of the Yalu, in Liao Tung, the whole of the fringe of subject territory bordering upon China proper has been lopped off piecemeal since,

forty years ago, she agreed to make treaties with European Powers. No wonder the trunk begins to twinge when the extremities have all gone. Tortuin, French and British Shans, Burma, Manipur, Bhutan, Sikkim (Nepaul as well as Assam already practically ours), Hunza, Wakhan, Badakshan, the Pamir, Kokand; then, at the other end of the Russian frontier, the Ussuri province; Corea, Loo-choo, Formosa—all gone within one short generation—"all my pretty chickens and their dam at one fell swoop." The useless deserts of Tibet, Kashgaria, and Mongolia, together with the ancestral wastes of Manchuria, were all that was left of colonial dominion to the Manchu rulers of China after forty years of militant Christianity, with innumerable missionary "rows," and extravagant demands for compensation thrown in at intervals. No doubt the conduct of China has been bad, but it cannot be denied that European behaviour to her has not been calculated to inspire confidence in the Christian purity of our motives. In spite of her bad finance, she never borrowed a cent until we Europeans induced her to do so, and she has always been most scrupulous in paying us her debts. Not to speak of Turkey, how do the Christian states of Portugal, Greece, or the Argentine Republic compare with her for financial honour? In spite of her corruption, the population—even allowing 300 per cent. (*i.e.*, three times) on the collected revenue for roguery and squeezes—has never paid 3s. a head in taxation including local charges, against £3 a head in Western Europe exclusive even of rates and octroi. Her traders are quite as honest as ours, and often more capable—the first statement is universally admitted, the second is self-evident. Her literature ranks among the first in the world, even though her educational system may be antiquated. If she has unhappily debauched and weakened herself by opium indulgence, she has not yet degraded her manhood below the level of the drunken idlers who infest all our own British towns, or below that of the masses of Russian peasantry; so that we Europeans live in glass houses in this respect.

Chinamen have been the making of all the European colonies in the Eastern seas. If they are not welcome in America or Australia, it is not entirely on account of inherent faults of their own, but partly because white men cannot compete with them on equal terms. They were not only welcome, but eagerly sought for when they were indispensable ; now they are kept out. No heat or cold, no conditions of atmosphere, come amiss to a Chinaman ; he is quiet, industrious, patient, never gets drunk, makes an orderly husband. In a word, with all his vices and defects, the Chinaman is one of the finest all-round citizens in the world.

In thus stating a reasonable case for China, I by no means condone her faults collectively and individually ; and as for the Manchu Dynasty, I am not alone in the opinion that it has largely forfeited its right to exist. The fault most offensive to us is arrogance, and for that she paid dearly when Japan gave her the thrashing she so richly deserved. But at this stage three Great Powers appear upon the scene. Not one of these Powers had ever ventured to try a fall with Japan alone when she was in full bloom of strength ; but now that she was exhausted with the effort of crushing single-handed a presumptuous enemy for the common benefit of all Treaty Powers, they fell upon her in combination, and deprived her of the fruits of her victory, under pretext of there being danger to the world in a Japanese occupation of part of Liao Tung. The following are the exact Russian words, translated : " The cession of Liao Tung to Japan raised reasonable objections on the part of the European Powers. Taking up its position on the northern shores of the Yellow Sea, Japan would thus dominate the north-east of China, and so destroy the political balance of the Far East. By virtue of this, Russia, France, and Germany, upon the initiative of the Russian Government, advised Japan, in the interest of maintaining peace in the Far East, to withdraw from its claims to the peninsula of Liao Tung." Possibly Russia honestly took

this view at the time, and if she had stood manfully up to Japan, and either argued or enforced her own case in courageous independence, no one could have disparaged her action. Even for France, as squire-in-ordinary to the Russian knight-errant, the plea of humble duty might be admitted. But in the case of Germany there was nothing in the way of local interest to account for this unexpected attendance upon Russia, hat in hand; and no one saw through the move more clearly than China, who never even pretended to show gratitude for the gratuitous aid proffered. Of course, the negative policy of neutralizing the power of the Dual Alliance by getting indirect admittance into it as a *tertium quid* was the next best thing to the difficult task of positively weakening it, even though this involved a temporary disclaimer of common interest with the Power which had nursed both Germany's navy and Germany's trade into being, in favour of the other two Powers who always done everything they could to check it by severe tariffs. This deliberate sacrifice to "interest" may be in accordance with modern diplomacy, but it scarcely appeals to the now dormant sense of chivalry. As a matter of fact, it may be rather a good thing for Europe to draw off a little of Germany's electricity to the Far East; but that does not make the action any the more admirable.

That Russia should expect some *quid pro quo* was not unreasonable, for she had never come to serious blows with China since she was ejected from Albazin 200 years ago; and her territorial acquisitions, if sometimes of a rather doubtful kind, at least were ultimately conceded to her by treaty. Accordingly Russia obtained the permission of China to winter her fleet in the harbour of Kiao Chou, and also, in certain eventualities, to anchor in Port Arthur and Talien Wan, which last two places, however, might not be alienated by China to any other Power. The Cassini Convention also arranged for railways through Manchuria under Russian auspices. France obtained as her reward, at the expense of Great Britain, certain concessions of

territory in Kiang-hung. It is this foolish policy of mischievously trying to set one nation against the other that has cost China so dear. It is the "policy of the weak," as frankly enunciated by Li Hung-chang. In this particular instance we were not heart-broken at the opportunity of making China pay a just penalty for the silly attempt, and we promptly exacted compensation to suit our convenience on the Burma frontier. Germany, *sur ces entrefaites*, got no thanks whatever from China, Russia, or France; all three, or, at least, two of the three, too lightly regarding her as a gratuitous intruder (or *to-shi*, as the Chinese say). If Russia ever felt any gratitude at all, she had now got all she wanted, and made no visible effort to exhibit it. All this was naturally calculated to irritate Germany, who had thus made an enemy of Japan without having anything in hand to show for it. Certainly, from a pure bargainer's point of view, Germany was entitled to expect some reward; but the Chinese, with their usual slipperiness, evaded all attempts made by her officious friends to obtain a naval station. Germany's opportunity accordingly arose when, on November 1, 1897, two German missionaries were murdered in Shan Tung, and a colony was promptly baptized in the blood of the martyrs. The Russian right to take Kiao Chou on temporary lease had not yet been exercised, and the Cassini Convention said nothing about restricting the rights of other Powers there. Perhaps some involuntary remark which the German Emperor had adroitly caused the Czar to drop at the famous interview which anticipated M. Felix Faure left the German course technically clear. The Germans, according to their own published account, carefully eluded British watchfulness, chose the moment, and slipped into Kiao Chou unawares, taking forcible possession of the place in time of peace, and driving out the Chinese troops without further parley. Baron Heyking proved obdurate in the subsequent negotiations, and the Manchu Government, by not summoning courage to resist on this supreme occasion, sealed their own doom.

possibly for ever. The next thing was the "temporary occupation" of Port Arthur and Ta-lien Wan by Russia, who no doubt could now plead: "The serpent tempted me, and I did eat," though that is an inadequate plea in the eyes of justice. The insolent stupidity of the Chinese Government, more especially in missionary matters, had meanwhile so alienated the sympathies of foreigners in China that, shocking though this singular disregard for those international conventions usually known as "international law" was universally felt to be, there was a general sentiment that it served China right, more especially as in yielding to Germany the mischievous Celestial statesmen clearly hoped to set foreign nations by the ears, and get Germany turned out. Russia, however, simply took her share. England and France promptly demanded compensation on the ground that: "If you are going to sit silent and let the adversaries play false cards at the international rubber, we demand the right to play two cards of any suit we like to make the game even." It may not have been a generous thing to do, but, at any rate, it was natural and human, and China brought it on herself by her own pusillanimous action. China, in short, for once overreached herself. This sort of thing had always paid well in bygone times, with ignorant Huns, Turks, Tibetans, and inferior frontier tribes generally; but European nations, though spiteful and jealous of each other, were found to be of tougher material than Tartars, and, moreover, they had the advantage of a more logical and scientific training, better means of exchanging views, and more financial "pull." Perhaps the greatest come-down of all for Manchu dignity was when Prince Henry exacted, on absolutely equal terms, personal and informal interviews with the Empress-Dowager and the Emperor.

Since then poor China has been going *à la derive*, and Christian diplomacy, "so sensitive in point of right," has been like a bee-hive without the queen, "all over the place," for want of a disinterested leader and a righteous



man. Amidst the noisy talk of *Kwa-fên*, or "slicing up like a melon," which succeeded Germany's stunning blow administered to the poor staggering gladiator just as he was recovering a little breath, China bridled up as haughtily as possible in silence, and set to work arming with a will, now trying on the old foolish game of inciting the jealousy of one Power against the other; now making a spasmodic resistance, as in the case of the Italian demands; and now giving way in sheer desperation to a tremendous and ruinous demand such as that recently advanced by France: this demand is in favour of religious bodies she uses for political purposes in the Far East, but periodically chases away at home. In 1879-80 China had made an honest effort to get rid of this politico-religious incubus by arranging through Mr. Dunn for a nuncio or legate from the Pope; she was prepared to give the utmost protection and toleration to Catholics and converts provided that mere moral arguments were used with her, and that no force was applied; and the Pope welcomed it, as any honest Christian would have done. But France promptly interposed, as "Protector of the Catholics" in the Far East, with her political veto, and practically threatened to overturn the Pope's influence in France unless the Holy Father left hers alone in China. The Pope gave way, or his advisers did. Twenty years later we have a repetition of this compromising spirit at the Vatican in the disavowal of the Christian forgiveness extended to an excommunicated King's memory, of the Bishop of Cremona's action, and of the Queen of Italy's harmless hymn of sorrow. The earliest use Germany made of her first Catholic mission in China, and of her successful assertion against French pretensions of her right to protect her own Catholics in the Far East, was in connection with Kiao Chou, when Bishop Anzer adopted the most militant of attitudes in advising the German Emperor. It seems to me an incongruous garb that modern religion is thus decking herself in, and one bearing a suspicious resemblance to

the cloak of the Inquisition. Of course, the double-dealing of the Chinese themselves is largely responsible for this Borgian and Medician type of political Christianity; but on the other hand, extra-territorialism and missionary zeal is innocently responsible for Chinese intrigue and treachery. What should we think if unkempt and bearded Russian "popes" in their gaberdines had the right to stand up preaching in broken English on a stand at Nelson's monument? Or if a couple of half-shaved, scowling Spanish priests accompanied as advocates to Sir F. Lushington's court a more or less innocent Cockney Catholic youth charged with breaking Protestant windows? Yet this is what goes on daily all over China. My humble views upon missionary propaganda in China are expressed at length in the *Dublin Review* for April, 1897. As that is a Catholic journal, and as I distinctly stated at the outset that I was a non-Catholic, and proceeded to criticize the Catholics, it is evident that the missionary case must be fairly stated therein, or the paper would not have been accepted. I will quote a sentence or two: "I could never see that either the ignorant or the educated Chinese cared much for dogma. As the French priests used to say, 'Ce sont de tristes Chrétiens.' . . . It is the medical missions which are the great success [everywhere]. . . . The French missionaries exact the utmost personal deference; no converts of any rank presume to sit down. . . . The Protestant missionaries do good in the following way: They teach poor children to be clean, speak the truth, and behave themselves modestly, chastely, and quietly. As to the adult male converts, I could never convince myself they were in earnest." The fact is, historically the really well-informed Chinese think they see clearly that Christianity is nothing more than the doctrine of Buddha carried to Syria by Hindoo priests, and modified to suit the ancient religion of the Jews, just as at the same moment other Buddhist emissaries softened the asperities of Shamanism, Taoism, or Confucianism, and carried the gentle doctrine

of equality and mercy to China, Corea, Burma, and Japan. Moreover, when Nestorianism and Buddhism were both working together at Si-an-Fu, the Chinese not unreasonably regarded them as different forms of the same religion; and, in fact, when I witnessed during a year's stay in Burma the simple, unpretending devotion of all ranks, the indifference to wealth, the enormous charity, the respectful gatherings of all sorts of people to hear sermons in the village *k'aungs*, the decent simplicity and freedom of women, the equality of all "classes," etc., and compared it with the flaunting worldliness of our own fashionable churches, with their squires' pews, their stingy collections, the simpering of over-dressed women, the shame to be seen kneeling, the squabbles about trumpery points in "doctrine," upon which Christ Himself never expressed any opinion, and the general snobbery of class distinctions, I often felt that there was more of the genuine spirit of Christianity in frank Buddhism than in our own sanctimonious, worldly sectarianism and pretence. Anyhow, the learned Chinese, rightly or wrongly, regard the whole missionary business as a historical fraud, and they have as much right to do so as we have to criticize their own solemn "idolatrous" farces (as they appear to us). They say: "At the time all this took place, Han Wu Ti had conquered half Asia; Chinese civilization and power were at their zenith; more than half Europe was still in a state of barbarism. Why should a petty nation called the Jews, who to this day are despised outcasts nearly all over the European world, have had all this tenderness lavished upon them by Heaven, with a reversion of benefits to the uncivilized hordes of Europe, whilst several hundred million Chinese were to be entirely left out in the cold for 2,000 years?" When in addition to the Quixotic absurdity of the entire case (as it seems to them) from its historical and philosophical aspect, they observe Russian Christians calling themselves Orthodox, having married priests and not proselytizing at all; Catholic celibate priests getting up a political quarrel

between the Emperor and the Pope, engaging converts to fight against the Emperor's armies, interfering in local affairs, carrying extra-territorial jurisdiction with them wherever they go, abusing Protestant missionaries; when they see Protestant missionaries split up into a dozen rival sects, almost entirely ignored and too often derided by the mercantile community, abusing the Catholics, living comfortably with their wives and families, mostly at the ports; neglecting to minister to drunken foreign sailors and others of their own kind, who manifestly require some sort of corrective discipline; when they see France and Italy playing a double game for and against religion according as it suits their purpose; America and Australia driving the Chinese from their shores; Germany taking up under her wing from political motives the exotic against which Bismarck was furiously tilting only twenty years ago; when they see all this, and couple it with the fate of India, of the fringe of states around China, of the blacks in Africa, of the Red Indians, of Honolulu, of Turkey, of Persia; when they reflect what they were themselves before they emasculated themselves with the opium habit, and when noble Emperors like K'anghi and K'ien-lung dictated their will to the whole world (as they knew it), can it be wondered that their gorge, and more especially the gorge of the ruling classes, rises at the spectacle of so much one-sidedness, unfairness, and bullying? It is this that has caused the Dynasty, or a section of it, to go stark mad rather than tolerate any further an outrage against the most elementary principles of justice; and it is to this feeling also that we primarily owe a similar revolt of the mind amongst the ignorant masses, the whole culminating in the curious hesitating mixture known as the "Boxer" rebellion. Prince Tuan and his indignant friends have first induced the Empress-Mother to depose a weakly monarch who (they thought) was selling their birthright; and then they have fraudulently attempted to strengthen their own case by leading Her Majesty to believe that the greedy foreigner

was bent upon her destruction. This may be a wrong view of Europe, and a hostile one, but it is no more outrageous than the distorted Boer view of the British, which excites so much sympathy over the rest of Europe; and if it is wrong, our own European conduct is perhaps to blame too. We have no right to whimper and talk about "treachery." The Mandarins, if corrupt, are part of a system, the responsibility for which lies with their own Government, and not with us; they are naturally indignant at the loss of their accustomed livelihood, at the diversion of all available funds to foreign loans and to foreign armaments. The people, if hostile, are usually only so when encouraged or provoked; though they have their grievances, on the whole they are content with the easy *laissez-aller* character of their own administration. If it were not for the superior luxury of missionary life as compared with their own, for the extra-territoriality which lifts missionaries beyond equality with themselves before the law, for the mischievous intrigues caused by disputes between local converts and local pagans concerning popular customs, there would be little hostility between the people and the missionaries, who are almost invariably good and kindly souls. As to the Dynasty, it is unhappily degenerate, both morally and physically, besides being ill supplied with legal heirs. But is it to be wondered at, after the treatment it has received, and with the recollections of past glory behind it, that passion gets the better of reason, and a desperate plunge is taken with a resolve to encompass in its own ruin that of the Europeans who have ruined it? When a combination of Dutch and foreign intriguers set to work to turn us out of South Africa for their own benefit, we found plenty of *intellectuels* at home ready to join the jealous and hostile press of the Continent, and to attack us for defending our own liberties and rights. It was admitted that the Boer Government was corrupt and cruel; yet their conduct in driving to the sea the only nation in the world which grants equality to all men was

proclaimed from the Continental housetops as heroism of the first water. The Manchu Government also has those faults of corruption and cruelty; but how is it that the Jameson Raid against Boer abuse of power was so odious to the nation which two years later made a virtue at Kiao Chou of a similar raid against Chinese abuse of power? If so many of the Germans, the French, and the Russians think it a heroic act for misguided men to try and drive us out of South Africa, how is it they are so horrified when the misguided Manchus try to drive Europeans out of China? The plot of Prince Tuan to destroy the Legations is not one whit more treacherous than that of the Boers to destroy the British officers; with this difference—that Prince Tuan is at least an open enemy, whilst Cordua and his friends were underhand traitors, who had accepted the hospitable pardon of Lord Roberts—and yet the latter have their Continental sympathizers! The fact is, the guiding principle of right in politics is obscured in modern times, and the eyes of Europeans see black or white in the same colour accordingly as it suits their interests or their resentment; nor can we decline to admit our British share in this moral *désorientation*.

The conduct of a section of the Chinese Government and people has undoubtedly been bad, but it is equally incontestable that the irritating, aggressive, and unfair attitude of European nations is largely responsible for such a lapse of reason; nor must it be forgotten that, in contemplation of so immoderate and exaggerated an outburst of passion at the capital, the greater part of both the governors and the governed in the provinces of China have remained quiescent and fair. It would be a lasting injustice, and an act of cowardice as well, to repay these good men for their abstention from evil in the time of our own stress by attacking them after their very abstention has enabled us to bring adequate forces to the front. It is only fair that the nation as a whole should be held responsible for wilful (liquidated) damage done; but it is not fair that the nation should be

permanently crippled with exemplary damages, caused in part by our own contributory negligence. What the Chinese, who are the freest democracy in the world, dread even more than the missionaries is the grinding, inquisitorial, and unsparing administrative methods of nearly every European Power but England. We have a duty to perform to the Chinese people as well as punishing the Manchu Government. For all that is outrageous in the recent explosion of ferocity the Manchu Government is solely responsible to us, morally as well as actually; if the Chinese people had any part in it, it was only a limited section of the people in one limited region: apart from foreign contributory action in the shape of mistaken missionary zeal and seizure of territory, the wrongful action of that limited section of the people was first provoked by misery and starvation: such as the original action was at the outset, it was as dangerous to the Dynasty as to the missionaries; but its effect was ingeniously diverted by rascally governors and misguided princely personages from the Dynasty to missionaries and to foreigners generally. It is a very serious question whether the Manchu Dynasty ought to be allowed to exist any longer; at any rate, if it is tolerated, it should only be in the person of the legitimate Emperor, duly elected in 1874; and the wasting of revenues upon an idle pack of useless bannermen should be at once put a stop to. These bannermen at Peking are partly responsible for the attacks on the legations, and the whole organization should be at once broken up, the men being either drafted into a new and homogeneous national army, or being left to gain their own living by labour, like common Chinamen. As to the bannermen in the provinces—Canton, Foochow, Hangchow, Nanking, Chinkiang, Kingchow, Ch'êngtu, Si-an Fu, Kwei-hwa Ch'êng, Ts'ingchou, etc.—they are in a very peculiar position, inasmuch as they have taken no part whatever in the revolt against foreigners. Of course, if it is decided to keep on the Manchu Dynasty, they will remain as they are; but in that case those interested in setting

upon her legs a strong China should see that they do proper military work for their money. Should the Manchu ruling house be displaced, these same bannermen can also be drafted into the national army like ordinary Chinamen.

If this expensive incubus of bannermen could only be got rid of, there is really no reason (not of the vindictive kind) why the Manchu dynasty should be set aside. In the first place, it has been in the past the very best the Chinese ever had, in almost every way, and from every point of view. So far as it is foreign, it has lost its language, and practically become Chinese; so far as the Chinese are foreign to it, they have grown to love the pigtail, and have practically become Manchu. The two elements should henceforth be welded into one homogeneous nation, the Manchus disappearing into the mass of Chinese just as the Scotch (as a power) have disappeared into the mass of English; the Manchu family continuing to reign, not by reason of its power or nationality, but by virtue of its excellent antecedents and traditions—very much as the Stuarts (much worse kings than the Manchus) ceased to be Scotchmen, or the Hanoverians to be Germans, after a few generations on the British throne. The Chinese monarchy would thus be strengthened by the total abolition of fictitious and useless dividing lines and interests. With the exception of a limited family circle, well paid, well educated, and bred carefully up simply to produce heirs, the whole of the imperial loafers known as agnates, clansmen, *glioro*, and so on, should be drafted into the mandarin classes as ordinary unprivileged officials. The eight "iron-capped princes," or *Fürsts*, who occupy an intermediate position between the Imperial princes and nobles like Confucius and Mencius, and who correspond somewhat to persons like the King of Hanover or the Duke of Hesse-Nassau in the German system, might be left their rank as counsellors, and also their estates, so long as they cease to be pensioners on the public chest: in fact, no vested property rights or empty titles should be interfered with at all, provided that no



charges or privileges are foisted upon the public economy. The whole Chinese civil service should be at once re-organized—so far, at least, as salary goes. After all, the number of indispensable officials is very limited. Including the 1,300 *hien*-city magistrates, who are the true essence of government, and the prefects, intendants, judges, treasurers, governors, and viceroys above them, there are not 2,000 “commissioned” civil officers in the whole empire, and these would be well paid with £2,000,000 a year. To provide this first charge, an increase upon import duties should be consented to, and steps should be taken to totally abolish *likin* and native Custom-houses. The one innovation should not be granted without the other. It must be remembered that as much purely native or coast trade passes through Sir Robert Hart’s hands as foreign trade; not only should the taxation upon this (imports and exports) be remodelled, but all native junk trade (upon the coast and main river routes only) should be gradually placed under the Foreign Customs. The Chinese Government should, in the first instance, be left to select its own officials in the old way, but steps should be taken without loss of time to improve the system of selection in friendly consultation with the Emperor’s Government, which should be strengthened and respected in every possible way, and spared all ridicule or loss of “face.” Provision of some sort would have to be made during a number of years for the hordes of hungry expectants, five of whom probably exist for each of the 2,000 available commissions, *i.e.*, 10,000 in all. This would be one of the most difficult matters; but openings would undoubtedly be found by degrees in the reformed administrations; in any case, their rights are vested, and under no circumstances ought a large educated class, possessing legal expectations, to be cast penniless and discontented upon an empire in process of reorganization. The achievements of Lord Cromer in Egypt prove that all this is well within the possible capacity of a man like Sir Robert Hart, who is by far the most faithful, self-effacing, and industrious foreign

servant the Manchus ever had ; and if he is willing at the age of sixty-five to remain in harness, it is quite certain that he would be a most *grata persona*. The next best man in the Far East is Mr. J. McLeavy-Brown. As to the army and navy, recent events prove that effective reorganization could rapidly proceed upon beaten lines, and that the Chinese possess admirable raw material.

If Great Britain alone were concerned, there would be no difficulty in turning out a regenerated "China for the Chinese" in one single generation, just as has been done in the case of Egypt or Burma. Under the British flag all men are equal before the law, and all white men have equal social privileges besides, the term "white man" now including by extension "Japanese"; but, unfortunately, the broad and generous principles which have made such a success out of British colonial administration are not shared by France, Germany, or Russia ; and consequently, whilst Great Britain would be quite content to utilize French, Russian, or German administrators, working on British principles of equity or equality, it is almost certain that the officers, of those Powers, if trusted with control, would act on the principle of privilege for themselves : they have not got genuine freedom in their blood. Certainly, Germany has made some show of governing Kiao Chou upon liberal British principles, but there is no guarantee that this policy is more than a temporary makeshift in order to gain a specific end. Even if Russia were theoretically disposed to adopt a liberal attitude, and to throw her country—or, at all events, her "sphere"—frankly open to the world's competition, it is doubtful if she practically could or durst do so. The whole Russian system rests upon the ignorance and subjection of the masses. As a Russian Minister once said with warmth to me : " We are distinctly of opinion that the English system of liberty for the masses is a stupid mistake. The masses are unfit in all countries, and especially in Russia, to judge what is best for themselves ; and it is for the small body of educated and trained men, who make a

business of ruling, to decide this matter for them." Were the ruling Russians to admit Americans and Englishmen to Port Arthur and Vladivostock as we admit Russians to Hong Kong, the ignorant Russians would naturally expect equal rights and freedom for themselves. In short, Russia is bound for ever by her own principles either to keep her people in subjection and ignorance or to abandon her autocratic system. No educated nation will tolerate the "autocracy" of a mere *camarilla*. As to France, she is as splendid in science as she is hopeless in commerce. Not a single French possession of importance in the whole world can be said to pay its way satisfactorily. It is like a gay old beau keeping up a big harem to vindicate his decaying virility. In every case it is "exclusive privileges for the French;" and if the French cannot succeed themselves on those terms, "then no one else shall succeed under our flag." The United States are equally anxious with ourselves to obtain the open door for their own benefit when they are outside, but they are far from equally ready with ourselves to extend the benefits of an open door to others when they themselves are the keepers. Japan has proved herself up to the hilt worthy of our respect and our confidence, and it is a pity that a prominent man like Mr. Mitford ever allowed himself to print in the *Times* so narrow a view as that subsequently echoed by the *Spectator*. In courtesy and chivalry, in military capacity, statesmanship, and personal bravery, Japan is fully the equal of any Continental nation. Though the Japanese stature is small, and the skin yellow, the stuff within is as worthy of our friendship and alliance as any French, German, or Russian material, and Japan has fully earned her right to have a leading vote in the question. Her bravery has saved her from the Asiatic ruin. Unfortunately, Japan's commercial principles are not so sound or trustworthy as those of her political administration; but she is a nation with such immense pluck and capacity for introspective reform, that it is quite possible she may mend her ways and become more liberal even in that respect;

perhaps the present want of liberality is partly owing to incomplete confidence in her own strength to deal judicially with all foreign rights under the powers given her by recent treaties. She has not yet the full courage of her equality and independence. However that may all be, in arranging a future for China, we must calculate with the opposing interests of at least five great Powers—Germany, America, Japan, Russia, and France—all of whom are now conterminous with China; and it would certainly be a great triumph for Christian diplomacy if the six Powers chiefly concerned could settle between themselves and China some fair scheme which should secure at once lasting peace and independence for China coupled with an equality of right for themselves.

If Chinese laws and the administration of them were at all tolerable, or even possible, it would assuredly be a desirable thing to get rid at once of extra-territoriality, which saps the vitality of any nation to which it is applied. This was the great bugbear of shame to the Japanese, who fought long and fiercely for its abolition. How is it possible for a Government in whose face any stranger can shake his fist to stand with dignity before its own people? Picture the result to ourselves if all the German waiters, Italian organ-grinders, and French cooks in London were taken gingerly by policemen before their own consuls whenever found offending against London by-laws. And imagine the further effect if Swedenborgians, Oneida Free Lovers, Mormons, Skoptsi, and Shakers had their agents getting up Salvation Army brawls with the colliers of Wigan, the crofters of Scotland, and the peasantry of Connaught on petty subjects of "doctrine" every day. Certainly, it is the fault of the Chinese that their judicial procedure is so barbarous that concessions such as Europe has made to Japan are at present impossible; yet it must be remembered that thirty years ago it would have seemed as absurd to grant "home justice" even to Japan. But if we must administer the law upon our own subjects in China,

at least we ought to take care that they do not press their privileges beyond the limit of reason. Missionaries may fairly have secured to them the right to insist upon entry into towns where there is manifestly bad faith in the attempt to keep them out; but they ought to be subjected to local by-laws and customs like anyone else, and it should not be tolerated that they take any native under their protection. Better have a foreign judge to administer Chinese law for China than have appeals to foreign courts. It is, however, a hopeless, endless circle as things now stand. The authorities will always show bad faith so long as it is thought to be against the public interest for missionaries to be in their localities; and missionaries will always be querulous and aggressive so long as they see a dishonest attempt is being made to curtail their freedom of action. The only correct attitude is that adopted by the Orthodox Church, which tolerates no internal interference, and admits any convert, but makes no attempts whatever at conversion or proselytism. So long as Catholics prowled about in secret, and secured the faithful at the risk of life and torture, there was at least something elevating in the idea of a teacher's courage or a convert's firm belief in face of such dangers. But now, although the medical missions do splendid work, and one or two of the purely proselytizing missions have many members who patiently live hard and uncomfortable lives amidst hostile and ungrateful populations, it may be truthfully said of the body of missionaries—fully admitting the good intentions of all—that, as Catholics, even if earnest, they are often involuntary mischief-makers, whilst some Protestants, even if earnest, are unwittingly injudicious. In both cases the native article produced by their efforts is too often void of sincerity or reality, and no one is less able than a missionary to discern it. In any case, the cost of making this hybrid article is totally disproportionate to the risk and expense incurred. In 1898 there were fifty-four Protestant missions established in the eighteen Chinese and three Manchurian provinces, each

mission having from one to twenty or more stations. Thus, taking all Catholics—Franciscans, Jesuits, Dominicans, Friars Minor, Missions Etrangères, etc.—as one, there were fifty-five religions for the distracted Chinese to choose from, Swedish, Canadian, Scotch, English, German, Norwegian, Dutch, American, Danish, and “Zenana”; six kinds of Baptist; five kinds of Methodist; eight kinds of Presbyterian, Friends, Disciples, Lutherans, Brethren, and so on. The China Inland had missions in sixteen out of eighteen provinces, no other equalling it by half. In or about the same year the Jesuits alone had 250 foreign priests in the two Kiang Nan provinces, and 112,000 native Christians, against fifty-two priests and 60,000 Christians fifty years ago. The Jesuits also have a mission of 30,000 Christians in South Chih Li. Then there are the Missions Etrangères, with about 150,000 Christians, in the four provinces of South-West China, in Tibet, and in Manchuria; the Lazarists in Chêh Kiang, North-West Chih Li, and Kiang Si; the Franciscans in Shen Si, Shan Si, Hu Peh, Hu Nan, Shan Tung; the Dominicans in Fuh Kien; the Milan Congregation in Ho Nan; the Belgian (Immaculate Heart) Congregation in Mongolia. Of course, most of these missionaries mean well, and, in very many cases, devote their whole lives to the ungrateful task; but it is the monstrous combination of extra-territorial jurisdiction with religion which so rankles in the Chinese mind, and unless we temper our militant zeal with plain common-sense humanity, we men of European race will continue for ever abhorrent in the eyes of one third of our kind.

“Sweep on, you fat and greasy citizens;

’Tis just the fashion: wherefore do you look

Upon that poor and broken bankrupt there?”

*As You Like It.*

## MISSIONARY TROUBLES IN CHINA.

BY TAW SEIN KO, M.R.A.S.

SOME writers on China are inclined to class opium and missionaries in the same category, as both of them are apt to give rise to political complications. There have been two wars in connection with the opium trade, but there is no limit to troubles connected with missionaries and their native converts. The Chinese, individually and collectively, acknowledge the great good that has been done to their country by Christian missionaries, especially in the departments of education, diffusion of Western knowledge, and medical relief, but they draw the line at any interference with their village organization, their ancient customs, and the administration of justice.

Although in theory the Chinese Government is a despotic monarchy, in practice it is more democratic than the Republican Government of France or the United States of America. Taxation is very light; there is no standing army; there are very few officials; and the people are allowed to govern themselves much in their own way. In China the village is the administrative unit, and is governed by elected elders of the clan. Marriage is exogamous, and each village is inhabited by the members of the same clan, so the duty of governing it is somewhat easy, because disputes are invariably settled by compromise. The belief in the divine right of kings is still the prevailing cultus in China, though it has been exploded and discarded elsewhere. The Emperor is the "Son of Heaven," and, as in Russia, is the mediator between God and man. The officials are the delegates of the Emperor, and are the "father and mother of the people." The heads of the households or the patriarchs of the villages are, again, representatives of the officials to whom Imperial authority is relegated. Thus, in the whole series of men in authority, from the obscure head of each family up to the Emperor,

there is a well-defined gradation of rank, and each is a demi-god on earth. Now, the introduction of certain missionaries disturbs this order of things, which has been in existence during the last 5,000 years. Incense is no longer burnt in each house at nightfall; no offerings are made to the manes of the dead ancestors; the pictures of patron saints and deified heroes are pulled down from the walls; in short, the breaking away of the native converts from the old moorings is too sudden, abrupt, and radical. The last straw that breaks the camel's back is that the authority of the chief of the clan is set at naught, and, upon the advice of missionaries, no contributions are paid by native converts towards festivals, processions, etc., without which life in the villages would be a dreadful monotony. Thus the pockets of the non-professing Christians are touched in that the burden of the annual expenses falls upon them more heavily *pro rata*. To add insult to injury, churches and schools and mission-houses are built overlooking the residences of the local officials and gentry, and this nonconformity to their ideas of seamliness and of *feng-shin* rankles in Chinese minds. Again, in litigation, the converts occupy a more favourable position, as they can always count upon the assistance of their missionaries, who enjoy the privilege, recently confirmed by Imperial edict, of interviewing all officials, from the Viceroy to the district magistrate. Further, it is open to the missionaries to see their own Consuls and have representations made to the Tsung-li-Yamên through their Ministers at Peking. The voiceless and unrepresented millions of Chinese peasantry resent such treatment, and deeply and silently deplore the threatened loss of their status, rights, and liberty. The result is that a loud outcry is raised against foreigners in general and missionaries in particular, and ancient societies which were originally formed for the purpose of affording mutual protection and assistance against tyranny, injustice, and oppression, are revived with some measure of political importance.

A most regrettable mistake was committed when mis-



sionaries were first allowed to reside in isolated villages in the interior for the purpose of propagating their religion. It must be remembered that the facilities of communication in China are very poor, and that the existing machinery for the protection of life and property is flagrantly ineffectual ; and, under the circumstances, it is hardly consonant with reason or sound logic to hold a Government responsible for the occurrence of events against which it is quite powerless to provide proper safeguards. Owing to sudden popular resentment and fury, missionaries get killed in Shantung, Ssuch'uen, or Fukkien, and the Central Government at Peking, which is quite unaware of the circumstances of such sad occurrences, is held responsible. An inquiry is made, the culprits are decapitated, a large sum of money is mulcted by way of compensation to the bereaved families of the deceased, and to defray the expenses of building a memorial church, tablet, or window. This process is repeated over and over again, till the Central Government, which exists by popular sufferance and maintains itself by prestige alone, "loses face" with its subjects ; the country gradually gets out of hand ; there are more disturbances, more killing of foreigners, without distinction of sect or nationality ; and the grip of the foreign Powers on the helpless Government at Peking becomes more and more tightened. The spectacle thus presented to the world is not without its humorous aspect, and would be unbecoming in the case of humble individuals. As a thunderclap on such a pitiable condition of affairs came that Imperial edict confirming official status on certain missionaries, which was, no doubt, issued at the instigation of some of the foreign Ministers, who were not far-seeing enough to see the inevitable consequences of their own acts. The baneful nature of the edict was evident from the unanimous refusal of the Anglican missionaries to participate in the apparent benefits conferred by it.

It is not known how long the present disturbances in China will last, but it is certain that demands put forward

by the foreign Powers for compensation for the death of their subjects will involve enormous sums of money. Whenever the pacification may be completed one thing may be urged, and that is, that the integrity and independence of China and the continued peace of the world will depend much upon the sense of moderation, reasonableness, and chivalry in the counsels of the foreign Governments, and that in striking the balance-sheet it should be borne in mind that China has been more sinned against than sinning.

Out of evil cometh good. Advantage may be taken of the military situation to insist on the introduction of salutary reforms. China, after the Boxer rebellion, will be like Egypt after the rebellion by Arabi Pasha. The Central Government will bow to the inevitable destiny, and become responsive to outside pressure and disinterested counsels, and the bulk of the people will welcome and cheerfully acquiesce in the introduction of any measures that are intended for their health, wealth, prosperity, and their continued existence as an independent nation with an unparalleled long line of traditions of hoary antiquity.

## THE SULTAN AND CENTRAL AFRICA.

BY S. H. FITZJOHN.

WHAT truth is there in the saying, "To possess Tripoli is to command the Sudan"? It was Rohlfs who gave currency to the thought that the master of Tripoli is the master of the Sudan when he wrote in *L'Esploratore* (January, 1881): "Chi possederà questa terra sarà il padrone del Sudan." It is a saying that has been much discussed, and in Italy it has become wellnigh a maxim. Now, as Tripoli is an Ottoman possession, it is the Sultan whom it most concerns; but, in the many discussions regarding the future of Lake Chad and Central Africa, a surprising omission has been the consideration of the rights of the Ottoman Empire. Ottoman protests have been little heeded, but it is evident from the many reports about secret missions and military activity that the Sultan means what he says, and is resolved to make good his claims. I have deemed it well, in view of imminent possibilities, to consider these Ottoman rights, and to review the considerations that may be adduced in behalf of them. It will be best, however, to give, not an account of my own, but that of Count Charles Kinsky, who has defined the Ottoman sphere in his "Diplomatists' Handbook for Africa" (London, 1897). "The western part of the Libyan Desert," he says, "and the eastern part of the Sahara, with the Taiserbo, Buseima and Kebabo (Kufra) Oases; the districts of Tibesti or Tu, Nanyanga, Borku, Bodele, Ennedi, the Kowar Oasis; the district Kanem and the Sultanate Wadai, to which the larger part of the former Baghirmi country is now tributary, are considered as a sort of international sphere of interest of the Ottoman Empire. The southern part of Baghirmi, however, is claimed by France as belonging to its sphere of interest in North Ubangi. This Ottoman sphere of interest is bounded on the west by the caravan route from Kuka (Bornu) to Murzuk (Fezzan); the south by Tsad Lake,

and about the 12° north latitude ; on the east by the States belonging to the Mahdi's empire, Dar Fur, Kordofan, and West Nubia, as well as by Egypt. The whole trade of this immense territory is chiefly directed towards Tripoli and Benghazi, and only a very small part to Egypt and the dominion of the Caliph of Omderman" (pp. 8, 9). The writer acknowledges his indebtedness to the late Professor Paulitschke of Vienna. "It is to his clear and comprehensive lectures," he says, "based upon concise and intimate knowledge, as well as to the study of the literature recommended by him, that I owe an accurate and reliable insight into the social and political relations prevailing in Africa." This, then, may be regarded as an academic view of the Ottoman sphere which was held in the University of Vienna. I have cited it in order to show that the Ottoman claims have received recognition in the academic world, since it may be regarded as devoid of political considerations.

It was in 1890, in a note from the Porte on November 30, that the Ottoman claims were set forth, in view of the Anglo-French Agreement of August 5, 1890. These claims have generally been regarded as exaggerated, and have received scant consideration in the partition of Africa. But it must be remembered that the Sultan assumed the position of speaking on behalf of Egypt as well as of Tripoli. It was the Sultan's representative at the Berlin Conference (November 15, 1884, to February 26, 1885) who upheld the rights of Egypt in the Upper Nile and Upper Ubangi, when the representatives of the several Powers accepted the 4th parallel of north latitude and the 30th meridian of east longitude as the limits of territory to north and east, which was open to occupation by the Congo Free State. This position was recognised by France down to 1894, when the policy of *devance* became the order of the day. When the agreement of May 12, 1894, between England and the King of the Belgians was announced, France protested in the name of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, but in the Convention of August 14, 1894, between France

and the King of the Belgians as Sovereign of the Congo Free State, the territory of the Congo State was recognised up to the median line of the Mbomu and the watershed of the Nile. Thus, territory in the basin of the Upper Ubangi, which had been recognised at the Berlin Conference as within the Ottoman sphere, was signed away by France in 1894, notwithstanding her own protest, in which the principle of the integrity of the Ottoman Empire was cited against the proceedings of Great Britain. France, however, not only signed away this territory to the Congo State, but took possession of the northern part of the Mbomu basin. As soon as the Ubangi became known in 1885, its possible importance was at once recognised by the French, and after long and animated discussions and negotiations, its median line became the common limit of the Congo State and the French colony in the Convention of April 29, 1887. The agents of France had followed the lead of the Congo State, and founded the post of Bangui on the right bank, opposite Zongo, in June, 1889; that of Mobaye, opposite Banziville, in August, 1891; and that of Abira, opposite Yakoma, in September, 1891. Up to 1894 France recognised the claims of Egypt and of Turkey to the Mbomu basin. On French maps, as in French policy, the limit to the east remained below the confluence of the Mbomu and the Welle.

It was the Congo State that was the first to pass beyond its own limits as defined at the Berlin Conference. Between 1891 and 1894 its agents pushed ahead in all directions into the former territories of Egypt. In 1892 military posts or political agencies had been set up at Rafai, Sandu, Darbaki, and Dinda among the A-Banja or A-Zande of the west; at Sango, Yanguba, Zwarra, and Yangu, in Dar Banda; at several places among the Krej in Dar Fartit; and along the valley of the Welle a chain of posts had been formed. In 1893 the agents of the Congo State occupied several posts in Bahr-al-Ghazal and in the basin of the Bahr-al-Jabal at Kiri, Muggi, Labox, and Dufile, which

were the old military posts of General Gordon. Then, in 1894, other agents of the Congo State proceeded up the Bali and the Kotto into the basin of the Shari and Dar Runga.

When the agents of the Congo State vacated these posts north of the Mbomu, in accordance with the Franco-Belgian Convention of 1894, the agents of France took possession, and then penetrated into the Bahr-al-Ghazal by way of the Mbomu and Boku, and to Dem Zubair, the old capital of the Bahr-al-Ghazal province. In July, 1894, the territories of France above Bangni were constituted a separate province, called the Haut-Oubangui, or Upper Ubangi.

Now, when Schweinfurth visited the heart of Africa in 1869-70, he found that the Khartum traders had already passed beyond the basin of the Bahr-al-Ghazal into that of the Mbomu, and in 1882-84, when Lupton was Governor of the Bahr-al-Ghazal, the Egyptian possessions as administered by him extended to the Upper Kotto; that is to say, the whole of the Mbomu basin was within the administrative province of the Bahr-al-Ghazal.

By the Anglo-French Agreement of March 21, 1899, this territory has been recognised by England as within the French sphere. It was considered by Junker the best part of the Bahr-al-Ghazal province. Whether the Sultan could or would have maintained his claim on behalf of Egypt need not be considered here. It suffices to note that considerations may be adduced in support of the Ottoman claims which were put forth in 1890, and renewed in 1899.

This territory has been viewed as formerly belonging to Egypt, but even if the Porte had spoken of it in relation to Tripoli, it would not have been quite so preposterous as it may at first appear, since it is in accordance with fact. Dar Banda is in commercial relation with Wadai, and through it with Tripoli. When Hanolet and Stroobant, the agents of the Congo State, made their way to Dar Banda and Dar Runga in 1894, they were surprised to

meet with a Tripoli merchant. They soon learnt what Nachdigal had indicated, that there is a caravan highway from Abeshr in Wadai, through Kuka in Dar Runga to Yangu in Dar Banda. The Arab caravaniers of Wadai and Dar Runga, some of them on behalf of the Sultan of Wadai, come annually in the dry season to sell European goods for ivory, which is abundant in the basin of the Mbomu. This caravan highway from Yangu to Kuka passes through Mereke (which is Aja or Krej), Dombago, Yanguru, Şabanga, Moruba, Wundu, and Mbelc, or Bele, whence a branch leads off through Mokubanda to Katuaka and Wofrat-en-Nahas. Besides this commercial relation, Dar Banda as well as Dar Runga are connected with the north through the agents of the Sanusi Order, who have proselytized down to Dar Banda.

The case of Dar Runga cannot very well be separated from that of Wadai. Not only is it a dependency of Wadai, but the ivory that comes to Tripoli and Benghazi from Wadai is derived from Dar Runga. The French have been very keen to open relations with Dar Runga, and draw its trade, if possible, to Brazzaville. It was announced from Bangni in June, 1898, that the Sultan of Dar Runga had sent a caravan to the Ubangi, and in all probability they will succeed in this aim, which concerns both Tripoli and Wadai.

At the beginning of the present century Wadai had commercial relations with Tripoli and Egypt. The caravan highway to the Nile from Wadai passes through Kobbe, the commercial capital of Darfur, either to Khartum or to Asyut. This latter line of communication is the old highway of trade, the Darb-al-Arba'in, or Highway of the Forty (Days). But a new caravan highway was opened in the early part of the present century between Wadai and Benghazi. The highway of trade between this port and Abeshr, the capital of Wadai, passes through Aujila, Jalo, Kufara, and Wanyanga, and occupies an ordinary caravan some four months, on account of the formidable difficulties

of the Libyan desert, and the long halts at places provided with water and pasturage. From Benghazi to Aujila, oasis and town, it is 10 days of travel and 2 of rest; to Jalo, oasis and town, 1 day of travel and 3 days of rest; to Battifall, a well, which is the last on the southern border of the Libyan desert, 1 day of travel and 2 days of rest; to Kufra or Kebabo, 12 days of travel, 3 days of rest by the way, and 15 days of rest at Kufra; to Tukru, the first well on the southern border of the Libyan desert, 17 days of travel and 4 days of rest; to Wanyanga, 3 days of travel and 6 days of rest; to Arada, a town where all caravans stop and send a courier to Abeshr to obtain the Sultan of Wadai's permission to continue their journey, 24 days of travel and 14 days of rest; to Abeshr, 4 days of travel. In all there are some 121 days, 72 days of travel and 49 days of rest, between Benghazi and Abeshr. A light caravan may manage to do it in 89 or 90 days. From Tripoli the caravan highway skirts the coast as far as Sirt, and then turns southward to Jofra or Zella and Kufra. Notwithstanding the formidable difficulties of this line of communication, there are two things that will help strongly to maintain it. One of the most enterprising tribes is the Mejabra tribe of Aujila and Jalo. They are keen traders, and have their own tribal caravan. Another tribe which conducts the trade between Benghazi and Wadai is the Zewayas of Kufra. All of these will make an effort to keep this trade along this highway. Another thing is that this highway passes through the domain of the Sanusi Order, the capital of which is now in Kufra. The Shaikh of the Sanusi has been busy improving this route by digging wells and providing ports of call. Such has been his success, it is reported that it is now possible to perform the journey without hardship.

It is most likely, however, that the highway of trade up the Nile from Alexandria to Dongola will become the chief line of communication. Dongola is some 1,100 miles from Alexandria by rail and river. With the railway facilities of



Upper Egypt and the Sudan, goods can arrive at Dongola from Alexandria or Cairo in one-half or one-third of the time which it takes them to arrive at Aujila from Benghazi, some 220 miles. Hence it seems probable that Dongola may become the depot for the Wadai trade, and become such an entrepot for the Central Sudan as Ghat is for the Western Sudan.

Besides this highway from Dongola through Kobbe, there is also the line of communication from Khartum through Kordofan and Darfur. If a railway is built from the Nile to Darfur, it will probably follow this route, and thereby develop an important artery of trade. But this line of communication is one of the old highways of the Hajj between Hausaland and the Nile for the Muslim pilgrims from Nigeria; and it seemed to many in 1898 that the Anglo-Egyptian sphere might well have comprised Wadai in order to uphold and develop the relations of the Nile Valley with Lake Chad and the Central Sudan. In the course of the negotiations Lord Salisbury recognised the feasibility of this demand, but did not persist in it when it became evident that much importance was attached by France to the unification of their African colonies by the possession of territory to the north and east of Lake Chad.

The aim of France has been "*la réunion sur les rives du lac Tchad des possessions Français du Soudan, de l'Algérie et du Congo Français.*" That phrase has become historic, and now that the aim has been achieved in the person of M. Fourreau, it remains to be seen what success will attend the efforts to make it effective. I have reviewed the position of Dar Banda, Dar Runga and Wadai in relation to the Ottoman claims, and in relation to Tripoli in order to show that regarded from the side of Egypt and from the side of Tripoli, those territories might well be considered as within the Ottoman sphere. With regard to Wadai, probability seems to be on the side of the Nile Valley as the most feasible line of communication, but it is necessary to keep in view the possible lines up the Niger and Binue as

well as a possible line from Kamerun. These are the several lines of communication which will compete for commercial ascendancy in the basin of Lake Chad. The old highway of trade from Tripoli and Benghazi is threatened with a loss of its traffic by the facilities that are afforded by way of the Niger and the Nile. Now that Wadai and Baghirmi have been assigned to the French sphere, will France succeed in monopolizing the trade by drawing it down to the Ubangi and Congo? But if that is the aim the policy of France pulls in opposite directions. In the one, it seeks to penetrate the Sudan in order to draw the trade to Algeria and Tunisia; in the other, it professes a pacific aim in approaching the Sultans of Dar Runga and Wadai to open up commercial relations with these potentates by way of the Congo. What justification is there, then, for the policy which seeks to arrive at Lake Chad from Algeria or Tunisia? It seems a futile aim, and, possible as it is, it can hardly be deemed a feasible aim when it is viewed in relation to Tripoli.

It is the relation of Tripoli to the Sudan that most concerns the Sultan, for the importance of Tripoli practically consists in its position as the chief gateway of the Sudan. Its form fits it peculiarly for acting as a channel of trade, since it penetrates far into the continent from its maritime base. The starting-points of the caravans such as Tripoli, Khoms and Benghazi are some 250 miles nearer to the Sudan than Tunis, Philippeville, Algiers and Oran, and the railways which now connect Oran and Philippeville with Ain-sefra and Biskra cannot compete with the Tripolitan routes. Through its depots, Ghadamis, Ghat, Murzuk, and its merchant houses, which have long been familiar with the demands and tastes of the Sudanese, Tripoli is more intimately connected than any other North African territory with Central Africa. The commercial sphere of Tripoli includes the wide tracts between Lake Chad and the Niger; the Bornu lands with the towns of Kuka, Mashena, and Zinder; the Hausa lands with the towns of Kano,

Katsena, Sokoto and the western Zinder, northern Adamawa, and Baghirmi; the Tuarik of the Sahara; Air or Ashen with Tintellust and Agades; the Tubu of Tibesti and Kavar; Borku, Kanem and Wadai; even the Algerian Suf, the Mzab, the Tuat oasis and Tombouctou. This caravan trade of Tripoli may be divided into three parts: that to the Western Sudan, Kano, and Sokoto, which is monopolized by the Ghadamsine merchants established in Tripoli; that to Bornu, which is engaged in by the Jewish and European merchants of Tripoli; and that to Wadai, by Tripoli Arab traders. The most important routes are those that radiate from Ghadamis. Hence they run north-westwards through the Areg, the South Algerian sand-dunes, to Wargla and the Suf; south-westwards through El-Biodh to Insalah, the chief of the Tuat oases and Tombouctou; south-westwards direct by Tombouctou by Temassinia, Amguid, the Egere plateau and Ideles; southwards by Ghat, Air, and Agades to Zinder, Tessana, Kano, and Sokoto. Ghat is the great entrepot between Tripoli and the Western Sudan, and forms the real point of arrival from, and departure to, Kano. Two large caravans arrive at Ghat yearly, and the merchandise reaches Tripoli in small quantities at a time. A caravan from Tripoli to the Sudan makes a long stay at Ghat, camels are exchanged, and contracts are made with the Tuarik for the supply of camels and safe conduct at their hands through the country between Ghat and Kano. Including stoppages, the march of caravans seldom exceeds twelve miles a day, taking about eight weeks to reach Ghat from Tripoli, and ten to twelve weeks more to arrive at Kano. The monopoly of the Tripoli-Western Sudan trade which is enjoyed by the Ghadamsine merchants residing in the town of Tripoli is ascribed, by the Consul-General in his report on the vilayet of Tripoli for 1897, apart from their superior intelligence and business habits, to the geographical position of their birthplace, an oasis in Tuarik territory, giving them a knowledge of the Arabic, Hausa,

and Tuariḳ languages, in addition to their own language, a dialect of the Berber. The caravans for Bornu choose the road through the Hamada el Hómra or through the Jofra oasis to Murzuk, and thence through Gatrūn and the Kavar oasis to Barrua and Kuka on Lake Chad. The caravan highway to Wadai, which is the hardest and longest, has been already described. These caravan highways are partly determined by Nature and partly prescribed by the tribes who receive pay for the protection afforded by them to caravans in passing through their territory. For the most part they are the same to-day as in past centuries, the old directions being maintained partly by the conservativeness of the Arabs, and partly by the desire of the tribes that profit by them. It is mainly owing to this cause that the French have met with such formidable difficulties in opening up new caravan highways from Algeria, and in penetrating the Sudan.

Now, this caravan trade, on which the prosperity of Tripoli mainly depends, has been decreasing for many years. "There can be little doubt," said the Consul-General in his report for 1897, "that the Tripoli caravan trade has seen its best days, and the facilities now offered and availed of by the waterways of the Niger and Benue will yearly militate against its prosperity, and ultimately end disastrously." And in a special report of this year on the agriculture and natural resources of the vilayet, he says it can hardly be doubted that the caravan trade of Tripoli is doomed in the near future to diminution, and probably ultimate extinction, by reason of British, German, and French commercial enterprise in the south availing itself of the additional facilities for trade presented by the waterways of the Niger and Benue.

Only in the case of the caravan trade with Wadai is there a good report. In the case of Tripoli it is said in the Vice-Consul's report for 1899 that trade with the interior of Africa, although still unsatisfactory, is on the whole not so unpromising as it was in 1898. While it has practically

ceased with Bornu, and is interrupted or precariously carried on with Central Sudan, it has decidedly improved with Wadai, where the efforts of the new Sultan Ibrahim to encourage commerce with his dominions have borne good fruit. And in the report from Benghazi the Consul says that an improvement in the caravan trade with the interior has been maintained, considerable profits having been made by caravans trading in Kanem and Wadai. It is much to be feared that this will not prove permanent. In all probability the highway of trade up the Nile Valley will draw away most of the Wadai trade, just as the highway up the Niger is securing the trade of the Central Sudan.

How, then, is the loss of this caravan trade between Tripoli and the Sudan to be avoided? Or must the loss be regarded as inevitable? It has been proposed to introduce railways. The vilayet of Tripoli has an area of about 410,000 square miles, or more than three times greater than that of Great Britain and Ireland. About three-fifths of it are unproductive, consisting of sandy and rocky wastes and plateau. This leaves about 164,000 square miles of more or less fertile and productive soil. Almost all of this land is found between the sea and the Tripoli range of hills on the south. It varies in breadth from 90 miles, near Nalut on the west, to 40 or 60 miles near Tarhuna on the east. It is some 400 miles in length from the Tunisian frontier on the west to Sert on the Gulf of Syrta, the boundary line between Tripoli and Barca in the west. The most fertile portion of this littoral tract is from Cape Misurata on the east to Zarira, 50 miles to the west of Tripoli; it is some 150 miles in length by 40 to 60 in breadth. The Fezzan contains about 120,000 square miles, only 3,000 of which are oases. The railways that have been proposed are to Ghadamis by way of Zuara; to Gharian; and to Murzuk by way of Khoms, Zeliten, Misurata, and Sokna.

A look at the map will be assisted by the following



distances between the town of Tripoli and the principal towns of the vilayet. They are calculated at 25 miles a day by camel march, the hour's journey by camel being calculated at 5 kilometres, or 3.106 miles. From Tripoli to Murzuk it is 730 miles, or 29 days; to Ghadamis, 497 miles, or 20 days; to Ghat, 938 miles, or 38 days; to Khoms, 68 miles, or 3 days; to Sokna, 373 miles, or 15 days; to Sebkhah, 543 miles, or 22 days; to Gatrun, 869 miles, or 35 days. And the following is the approximate male adult population of some of the towns, as given in the *Salnama*, or official handbook of the province, for 1896: Tripoli city, 20,750; Tripoli district, 65,000; Gharian, 13,256; Zaira, 44,470; Zuara, 3,251; Khoms, 5,840; Misurata, 33,103; Zeliten, 30,500; Sirt, 2,078; Ifrin, 6,107; Ghadamis, 2,812; Mizda, 1,820; Murzuk, 306; Ghat, 950; Sokna, 1,420; Shati, 2,780; Zella, 500; Wadi Gharbi, 435; Gatrun, 200.

Now, if Tripoli had only to compete with Algeria or even with Tunis for the Sudan trade, there can be little doubt that the commercial ascendancy would remain with Tripoli. Even as it is, the railways of Algeria cannot compete with the Tripolitan caravan highways, and if one railway was built to Ghadamir and another to Murzuk, these would have immense advantages in competition for the Sudan trade from the Mediterranean littoral. These would be shorter than the Algerian railway to Ouargla, and would penetrate further towards the centre of Africa by nearly two degrees of latitude.

But the competition which Tripoli has to contend with is that directed from the French, British, and German colonies on the Atlantic coast, and more especially along the trade routes up the Niger and Benue. When this problem is fully considered, the solution that will probably be arrived at is the building of a trans-Saharan railway from Tripoli to the Sudan. What, then, is the most feasible route for such a line of communication to follow? In order to develop as much as possible of Tripoli and the Fezzan, it

will be best to proceed along the coast from Tripoli to Khoms and Misurata, whence the line will pass through Sokna, Murzuk, and Bilmá (Kawar) to the Sudan. Between Tripoli and Murzuk there are many possibilities of trade; but between Murzuk and the Sudan the chief oasis is that of Kawar. The most important part of this oasis is the central district of Bilona, and it plays a most important part in the economic relations of the Sudan. It is celebrated for its salines, which supply the greater part of Central Africa. These consist of shallow basins on a great bed of rock-salt. As salt is a commodity which the Sudan has vital need of, a line of railway from Tripoli would have this local traffic, in which it is said as many as 70,000 camels are constantly engaged. A camel-load of salt, it is said, costs about four shillings at Bilona, and is often sold for six to eight pounds in the Sudan. But the cost of transport is so heavy that there is a possibility of the salt imported by way of the Niger driving the Bilona salt from the Sudan markets. The commercial needs of Tripoli and of the highway of trade between it and the Sudan can only be met by the facilities of communication which a railway affords.

There is another consideration which may be adduced in support of a railway along Tripolitan littoral to the west. A scheme has often been mooted for a North-African railway from Morocco to Egypt. From Tripoli it would probably pass through Zella and Aujila to Siwa and Alexandria. Hence a railway between Tripoli and the Sudan by way of Murzuk would form part of this North African railway up to Sokna. •

Here, then, is a Tripolitan scheme for a trans-Saharan railway which involves the consideration of the sovereign rights of the territory between the Fezzan and Lake Chad. This is the tract which most concerns the Ottoman claims.

It will be best, however, to consider first the Trans-Saharan schemes, which must be regarded as the rivals of this Tripolitan scheme. There are several of them, but

the chief are the western, the central, and the eastern. The western is a prolongation of the railway from Oran to Ain-Sefra, Djenien bou Resg, Duvégrier, Igli, Touat, and the Niger. The second, or central, starts from Algiers and proceeds through Berronaghia, Laghouat, and Ouargla, either through Touat to the Niger or through Amguid to Lake Chad. The third, or eastern, starts from Philippeville, and proceeds through Biskra, Ouargla, Amguid, Asin, Air, and Aghades to Zinder and Lake Chad.

When these schemes were discussed at the Geographical Congress at Algiers last year, M. Augustin Bernard, the Secretary-General of the Algiers Geographical Society, said that the true strategic and political railway, like the Transcaspian, is that from Oran, by way of the oasis of Touat, which will have the same relation to Morocco as the Transcaspian has to Persia. If that scheme is adopted, then it is proposed to continue the railway down the Niger, and ultimately carry it to Lake Chad, through Zinder to Barrona. But most active support is given to the third or eastern scheme. It has been advocated by M. Paul Leroy Beaulieu, the eminent economist, in some articles in the *Journal des Débats* and the *Economiste Français* on the unification of the African empire of France and the strategical necessity of the Trans-Saharan. This is practically the route which M. Foureau followed.

A look at the map will show that none of those routes interfere much with the proposed Trans-Saharan from Tripoli. But there is a fourth scheme which has been much vaunted. It starts from Bou-Grara, in the south-east of Tunisia, and it is designed to pass through Ghadamis and Ghat, and to proceed to Lake Chad by way of Bir al-Amar, the oasis of Kawar and Bilma. The supporters of this scheme advocate it as the shortest of the French schemes, and hold that the Gulf of Bon-Grara will make possible a port superior even to Bizerta. It is this scheme which comes nearest to being a rival of the Tripoli and Chad schemes. It will be noticed that



Ghadamis and Ghat, both of which belong to Tripoli, are on the line of communication. But an advocate of this scheme, M. E. Blanc, when discussing the routes from the north coast of Africa to the Sudan in the *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie* in 1890, declared in his final words that France will take, by means as pacific as possible, but with the tenacity which her natural right justifies, this route passing through Ghadamis and Ghat, which towns she will one day occupy.

M. Bernard said last year that, before asking where the Trans-Saharan is to pass, it is necessary to ask, Shall it pass anywhere? There is, it seems, a strong feeling in France that it only remains to consider the route. It is very necessary that the scheme for a railway from Tripoli to Lake Chad should have immediate consideration with regard to its feasibility, both in relation to the commercial needs of Tripoli and the Sudan and in relation to the rival schemes of France. If the Oran scheme were adopted, a very slight compromise might satisfy the rival claims of Turkey and France to the territory between Tripoli and the Sudan. Even if the eastern route were chosen through Biskra, Amguid, and Air, this line would hardly encroach upon the legitimate demands of the Sultan. But when it is proposed to build a line through Ghadamis, Ghat, and Bilma, France and Turkey come face to face with a formidable problem in politics as well as in economics. It may be possible to combine the schemes. A Trans-Saharan might be built through Ottoman territory by way of Ghadamis, Ghat, and Bilma to Lake Chad, and a French line might then connect Ghadamis with Bon-Grara, and make possible the desiderated Bon-Grara and Congo railway. But a consideration of the needs of Tripoli will probably support the proposed railway from Tripoli to Lake Chad by way of Sokna, Marzuk, and Bilma.

Now it is that there arises for decision the acute question about the possession of the territory to the south of Tripoli and the Fezzan. Is it to be Ottoman, or is it fo

be French? Which is to possess sovereign rights, and which is to be satisfied with a right of way, if both railways are built to the Sudan? In 1890 a feasible scheme for the delimitation of their respective spheres would have followed on an ethnographic division, and assigned the Tuarik territories to France, including Air, and the Tubu territories, including Kavar and Bilma, to Turkey. Although the Anglo-French Agreement concerns England and France only, it is now generally assumed that these Tubu territories, such as Kavar and Tu, or Tiberti, belong to the French sphere. On behalf of Ottoman sway in Central Africa, a passage may be cited from a report of the Consul-General for 1897. "No danger," he says, "attends the passage of caravans between Tripoli and the Fezzan, Ghadamis and Ghat, the prestige of the Ottoman Government, in the absence of any material forces, being sufficient for general security." This view gains support from a passage in the journal of Von Bary, where he records a report of August, 1877, that the Tubu of Bilma had petitioned the Sultan of Stambul to receive them under his protection and occupy their territory. If, then, the Sultan has at last taken possession of that oasis, he will have secured the main highway from Tripoli to the Sudan, and will have enabled the Tripolitan Trans-Saharan to tap the inexhaustible salines of Bilma.

This is a question which concerns other States besides France and Turkey. It is generally recognised that Italy has claims to Tripoli should that country at any time pass under the control of a European Power. And in the spring of last year Italy, on the occasion of the Anglo-French Agreement, received assurances that no enterprise of England or France against Tripoli is to be feared either in the present or in the future, and that nothing will be done to interfere with the trade routes between Tripoli and Central Africa. Now, the ivory that comes to Tripoli from the Sudan is derived from Adamawa. If it is deemed necessary to connect Algeria with the Central Sudan, it

may well be deemed as necessary to connect Tripoli and Adamawa. Hence the Tripolitan Trans-Saharan becomes an international highway of commerce, and if the British railway from Lagos to the Niger is prolonged to Kano and to Kuka, this Trans-Saharan scheme becomes a Trans-African railway. As it is the aim of England to develop the commerce of the Central Sudan by way of the Niger, this Trans-Saharan scheme concerns her less than Italy, Germany, and Austria, with their Mediterranean ports; but her commercial relations with Tripoli may well lead England to consider this scheme, and support it if deemed feasible.

Which, then, is most entitled to sympathy and support, France or Turkey, in their respective claims to the territory between Tripoli and Lake Chad? France may well look for sympathy in her admirable efforts to open up the Sudan and Central Africa to commerce and civilization, but her aim in the Shari basin is to draw the trade to the Congo, and her chief aim in Algeria is to connect the Western Sudan with her Mediterranean ports. In the same way Tripoli has for centuries had the commercial ascendancy in relation to the Central Sudan, and if this Trans-Saharan scheme from Tripoli to Lake Chad is deemed feasible, Turkey may well look for sympathy and support both in regard to it and in regard to the sovereign right over the country to the south of Tripoli and the Fezzan. Since the prosperity of Tripoli depends on the Sudan trade, no desire of France for the mere unification of her African possessions can justly be regarded as of sufficient importance to set aside the Ottoman rights of maintaining and developing the commercial relations of Tripoli and the Sudan.

In considering the rights of the Sultan in Central Africa, I have kept mainly in view the commercial and political aspects. It behoves me, however, to notice the relation which he holds to the Sudan as Caliph, and the duties which thus devolve on him. Then falls to be considered the highways of the African Hajj. I have said that the

Muslim pilgrims from Hausaland and Nigeria may now adopt the old highway through Wadai, Darfur, and Kordofan to Khartum. But it will be at once recognised that a Trans-Saharan railway through the vilayet of Tripoli will provide facilities for the Hajj of the Central Sudan, all the more if a railway in connection with it is built to Egypt.

## A GLIMPSE AT THE GOLD COAST.

BY HAROLD BINDLOSS.

Author of "In the Niger Country."\*

THE name of this British African colony is appropriate, for, though it has other products even more valuable, gold is found in varying quantities throughout it ; also, while for many generations French, Portuguese, Dutch, and British in turn have traded there, our actual, which means commercial, hold upon the country is confined to the coast. In spite of traders' warnings, until recently the British Government contented itself with the unhealthy seaboard, while the French exploited the Moslem hinterland ; but of late, both in Nigeria and the Gold Coast, this has been reversed. As agreed upon with France, the vague sphere of British influence stretches far north towards the Soudan, but for once commerce has not immediately followed or preceded the flag. Perhaps it was because the kingdom of Ashanti barred the way, for the Shanti were never cordial to white intruders. It must also be remembered that until recently the area of British dominion remained an uncertain quantity, and not long ago a leading official declared that he would not like to define what the Gold Coast Colony really did consist of.

It is, therefore, the seaboard which chiefly concerns us, and the writer would endeavour to give a rough impression of it. Rolling up past the cotton-wood forests and smoking beaches of the Cote d'Ivoire, where sickly French traders come off to purchase liquor and naked black men to deal in curios, the steamer drops her anchor off Axim, the first so-called port of any moment on the Gold Coast. It stands beside the Ankobra River, a cluster of white-washed factories nestling under luxuriant palms seen through a haze of spray, while a long succession of steep-

\* Blackwood and Sons, Edinburgh and London.

sided undulations break in tumultuous chaos along the trembling beach. One may generally see an anchored steamer there rolling heavily, while at the risk of life and limb great logs of splendid mahogany are hoisted in. There is a wealth of timber about the Ankobra, but trade is hampered by the great obstacle to Gold Coast commerce—the lack of harbours. There are also gold mines behind Axim in the region of Wassau, and the uninitiated wonder how the machinery for them was ever got ashore and transported through the Bush. Native-won alluvial gold was also sent there, and, as illustrating the perverted ingenuity of the African, the writer heard of a certain consignment which, on arrival in Great Britain, proved to consist mostly of brass filings. Now, brass filings are not a West African product, and must have been imported for the purpose. Still, the commercial future of Axim is threatened by the new railway from Sekondi, for one locomotive is better than many human carriers.

Passing east, the triple bluff of Cape Three Points rises, crowned with stately palms above eternal surf, with a loom of cotton-wood forests behind it, and blue heights rising against a sky that fades from the transparency of the zenith to a yellow haze of heat along the horizon. Then, as by Dixcove and Takoradi, one steams north-east to Sekondi; a panorama of towering bluff, palm forest, and curving bays, where mud-walled huts nestle between the dazzling beach and cotton-woods, unrolls itself. Close in-shore, Sekondi Cove is sheltered from the scourging of the surf, and an iron pier runs out into comparatively smooth water, by which goods can be landed direct from boats into railway-trucks. The line will tap the gold region at Tarkwa, forty miles, this autumn, and will no doubt eventually reach Kumasi, 181 miles from the coast. At present Sekondi consists of a dazzling crescent of golden sand, mud-walled huts thatched a foot thick, and a few white-washed buildings rising out of luxuriant foliage from the bluff which walls it in. Nevertheless, it will presently become a factor in Gold

Coast history, because the light railroad is, after all, the civilizer of Africa.

Then there are more flat-topped heights, thundering beaches, and dangerous reefs, until, passing the Prah River, the lovely Bay of Elmina, earliest settlement on the coast, opens up. It is fringed by tall palms, and ridged by the steep heave of the Atlantic, while to the eastwards the hill of Cape Coast looms up. A claim by King Koffe Kalkali, founded on legendary history, to the possession of Elmina was one of the causes of the first Ashanti War. Elmina, when the writer visited it, was chiefly famous for the export of indifferent rubber-gatherers to the Lagos colony, who, after ruthlessly laying waste Gold Coast forests, were seeking fresh fields for their energy. The negro is not a foreseeing person, and destroys the producer to secure the largest immediate yield, so that already large areas are devastated.

Rubber is obtained from several different trees, but in West Africa the *landolphia* parasitic vines are one of the chief sources of supply. Under no circumstances is its gathering a pleasant process, for the half-congealed sap is wound off round a negro's arm dipped in strong brine, and often afflicts him with loathsome skin diseases. Its smell is also best described as disgusting, and the present price for the West African, which is inferior to the Brazilian product, fluctuates at about two shillings a pound. Still, the men who gather it in British territory are generally equitably paid, for if our West African commerce is carried on at a heavy cost, it is at the expense of white men's lives, and not, as in the Congo, by the oppression of helpless natives.

It was bright moonlight when we anchored off Cape Coast, and the whole heave of the Atlantic seemed piling itself upon the beach. From seaward the long undulations ran smooth as oil, until, meeting the shoals, they broke, and a parallel phalanx of white-crested breakers, with wide valleys between them, raced towards the sand. Partly

hidden in steam of spray, the old Dutch castle rose up between the spouting of the seas, and we wondered how we were going to get ashore. By sunrise, however, the rush of breakers had grown less furious, and when a big surf-boat came off, swung out by a crane over the steamer's rail, we descended into her. Then fourteen naked Kroo-boys dipped the three-tongued paddles, and, with a sable Hercules sculling astern, we drove in-shore. It was an exhilarating sensation—a swift, sliding rush on the back of a comber, alternating with a sudden swoop into the hollow, until the ridges grew steeper. Then the helmsman howled, and, amid a storm of hisses, the paddles whirled madly, while the boat hung poised half her length in the air before, with a rush that took one's breath away, she sank into a valley of white-streaked water. At such times it was better to look at the back of the sea ahead than the hollow breast of the one which, hissing horribly, raced up astern. Finally, shooting past the castle and a slightly sheltering reef, we were flung out on the sand, safe but dripping. The surf is not always equally bad, but, as all cargo landed in the Gold Coast must cross it in a similar fashion, the most casual observer can understand how the absence of harbours impedes commerce.

• Cape Coast, like other West African settlements, is a chaotic mixture of somewhat degenerate civilization and native crudity. • Rickety huts straggle under scattered palms up the face of a bluff, and then one finds the usual combination of glaring white walls, iron roofs, some of them painted red, smells, dust, and cotton-clad native loungers. • Its white traders are not a healthy class, and this is hardly to be wondered at. Work, for the sake of comparative coolness, commences soon after dawn, and continues, with an interlude at noon, when few white men can work at all, until dusk. If the temperature is trying under the open sky outside, it is almost worse in the partly darkened stores, where the stale air is heavy with the odours of superheated merchandise and the native customer. Each trader deals



in everything—palm-oil, skins and kernels, cotton goods, paints, ironware, and kerosene—and the result is a bouquet which is almost indescribable. The negro is usually crafty and always exuberant, while an African bargain is an interminable affair, so that the average day's work is a wearying one. Then, when darkness comes, there is no healthy amusement possible, and the tired agent can only play cards for stakes beyond his means in a stifling hotel, or lounge on the veranda risking fever at the touch of the land breeze.

Cape Coast is in the Fanti country, and the Fanti are, for negroes, an intelligent people. The phrase is used advisedly, because the inland races, with a mixed descent from Moor and Arab, are superior in many ways to the pure negro. Indeed, roughly speaking, the one partial civilization of Africa came from the east, and barbarism deepens through gradations as one approaches the west coast. Still, the Fanti, as well as their neighbours, the Accra, produce skilled carpenters, coopers, and gold-workers, while a few have taken a leading place in commerce and the learned professions. The whole question of negro advancement is full of surprises, for there are, perhaps, few races which learn more readily, while their weakness is rather instability of purpose than stupidity. Steadily, continuous labour they cannot understand, and the construction of the Sekondi railway has been hindered by this difficulty, while there is but one seaboard tribe, the Liberian Kroomen, whose powers of endurance may be depended on. These sturdy, good-humoured savages are everywhere in demand, and have played a leading part in the development of West Africa.

The Fanti are fine in physique, some, especially the women, even handsome and curiously light in colour. Once, so they tell, they dwelt inland, and the more enterprising Shanti on the less fruitful coast, until the latter drove them out, and now, seeing the advantage of trade, desire to go back again. They attire themselves chiefly in

a "piece of cotton"—white, blue, red, or yellow ; but instead of draping it over their shoulder, as those from the north do, fasten it with a twist-knot across the breast. The fine indigo-dyed country cloth from the Lagos hinterland, however, commands a higher price than any "blue-baft" made in Manchester.

Eastwards from Cape Coast, there is still the same succession of surf and bluff, tall palms and cotton-woods, until one reaches Accra, the capital. Accra stands on a low bluff above a long, straight beach, littered with surf-boats and Kroo cargo-men, while landing there is not always safe. There are the usual factories, heat, dust, and close-packed native dwellings, and the inevitable well-filled cemetery, but Accra bears the stamp of the metropolis, and its Customs regulations, as enforced by black clerks, are a terror to all comers. Generally speaking, the coloured official is a difficult person to deal with, and possesses a fine skill in the collection of small perquisites. Accra is the home of the native gold industry, which was known to Europeans centuries ago. Alluvial dust seems scattered throughout the colony, in the bed of the muddy rivers, yellow beaches, and even the streets of the towns, where, after torrential deluge or heavy surf, one may see the natives washing it. The percentage of metal is, however, small, though the total yield appears considerable. Accra craftsmen are famous for the production of artistic trinkets in virgin gold. The price used to be their weight in sovereigns, while how the native made a living did not appear. There are, however, trinkets which he will rarely sell : the mysterious aggri beads of a substance partly resembling amber dug out of the earth. No one knows how the aggri came there, and in spite of attempts to counterfeit them, they remain almost priceless.

Somewhere between the coast and the Kong reefs of surprising richness must lie hidden to account for the widespread alluvial ; and when the light locomotive reaches Kumasi we may expect developments. The Shanti have long been

rumoured to possess hoards of the precious metal, but if they know the secret of the reefs, they have guarded it well. At least a score of commercial companies are engaged in prospecting and regular mining, and though some are more or less successful with stock at a premium, none appear to have made their shareholders' fortune. Others have failed miserably. At present they struggle against the enormous transport difficulty, all machinery passing inland in small pieces, on the carrier's head, which it is said costs one company £50 a ton. Neither do all the small pieces invariably get through.

One of the most striking sights in Accra is a detachment of the Houssa constabulary, muscular Mahommedans from the Nigerian hinterland in crimson fez and blue serge uniform. All our troops in West Africa, with the exception of the West Indians, who are either Methodists or obiworshippers, are northern Moslem, for the seaboard peoples fall short in the matter of obedience, courage, and endurance. Hitherto there has never been a doubt of the Houssas' fighting qualities, and as their home once formed part of the Sokotan Sultanate, it is scarcely necessary to state that, in spite of their colour, they are not in the strict sense of the word negroes. Africa possesses an ancient history, and the Soudan has been invaded so many times from the north and east that they may spring from a combination of races, Phœnician, Roman, Moor, and Eastern Arab.

As seen from the sea, the Gold Coast is strikingly picturesque, but West African beauty partakes of the nature of the whited sepulchre. There can be no doubt that, though some Europeans actually thrive in it, the most part drag out sickly lives or die suddenly; for, besides the ever-present fevers, there is a bewildering list of other climatic ills. Of all our West African possessions, the Gold Coast seaboard should apparently be the most salubrious, but it has never proved itself so. In fact, proximity to the sea seems worse than an environment of steaming swamps. There are also many poisonous insect pests, red

and driver ants, centipedes, scorpions, venomous spiders, foot-eating jiggers, besides leeches and the loathsome Guinea worm. At sunset the land-breeze sets in hot and muggy, and dies before sunrise. Then there is generally a dead-still interlude, when the palm-fronds hang motionless, and the iron roofs crackle under the heat. Afterwards the slightly cooler sea-breeze drives a haze of spray ashore, so that the air is saturated with powdered brine, and every house reeks with moisture in spite of the temperature. Clothing cannot be kept free from mould, and most merchandise is packed in what does not prove to be impervious paper.

Beyond Accra the coast-line changes. The hills stretch back inland, and passing Pram-Pram, to which palm-oil barrels are rolled from the Volta country by hand at a cost which sometimes equals one pound the barrel, we reach the huge lagoons beside the Volta mouth. Unfortunately the river is shallow, and useless even for launches, except in the wet season, while the heavy surf and shifting bar preclude the construction of a harbour. Thus cargo coming down it is landed at Addah, and rolled across a wide strip of land for shipment through the breakers in open surf-boats. Next comes Jella Koffi, famous chiefly for its poultry, the toughest in the world, and leaving British territory, we pass on to the vast and partly unexplored lagoons of Dahomey.

The future of the Gold Coast colony is wrapped in more than usual uncertainty. That even without railroads its shipments of oil, kernels and timber will increase appears probable, while, with their extension, there would be a startling improvement. Rubber is doubtful. The trade has hitherto rapidly increased, but the supply cannot last for ever under present conditions. There is also always the possibility of surprising gold finds when the hinterland has been opened up, which may eclipse those of South Africa; but all this lies, as it were, in suspense waiting the advent of the locomotive. It is difficult to carry produce or machinery along

yielding bridges of cane, or wade under heavy burdens through endless swamps and fords, while the porter is subject to epidemics of sickness and mutiny. The Shanti nation may long remain a source of anxiety, for King Prempeh's tame submission was a surprise to many who knew his people. They are a warlike and enterprising race, while in case of a rising with one enthusiastic national purpose, it would be a very difficult matter to subdue them. No comments are made upon the present rebellion because before this article is published there will be lack of details.

This opens up the wide question of the white ruler's responsibility, and, whether high-handed measures did or did not offend the Shanti, it is apparently a fact that we deal in a somewhat arbitrary manner with the natives. Having seen them at work, the writer has the highest opinion of our West African officials ; indeed, he owes his existence to the care of one of those lately shut up in Kumasi. There is, however, rather much colour distinction, and we do not seem to have the gift of making personal friends of the black men which some of the Gallic officers possess. On the other hand, when it is a matter of methodical, conscientious observance of instructions in the face of heat, pestilence, or deluge, our representatives appear to be unequalled, though perhaps we move too much like a machine with cast-iron regulations, whose purport the native cannot understand. Still, in spite of brilliant examples, the black man is apparently not yet fitted to take a leading part in his own government, though it would possibly be well if his opinions were more frequently listened to. In Liberia, and to a lesser degree in Free Town, Sierra Leone, one sees native government run to seed, until it occasionally degenerates into a burlesque upon civilization. It generally goes ill with the European haled on some petty charge before the court at Free Town, where, if the coloured loafer revile him, the wise man answers not again. It is also certainly probable that if our troops were withdrawn, the Shanti and their northern friends would soon stamp out

such civilization as has been established upon the Gold Coast.

The seaboard races are traders born ; a few may become skilful mechanics, more commercial speculators, doctors, barristers, but they have not apparently either the virility or power of national organization to enable them to hold their own against savage foes. In this, at least, though they do not always recognise it, the presence of British military power is a bulwark and boon to them.

# WAS 'ABDU-R-RAHĪM THE TRANSLATOR OF BĀBAR'S MEMOIRS INTO PERSIAN ?

BY H. BEVERIDGE.

## II.

SINCE writing my article on this subject in this Review for July, I have received from the Keeper of the Alwar Palace Library a copy of the colophon to the manuscript of the Memoirs. It has been made by a native copyist, one Muḥammad Ibrāhīm of Delhi, and is more correct than my own. The two, however, agree in all important respects, such as the name of the writer, the date of writing, etc., and the only differences that need be noted are that the word in the first line, which I read as *تُرک*, *turk*, should be *تُرک*, *tuzak*—i.e., institutes—and that the first word in the third line from the end should be *بِیَد*, *ba yad*, “by hand,” and not *banda*, as I read it. The date, too, of the purchase of the manuscript by Rajah Bannī Singh is 1893 Samvat, and not 1853, and corresponds to 1836 A.D.

I have also received copies of the impressions on the seals. They agree with my copies, except that the date on Humāyūn's seal is now given as 912. This, however, is an impossible date, for Humāyūn was not born till 913; and I think that my reading, 942, must be correct. The impressions were smudged and difficult to read, and what I read as a 4 and the native copyist as a 1 might possibly be read as a 3 or a 6. The date on Akbar's two seals is 981, as given by me, and the words on them are *Allāh Akbar jal Jalāla*. A reference to Blochmann's translation of the Ain, p. 52, will show that Akbar used in the latter part of his reign a seal with such a device on it. The seal described there was quadrangular, whereas the seals on the Alwar manuscript are oval, or perhaps what Abul Fazl

calls *mahrabī*; but I do not think that this throws any doubt on their genuineness. Should any reader of this paper wish to see the copy of the colophon, etc., I shall have much pleasure in sending it to him.

But there is one great difficulty about accepting the evidence of the Alwar manuscript, and this is the occurrence therein of what may be called the shaving passage. It is the passage inserted by Humāyūn in his father's Memoirs, and which describes how he shaved himself for the first time when he was eighteen years of age. I mentioned the passage in my former article, but I confess that I failed to see its significance or to draw an inference from it. The passage occurs in all the Persian manuscripts of the Memoirs, and is thus translated by Erskine (pp. 302, 303): "At this same station and this same day, the razor or scissors were first applied to Humāyūn's beard. As my honoured father mentions in these commentaries the time of his first using the razor, in humble emulation of him I have commemorated the same circumstance regarding myself. I was then eighteen years of age. Now that I am forty-six, I, Muḥammad Humāyūn, am transcribing a copy of these Memoirs from the copy in his late Majesty's own handwriting." The Persian of this passage, as it appears in B. M. MS., Add. 26,200, and in Shīrāzī's imprint, will be found on pp. 444 and 445 of my wife's article in the R. A. S. J. for July last. Clearly, if the commonly-received reading and translation of the passage be correct, it could not have been written before 959 (1551-52), when Humāyūn, who was born in 913, would be forty-six, and consequently the Alwar manuscript, which contains the passage as part of its text, cannot have been written in 937. The colophon, therefore, which gives 937 as the date of the completion of the copy, must have been taken from some older manuscript and tacked on to the Alwar manuscript, and the latter cannot be in the handwriting of 'Alī al Kātib, who died about 950. The occurrence of the passage is also inconsistent with Humāyūn's seal of 942 ;



and if that is spurious, doubt is also thrown on the evidence derived from Akbar's seal of 981.

There is, however, a possible explanation, and it is supported by the Shīrāzī's imprint, which is founded on a manuscript in Udarpur Rajputana. As remarked by Mrs. Beveridge in her article, the passage in the Shīrāzī's or Bombay edition is confused and defective; but as it stands the meaning of it seems to me to be that the age of forty-six years refers to Bābar, and not to Humāyūn: "On that date he" (Humāyūn) "was eighteen, I" (Bābar) "might be in my forty-sixth year." Humāyūn, as is well known, wrote the passage in his father's name. He did not intend it—at all events, not the first clause—to be a marginal note, but to be an integral part of the text. He wrote, therefore, of himself in the third person, and added a note to explain why he did so. May not, then, the last clause, where the first person is used, refer to Bābar? If so, the statement is not absolutely correct, for Bābar, who was born in the first month of 888, was at the time of the entry in his forty-fifth, and not in his forty-sixth, year. But it is conceivable that Humāyūn might make a mistake of a year in calculating his father's age. The phrase *būda būsham*\* seems a curious mode of expressing the meaning "I am," and one would expect rather to find *manam*, or simply *bāsham*. *Būda būsham* belongs to what Platts (p. 179) calls the future perfect, and what Lumsden (ii. 308) calls the doubtful preterite. However, I do not wish to lay stress on this point, for the Persian Memoirs are a translation from the Turkī, and the Persian, according to Erskine, is not always idiomatic. The tense in question occurs in other passages, and seems to be indifferently used for past and present tense. Thus, at p. 178, line 4, of the Bombay edition we have *būda būshīm* used in the past tense. "When we came to Bhīra we were (*būda būshīm*), at most, 1,500 or 2,000 strong." Again, at p. 202, line 3, we have

\* Possibly he used the phrase "as a mark of doubtful predication" (Lumsden, *loc. cit.*).

the sentence, "Its acidity is (or may be) (*būda bāshad*) equal to that of the orange or lime." See also p. 204, line 9: "A nychthemeron is (*būda bāshad*) 3,600 *pals*." There are some curious differences in the manuscript versions of the shaving passage, which lead one to suppose that the passage is corrupt. Perhaps it is a translation from Humāyūn's Turkī. Thus, the important word *alḥāl*, الحَال, which undoubtedly indicates Humāyūn, is wanting in several manuscripts, and has the appearance of having been inserted by a copyist in order to make the meaning clear. It does not occur in the old and splendid MS. Or. 3714, No. 75, of Rieu's Supplement, nor in the Shīrāzī or Bombay edition, nor in the Alwar manuscript, if my copy be correct. On the other hand, it occurs in the old MSS. B. M., Add. 26,200, and 16,623. It will be observed that the Bombay edition has *Makḥdūmī* instead of *Marḥūmī* as the epithet of Bābar, which might almost imply that Humāyūn wrote the note while his father was still alive. The form *Makḥdūmī*, however, does not occur in any manuscript that I am acquainted with, though Erskine's translation, "honoured father," would seem to imply that he had read the word as *Makḥdūmī*, but it is *Marḥūmī* in his Add. 26,200. There is one slight difference in the manuscripts near the beginning of the passage. Most read *ustura yā miqraz*, but the Bombay edition and one or two manuscripts have *ba* instead of *ya*, and this I believe to be the correct reading. The meaning is that Humāyūn applied both the razor and the scissors to his face. It does not appear that *miqraz* is ever used as a synonym for *ustura*. In Ilminsky's Turkī edition (p. 340), and in Pavet de Courteille's translation therefrom (II. 159), nothing is said about Humāyūn's being forty-six, and the date of writing is given as 961. The passage in Ilminsky is marked with asterisks, implying, apparently, that Kehr's manuscript was defective or doubtful.

I have applied to the authorities at Udaipur and Alwar for correct copies of the shaving passage. Should they not

confirm the Bombay reading, I think we must conclude that the Alwar manuscript was not written in 937, and that the colophon has been taken from some older manuscript. But even if this is so, the colophon is still interesting, and is a fact that has to be explained away if we accept the story of 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's being the translator. Possibly the fact may be that 'Ali al Kātib made the Persian copy in 937, and that some unknown copyist afterwards transcribed his copy in the reign of Humāyūn or Akbar. It has been suggested to me that 'Ali al Kātib copied the Turkī, and that the colophon refers to this. But we do not know that 'Ali al Kātib knew Turkī, and as he was a Shia and a native of Mashhad, it does not appear likely that he did.

It is a curious fact that, according to the colophon to the B. M. Add. 26,200, which is the very copy used by Erskine for his translation, this copy appears to have been made in 987. I say "appears," because, though the word *ṣamānīn* is clear enough, it seems to be in a different handwriting from the *nuhsad ū haft*, and one does not see why the Arabic for 80 should follow the Persian for 900 and 7. Probably this is the reason why Dr. Rieu has not noticed the date in his account of the manuscript (Catalogue, i. 244b). But the latest decade after 900 and 7 is 90; and even if we suppose that *ṣamānīn* was originally *tašāūn*, of which there is no indication whatever, the first two syllables of *ṣamānīn* being perfectly clear, the date would be 997, or one year before 'Abdu-r-raḥīm is said to have made the presentation copy of his translation to Akbar (see "Akbar-nāma," Bib. Ind. ed., iii. 570). It is not likely that, if 'Abdu-r-raḥīm was the real translator, he would allow a copy to be made by an unknown person a year before he formally presented his translation to Akbar. Besides, if 'Abdu-r-raḥīm really was the translator, how comes it that we have no colophon or preface recording the fact?\*

\* The statements by Abul Fazl about 'Abdu-r-raḥīm being the translator occur in the "Akbar-nāma," i. 118, iii. 570, Bib. Ind. ed., and in Blochmann's "Ain," p. 105.

As stated in my first paper, there is another note to the *Mémoires* which is ascribed to Humāyūn. This is given in Erskine (p. 329), and occurs in Bābar's description of the fruits of India. The note does not occur in any of the Persian manuscripts, and apparently in only one of the Turkī manuscripts, viz., that known as the Elphinstone manuscript. We have Erskine's statement, dated Christmas Day, 1848, to the effect that the manuscript is in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates, and this is corroborated by a passage in a letter from Mountstuart Elphinstone to Erskine, dated September 23, 1816, and published in his life by Colebrooke, where Elphinstone says that the Advocates' Library would be a good place for the Turkī manuscripts. But unfortunately the manuscript is not now forthcoming. In Shaikh Zain's paraphrase the word *amrat* is written *amrūd*, i.e., the guava, and which also appears under the form *amrūt*. I am therefore inclined to think that the fruit referred to by Bābar, and which is the subject of the note ascribed to Humāyūn, is the guava, more especially as the guava is not mentioned elsewhere by Bābar, in his account of the Indian fruits.

In my first article I have spoken of 937 as being thirty years before 'Abdu-r-raḥīm was born. I should have said twenty-seven years, for he was born in 964. In the same article I appear to have underrated 'Abdu-r-raḥīm's acquirements as a Turkī scholar, for in Hawkins's "Voyages," edited for the Hakluyt Society by Markham, Hawkins tells us (p. 399) that he had a three hours' interview with the Khān Khānān, i.e., 'Abdu-r-raḥīm, at Burhānpur, and "the language that we spoke was Turkish, which he spoke very well." But, of course, the ability to carry on a conversation with Hawkins, who presumably learnt his Turkish in the Levant, and the ability and inclination to translate Bābar's *Memoirs*, are two different things.

With regard to the note in Dr. Sprenger's catalogue of the Elliot manuscripts, noticed in my first article, I now think that what Dr. Sprenger is referring to is a note which

appears at the end of Shaikh Zain's translation of Bābar's account of the productions of India. He there says that he has taken down exactly what the Emperor said. This note appears in B. M. Or. 1999, in the middle of the volume, and perhaps it may be considered that the manuscript consists of two works—one, the description of the conquest of India, *Fatūḥāt-i-Hind*, and the other a partial translation of the Memoirs for the years following the conquest, and to be styled the *Tārīkh* or *Tabaqāt Bābarī*.

It is known that there is another translation of Bābar's Memoirs, and that there are copies of it in the British Museum, the India Office, and the Bodleian. The authors of this translation were Mīrzā Payinda Ḥasan Ghaznavī and Muḥammad Qulī Ḥiṣārī. The first-named person translated about seven years of the Memoirs in 994, and then the translation was continued by Muḥammad Qulī. Evidently, however, he had a very imperfect Turkī manuscript to work from, for he states that only the events of seventeen years were translated, and that nineteen were left unwritten. Payinda made his translation for Bahrūz Khān, commonly known as Naurang Khān, and a son of the Quṭbuddīn, who was a brother of Shamsuddīn Atka, and was put to death by Muzaffar of Gūjrat in 1583 A.D. Muḥammad Qulī apparently continued the translation at the orders of the same Naurang Khān, but I think, though his preface is hard to understand, that he describes himself as a servant of Akbar as well as of Naurang.

#### NOTE.

It may, perhaps, be objected that the famous 'Alī al Kātib is generally styled Mīr 'Alī al Kātib. But I do not suppose that he would call himself Mīr; and, moreover, in a list of specimens of calligraphy exhibited in 1897 at the Eleventh Oriental Congress (B. M., 011899 E 2) mention is made of some by 'Alī al Kātib, and belonging apparently to the sixteenth century. Mr. Blochmann was of opinion that Mīr 'Alī died in 924 A.H., but this has been shown by Dr. Rieu to be a mistake. Blochmann apparently took his date from the *Mīrāt Jahānnama*, which says (B. M. MS. Or. 1998, p. 250a) that Mīr 'Alī was a native of Herāt, though brought up in

Mashhad, and that he went to Transoxania in 920, and died there in 924 A.H. See Blochmann's note 6 to p. 102 of his 'Ain translation.

With reference to the Armenian Aghā Mirzā, who copied the famous Alwar copy of the Gulistān, it is interesting to observe that he is mentioned in Saiyid Aḥmad's book on Delhi, called the Aṣar-i-Ṣanādīd, among the calligraphers of Delhi. See p. 120, article Aghā Ṣaḥīb, where he is described as a pupil of Saiyid Muḥammad Amīr. At Alwar I was told that the Armenian was converted to Islam by a Delhi Muḥammadan known as Panjakashī, or the Wrestler. •

# QUARTERLY REPORT ON SEMITIC STUDIES AND ORIENTALISM.

BY PROF. DR. EDWARD MONTET.

## GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

AMONGST the works of a general class relating to Orientalism and Semitic studies we may point out that of W. von Zehender on the Congress of Religions at Chicago ("Die Weltreligionen auf dem Columbia-Congress von Chicago").\* This is an interesting summary of the works introduced at this remarkable assembly. With respect to this publication, it would not be out of place to observe the general characteristic of the last years of the nineteenth century regarding religion and religious instruction: this result has been accomplished from studying and presenting Christianity in its relations with other religions—religions of the past and present. The most important endeavour in this sense was made at the Congress of Chicago in 1893. A similar endeavour, though different from the former, as it will be confined to the historical aspect, will be made this year at the Congress of the History of Religions at Paris.† It is not only on scientific grounds that Christianity is studied in its relations to other religions in learned assemblies, but it is also the same in the religious press. During last May the American Unitarian Association met at Boston, where not only were represented a considerable number of Churches belonging to the five parts of the globe, from Europe to Japan and the Indies, but also Churches of various dispositions and characters, including those of the Jewish communities. In short, in one of the principal English religious journals (*The Inquirer*) there appeared, during May and June of this year, some very interesting articles from the pen of Professor Carpenter on the religions of the Old World and those of mankind at the present time in their relations to the religion of Israel and the religion of Jesus.

The *doyen* of the Faculty of Protestant Theology of Paris, Mr. A. Sabatier, has lately published an original study on "L'Apocalypse juive et la philosophie de l'histoire."‡ In it he upholds the genuine argument that the Apocalypses are essays on the philosophy of history. "With Constantine," the author writes, "the first period of the philosophy of history, the Apocalyptic period is closed; a second commences, the theological period. This opens with a *chef d'œuvre*, and closes with another. The first is the 'Cité de Dieu,' by St. Augustin; the second, the 'Discours sur l'histoire universelle,' by Bossuet."

We have to draw the attention of our readers to an important work

\* Gotha, Perthes, 1900.

† We shall give an account of this Congress in the next number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review*.

‡ Paris, Durlacher, 1900.

relating to one of the most important and attractive religions of the ancient Orient, and later of Imperial Rome: the religion of Mithras. Under the title of "Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra," vol. i., Introduction,\* Mr. F. Cumont has written a true and critical history of Mithracism from its most remote origin in Persia up to its disappearance in the fourth century of the Christian era.

We may be allowed, by right of curiosity, to announce an interesting study by Harnack on the Irenical fragments, called the fragments of Pfaff.† Irene was not a Hebraist, and the etymologies which he gives of Hebrew names of the Old Testament are fanciful; but one will forgive this digression by the author of these Reports, who has of old studied Irene and his legend.‡ According to Harnack ("Die Pfaff'schen Irenaeus-Fragmente als Fälschungen Pfaff's nachgewiesen"),§ and the explanation which he gives is acute and concise, the self-styled fragments of Irene discovered by Pfaff in the Library of Turin are spurious. The chief argument given by Harnack is that the manuscripts from which these fragments have been extracted do not exist. This argument, as may be seen, is decisive.

#### THE OLD TESTAMENT—HISTORY OF ISRAEL.

Under the title of "Israel's Messianic Hope to the Time of Jesus,"|| Professor Goodspeed gives an interesting sketch of the religious development of the people of Israel. This essay is, at the same time, a judicious chrestomathy of the classical texts of the Old Testament.

We have to recommend a French translation of the Psalms, which possesses a genuine scientific value, and the existence of which we have only lately become aware of. This work is due to a Catholic priest, M. Flament,¶ who has adopted the metrical style of Bickell. It is a critical translation of the most advanced criticism.

Euringer has published an interesting study on the interpretation of the Song of Solomon in the Ethiopian Church.\*\* On the testimony of Bruce, the celebrated traveller, at the end of the eighteenth century, it was believed that the Abyssinians considered the Song of Solomon as a work of Solomon, composed in praise of the daughter of Pharaoh; this evidence appeared to be confirmed by the opinion of Theodore of Mopsueste—Syrian influences having acted on the Ethiopian translators—in such a way that the Ethiopian Church had ignored or rejected the allegorical interpretation of the Song. Euringer shows that the Ethiopian version of the Song contains some traces of allegorical interpretation; that it may be

\* Brussels, Lamertain, 1899. Vol. ii. includes the texts, inscriptions, etc., and appeared in 1896.

† *Vide* these fragments in the edition of the works of St. Irene by Stieren, vol. i., from p. 847 (Leipzig, Weigel, 1853).

‡ E. Montet, "La légende d'Irénée et l'introduction du Christianisme à Lyon," Geneva, Schuchardt, 1880.

§ "Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der alt-christlichen Literatur," N.F., V. 3, Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1900.

|| New York, Macmillan and Co., 1900.

¶ "Les Psaumes traduits en français sur le texte hébreu," Paris, Blond, 1898.

\*\* "Die Auffassung des Hohenliedes bei den Abessinern," Leipzig, Hinrichs, 1900.



recognised also in the glosses of this translation and in several Ethiopian writings; and that, finally, it is the only exegesis of the Song which the Abyssinians of the present day are acquainted with.

In the *Journal of Biblical Literature* (1900) Haupt has published a very interesting article on the Babylonian elements in the Levitic ritual. The following are the principal conclusions at which he arrives: (1) The indication of the Divine will from which an oracle is derived is termed *tertu*; this word is identical with the Ethiopic *temhért* (instruction), as well as with Hebrew תורה, while Aram אריתא and Ethiopic *brt* correspond to the Assyrian byform of *tertu*, viz., *urtu*. (2) The Hebrew term ברית (covenant) is identical with the Babylonian *hiritu*, which is derived from the same stem as *barû* (diviner). ברית seems to be a Babylonian loan-word, just as תורה and the original meaning of ברית may have been *oracle*. (3) The comparative study of the ante-Islamic religion of the Arabs undoubtedly throws much light on certain forms of ancient Israelitish worship; but if we wish to trace the origin of the later Jewish ceremonial of the Priestly Code, we must look for it in the cuneiform ritual texts of the Assyro-Babylonians.

#### THE TALMUD.

The fine and scientific edition of the Talmud of Babylon (text and translation) published by L. Goldschmidt has been enriched by a new fascicle, containing the first portion of the treatise "Pesahim."\* A eulogium of this publication is unnecessary. The editors have inserted in this last fascicle an interesting notice which is not without piquancy. This notice relates to an edition of the Talmud of Babylon, with a French translation by Jean de Pavly, which we mentioned without any comments in our report for July, 1899. If the writers of this notice are to be believed, the edition of the Talmud of Pavly† is only a *utilization* of the edition of the Talmud of Jakob Scheftel, which appeared at Berditschew in 1895. Jean de Pavly had purchased a great many copies of the Talmudic text edited by Scheftel, and had added to each treatise an introduction and an epitome of the translation, forming in all not more than 214 pages of print; the paging in the Scheftel edition commencing anew with each treatise—this artifice—that is, if the facts are exact, was easily carried out. We are reluctant to believe that it is so, and for the honour of science we shall be pleased with a complete contradiction.

#### ASSYRIOLOGY.

The "Keilinschriftliche Bibliothek," published under the direction of Mr. Schrader, has been enriched with a new volume, "Assyrisch-babylonische Mythen und Epen," by Jensen.‡ This volume, of which we have but the first part, contains some celebrated texts (with translation and commentary): the account of the Creation and the descent to the Sheol of Istar, etc.

This work gives us the opportunity to go back to another volume of the

\* Berlin, Calvary, 1900.

† Orleans, Fourniquet, 1900.

‡ Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1900.

same collection, one which contains the famous letters of Tell-el-Amarna (ed. Winckler, Berlin, 1896). In a lecture given at Paris at the Lutheran Conferences in May last, M. Philippe Berger, professor of the Collège de France and member of the Institute, has affirmed that the tablets of Tell-el-Amarna inform us that 150 years before Moses the Hebrews besieged Jerusalem. One feels the graveness of this assertion and the discredit which it throws upon Biblical documents. But as we have shown in a study that we have recently published on "les Israelites en Egypte,"\* there is no occasion to speak, with respect to the sojourn of Israel on the banks of the Nile, of the documents of Tell-el-Amarna if the Habiri of these texts were Hebrews. But nothing is less certain than this identification, so that the capture of Jerusalem, to which fragment 185 (ed. Winckler) makes a vague allusion, remains enigmatical. At the Congress of Orientalists at Rome in 1899, discussion on this question showed how still more obscure it was. We have just learnt that Professor Kautzsch, one of the masters of the science of the Old Testament, refuses absolutely to recognise in the Habiri of the cuneiform inscription Hebrews or Israelites.

#### ARABIC AND ISLAM.

We have the pleasure to announce at the commencement of this paragraph the publication of the last part of the grammar of Sibawaihi, edited by Jahn,† *denique tandem!* This important work is finally complete.

The fourth volume of the admirable bibliography of Arabic works, or works relating to the Arabs, by V. Chauvin, has appeared since our last report. This volume is devoted to the "Thousand and One Nights," first part.‡ A eulogium of this work is unnecessary. The very deep erudition and most trustworthy critical insight are its greatest characteristics. Nothing is more interesting than the contents of this new volume. After an introduction ("Essays and Researches upon the Collection of the 'Thousand and One Nights'"), the author gives a very detailed and analytical bibliography of the texts (Habicht, manuscripts, Oriental editions) and translations. Galland's version, with its several editions and the numerous translations which have been made, occupy the place of honour in Chauvin's bibliography. Following the enumeration and the description of other translations (Burton, Habicht, Von Hammer, Lane, etc.) comes finally the examination of collections analogous to that of the "Thousand and One Nights" ("The Hundred Nights," "The Thousand and One Days," etc.). The volume ends with a series of tables (translations, editions of the text, manuscripts, analogous collections) most valuable to Arabists and all who desire to thoroughly study this inexhaustible subject.

We must besides mention an interesting article by V. Chauvin, which appeared in the *Centralblatt für Bibliothekswesen*,§ on the sources of the

\* *Le Progrès religieux*, Geneva (July 28, 1900).

† Berlin, Reuther und Reichard, 1900 (2 vols. in 8vo). Vol. i., xviii, 385 and 321 pages; vol. ii., xvi, 903 and 552 pages.

‡ Liège, Vaillant-Carmanne, 1900.

• § Leipzig, Harrassowitz, July, 1900.

"Palmbblätter" of Herder and Liebeskind. These celebrated tales were especially copied, with a few modifications, from Blanchet, Cardonne, Sauvigny, and some English essayists, who have copied the style of Oriental tales. Thus, one sees that this study is connected with the Arabic bibliography of Chauvin. The "Palmbblätter" have been translated many times into French. On the subject of one of these translations, a Catholic author\* has written the following appreciation, which deserves, for the sake of its oddness, being quoted: "This work is a collection of fables translated from the German of Herder, president of the Ecclesiastical Consistory. Although emanating from a corrupt source, Muhammadanism, and introduced by an inimical hand, that of a Protestant, this book may be placed without danger in the hands of Catholic youth." Charming, is it not? This paragraph is a real bijou.

On the occasion of the Exhibition of Paris, E. Douffé has published an excellent manual on Islam in general and the Islam of Algeria in particular.† Therein the author discusses, with the great competency which he has shown in his former publications, the dogmas, worship, law of Islam, the rites or schools, the Islamizing of minor Africa (the Khārijites), the worship of saints, mysticism and mystic associations, the religious brotherhoods of Algeria, religious ceremonies, superstitions, religious edifices, and official Islam of Algeria, etc. One of the most interesting chapters (in the Appendix) is devoted to Mussulman sciences in the Algerian *madrasas* and to Islam in the superior schools of Algiers. We cannot recommend too much this little work, which is very precise, clear, and well got up, for the initiation of the general public to a true knowledge of Islam.

The fifth volume of the French translation of the "Thousand and One Nights," by Mardrus,‡ has lately been published. We have already remarked the special character of this work, a character which shows itself, if possible, still more in this new volume; it is impossible to have in this regard but one opinion among men of science.

There remains to be pointed out in the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* (vol. xxii., part 4) an interesting article upon the Syrian desert ("Beiträge zur Kenntniss der syrischen Steppe").

Finally we mention a small work of some value by Procksch on blood-feuds amongst the Arabs before the time of Muhammad, and on the position taken up by the Prophet in regard to this ancient custom.§

\* "La Bibliographie catholique," ii. 171.

† "L'Islam algérien en l'an 1900," Algiers, Giralt, 1900.

‡ Paris, editions of the *Revue Blanche*, 1900.

§ "Ueber die Blutrache bei den vorislamischen Arabern und Mohammeds Stellung zu ihr," Leipzig, Teubner, 1899.

## A FEW REMARKS CONCERNING A NEW EDITION OF THE GÂTHAS.

BY PROFESSOR LAWRENCE MILLS, D.D., OXFORD.

THE moral claim of the Gâthas upon our attention and our sympathy is very peculiar. After such remarks as were made about the old edition of 1892-94\* in the *Critical Review* of January, 1896 (which I have elsewhere recalled for an obvious purpose), it may be regarded as settled that these hymns occupy almost a unique place in the development of religiously philosophical ideas. The author of those sentences was indeed a Zendist, but it is evident from their tone that he preferred to speak for the moment as if from the outside, and as one of the deeply-interested lookers-on. And so understood, his opinions are of wider bearing, for he seems to speak for others.

Specialists upon this most severe of Aryan subjects may, then, enjoy one further solid satisfaction in feeling that they have been working on a lore the interest of which is acknowledged by intelligent people to be second to none in a religious sense. One deterrent element alone is present. It is this: The mass of its ostensible disciples is not numerically great, like the throngs who worship Buddha. If the Gâthic lore is "the most precious relic of Oriental religion" in the mind of a sober judge, the specialists who have mined in its depths have, at least, effected a certain practical result. But here comes in, as ever, a difficulty. The same writer who expresses so evidently his own strong personal conviction adds a remark which seems to modify what he had just let pass from his pen. He spoke of the "differences between Zendists" as to their renderings. If differences of such a character exist, may they not in so far mar the moral effect of the fragments that they cannot benefit the lay mind? If so, one very prominent object which I have in view in re-editing the verbatim and metrical translations from the larger book will be entirely frustrated.

I have been deeply touched by a note from a superior young Parsi in Hong Kong, who wrote (in passing) that during his "holy days" (the chief sacred seasons of his religion) he had been reading the metrical versions (from my book), much as we read our Bible. But if the differences between specialists are so great, may he not have received the "evangelical compunction" from sentences which would be differently rendered by other scholars? And if so, may not all the impressions which have been made upon him prove illusory? I have re-edited and annotated (*sic*) the verbatims† and metricals largely with a special intention to prove that such would not be the case. The differences in opinion which prevail among specialists

\* The first edition appeared in 1894, and is exhausted, only leaving a very few copies reserved for private purposes.

† Verbatims this time in English.

need not have such an unhappy effect. It may be said of the Gâthas, as it may be said of all religious works of the kind (such as, for instance, the Psalms), that, differ as we may on matters important to linguistic critics, it is impossible to either destroy or seriously to modify their devotional effect as a whole.

Perhaps, and for reasons which I have already once explained in earlier numbers of this Review, what I have just said is more positively the case with regard to the Gâthas than with reference to any similar compositions of antiquity. The close linguistic questions as to etymology and syntax, and the philological questions as to definite points in the meaning, are more severe than in the case of other known works of their description; but there is an especial reason why the main drift (which is what we need for personal religious edification) not only is not obscure in them, but it also *cannot* possibly be *made* obscure, for reasons given elsewhere.\*

The mass of the sentences consist of unmistakable terms which positively exclude all casts of meaning except those of one character—so much so that readers who prefer the poetic changes of the Rk or the Yashts accuse the Gâthas of monotony. A Parsi who wishes to refresh his personal religious life as to “thought, as to word, and as to deed,” cannot avoid strong and searching sentences at every strophe, which, when turned into prayers for an edifying purpose, leave little to be desired. When a man prays for the “prizes of the bodily life and for that of mind,” declares that he “knows the rewards of God for actions,” prays for “all deeds done in accordance with the law,” and pleads “O Asha (Angel of the Holy Truth), when shall I see thee?” it is difficult to suggest how he could express himself more searchingly; and when he anticipates the “Judge’s Bridge” and the moment when the saints shall “unite in the good abode of heaven,” he surely possesses a system for practical religious supplication which is as complete as any. The Gâthas, aside from the three texts of the Asiatic commentaries, are indeed not extensive; but do they lose anything by that (in their effect as formulas for religious devotion)? Do the Psalms always gain from their numbers, or the Rks from their “machine” additions? Beyond any reasonable doubt the Gâthas were once as numerous as the Psalms themselves, though never so many as the Rks. But my question now is as to their present use. And I most fully believe (deriving no small satisfaction from the conviction) that any fair presentation of the Gâthas among the Parsis will be of great spiritual benefit.

In the “Commentary on the Gâthas,” pp. 394–622, as well as throughout in the Latin verbatims, I endeavour, as always, to give the various differing opinions of the ancients and moderns and continue this in the present book; but here I restrict my report more to differences which bear upon the devotional element, and, as I have said, it is surprising how few they are. My last versions have, of course, the advantage of being in English, and otherwise the only ones of their particular kind as yet in the field, and I devoutly hope they may have a practical religious effect until someone else may provide editions still more acceptable.

\* See the former articles in this Review by the present writer.

Surely the fact that the Parsis do not number more than they do should not turn our interest into indifference. I for one am much moved to hear that they are all thinking of bringing their practical doctrinal standards more and more into line with the Gâthas rather than with the richly-coloured but pagan Yashts and other portions of the later Avesta. If it be true that this tendency exists among this deeply-interesting people, they will certainly be a community professing one of the purest forms of religion that has ever been developed from the soul of man.

## BRITISH LAND POLICY IN INDIA (AS REGARDS LANDLORDS).

BY B. H. BADEN-POWELL, M.A., C.I.E.

By the term "landlord" tenures we mean to separate that class of larger land-ownerships in which the estate extends (or previous to partition did extend) over many villages, and sometimes over several thousands of acres; and they are held by some "Zamindār" or Talukdār, once a chief, or a State lessee of the territory.\*

It is the interesting fact that the whole of such tenures—in whatever part of India, and however much they are now impoverished—are all the product or result of a series of changes which are uniform in tendency, though locally various in their incidents according to circumstances.

The landlord tenures *as they now exist* are solely the creation of British law and administration. But the creation was brought about by determinate antecedent conditions and factors.

In the old customary and written law of India, such a being as a private freehold owner of land (in the English sense) did not exist. I mean that a "landlord" who can sell, mortgage, and bequeath his estate, or any part of it; who deals with his "tenants" solely on the basis of contract; who disposes of his land in building plots, market-garden allotments, or in tenant-farms at competitive rates and according to his own ideas of profit, has no place in the ancient Indian idea of land-holding.

We can discern, on the contrary, two distinct forms of interest in land, and the two could, and often did, coexist: (1) There was a direct, hereditary right of possession and cultivation based on the right by "occupation" and first-clearing, and making the holding fit for the plough.

\* It goes without saying, that we do not speak about purely modern proprietorships of waste land, etc., depending on conveyance and grant and sale by modern law, and having no history behind them.

(2) There was the right of an "overlord," who might be (without intermediary) the Rājā himself, or might be some vassal chief, some grantee or later transferee; or, again, he might be any local chief settled by conquest or adventure by force of his own right hand, and not connected with any larger kingdom.\* The overlord right consisted essentially in a right to *take a share in the produce of all cultivated land*—a share at first fixed by custom, and not liable to alter at will. It included various other well-understood privileges, such as the right to keep a certain portion of land as a special holding (*sīr*, *gharkhed*, etc.), the right to "improve" the waste, to take tolls and transit dues on merchandise, and often to have (unpaid) labour or service for so many days (*begār*).

This "overlord" right, in the course of time, was granted or assigned; was taken from a local chief, and claimed by a conqueror or suzerain, in which case its exercise was often retransferred to the old chief in a new capacity, or was farmed out.

How did such a direct possessor come to be regarded as a "tenant"—by no means always of a privileged class? and how did the overlord become an "actual proprietor" of the land? How did he come to grow and change, so that most provinces have had to recognise him as a "landlord"—not, indeed, with all the features of an English freeholder, but still with a kind of title not traceable in *old* law or custom?

The interest or practical value to the student of India, which such a question possesses, consists in the variety of answers which will be given in different places, according to their geographical, racial, and historic peculiarities; and that variety will nevertheless include a certain uniformity of result. In each different case some train of incidents happened, which developed and modified the overlord right,

\* For politeness' sake, we will avoid adding, otherwise than in a note, that he might often be a captain of banditti, or a robber tribe on the frontier.



and reduced the position of the original cultivators, so as to turn the one into "landlord," the other into "tenant."

Here we will think of the landlord side: sometimes the process of growth was more or less obscure, sometimes it was rapid and, indeed, arbitrarily effected. The policy of Government (for example, that of Lord Cornwallis in 1793) had determined that a landlord (with certain legal duties and privileges) must be found for each group of lands; and then if there was no native magnate or chief, or contractor claiming a definite interest, the position of local landlord was *conferred* on almost anyone—a district officer of the native régime, a local head of a colonist group, etc.—who seemed to be capable of acting as landlord, and being responsible for the revenue.

But in many more cases the steps of the process are quite evident. Take an example (also from Bengal):\* We find a certain territory known as an old native "rāj." The local chronicles have preserved a story of how, a thousand years ago, two noble parents made a pilgrimage from some distant home with an infant child. Misfortune overtook them, they perished, and the child was found in the forest by a Brahmin hermit and brought up. He became a noble Rājā, and was raised to the possession of the territory in question. Then fiction passes into real fact: the "rāj" (never of any great extent) and its Ruler are existent, and the genealogy of a long line of Rājās is preserved. About the fourteenth century (say) the Moslem Governor asserts his dominion, and the Rājā pays an occasional tribute, but remains in a somewhat doubtful position. But the Bengal Moslem kingdom was never secure from revolts, and the annals tell us how, one propitious day, the Rājā arose with his bowmen, and his long-maned horses, and his black elephants; how the earth trembled and the skies resounded. The Moslems are attacked, and the result is loss on both sides. After a time, however, peace is made, and the Rājā has accepted a "treaty" or a "grant" (as

\* The reality of the story will at once be recognised.

either party respectively views it), and a regular tribute is agreed to. But then come the days of the more irresistible Mughal rule, and the Rājā has to make further submission. His political "rule" is at an end. His "title" is a matter of the Emperor's favour; he is left in possession. He still administers justice to his Hindu subjects; he still takes toll and transit dues. But the resources of his territory from a revenue point of view have been gauged by the Imperial officers, and he has to accept a regular appointment as "Zamindār," holding a "charge" on behalf of the Empire. Perhaps his dignity is flattered by the grant of titles and insignia; in any case, he accepts the inevitable, rather glad of the peace and security in which he now lives. He is obliged, no doubt, to attend (or his agents for him) pretty closely to land management; he must extend the tillage, locate new tenants, buy this plot and sell that, as he never would have done while a territorial ruler. But time passes, and (say) about 1780 a British Collector is now in power, and renews the "Zamindāri" warrant; and now the payment is frankly an assessed revenue, and the "rāj" is a landed estate liable to sale if default is made. Alas! such default soon occurs, and part of the territory is cut off, sold, and (as a separate Zamindāri) passes into other hands. At last comes the Permanent Settlement, and the Rājā is confirmed as the "actual proprietor" of what lands he has retained. The Government manages the police; it has taken over the administration of justice, it has abolished the transit dues and most of the tolls. The Rājā has become a "landlord," and his assessment is fixed in perpetuity; moreover, his relations with the "tenants" before long come into discussion, and are regulated by law.

I will not stop to point out that the Mughal conquest and the "Zamindāri" charge were the critical steps in the change.

Many similar pictures, but with much varied detail, could be drawn. The point for immediate notice is that in this

(Bengal) illustration the process of change has been absolute and complete.

But we are not only able to trace such processes by aid of local history in other parts, but to find cases where the *transition has only partly been accomplished*; or, on the other hand, where the necessary preliminaries, of one kind or another, have never been completed, and the would-be superior *has failed to command recognition as "landlord."*

I have long been engaged in collecting illustrations of these processes from various parts of India. During the year 1899 I was permitted to publish (in sections) in this Review, one of these essays on the development of landlord and analogous tenures; and I chose one that seemed particularly curious, and relating to an interesting corner of Western India. There were local chiefships, but all of them were more or less reduced, shaped, and altered under the successive rule of the Sultans, the Emperor, the Mahrāthas, and finally under the Bombay Government.\*

But Gujarāt is a very peculiar country. Its geographical position at once attracted, and made possible, the invasion and settlement of a series of foreign dynasties and tribes. Its historical materials are (for an Indian country) singularly perfect. Inscriptions, copper-plate records, Jaina chronicles, the annals of the bards, besides the narratives of more than one Moslem historian, and many later reports and books,† enable us to trace a number of curious and often romantic particulars about the native "baronies" and chieftaincies—how they were managed and how they were treated.

\* On this essay Mr. A. Rogers has commented in a paper published in this Review (April, 1900), pp. 391-394. Of course I did not include the *Khot* tenures of the South Konkan; they are not connected in any way with Gujarāt. Nor did I mention the Gujarāt coparcenary tenure known as *bhāgdāri* and *narwadāri*, because these are essentially *village* tenures, or of a class not included in my survey. They are fully described in my book on "The Indian Village Community."

† To which Mr. A. Rogers' "History of the Land Revenue in Bombay" (two volumes) is a valuable addition.

Now, one of the results of history is that the whole country (as far as it was occupied at all) is found to have been rapidly, in medieval and still later times, covered over by a network of chiefships or domains of one class or another.\* These are easily called "Rājput"; but they are almost all of clans *quite unknown in any other part* of India.

And different races sometimes affected different parts. The Koli, for instance, seem always to have preferred the less accessible "jungly" tracts. We find Koli chiefs' estates in the north-east corner of Ahmadābād and in the south-east part of Kaira (to keep the popular spelling) along the Mahi River.

Another very important result is that neither the Sultans nor the Mughal Emperors (and their deputies) nor the Mahrāthas were ever able to thoroughly conquer, administer, and assimilate the whole country—right across, I mean, from (say) Kachh to Dohad and the Rewakantha. They conquered partially, fitfully, and no more. The consequence is interesting. Oudh, too, was (to a large extent) covered by a network of Rājput estates and Rājās' demesnes; but in time all were completely reduced by the Mughal Empire, whatever disturbances afterwards occurred in days of decline and weakness. And so all the Rājās, etc., uniformly became subject Talukdārs, and subsequently "landlords." All are on the same footing, with the same law and the same legal designation. In Gujarāt, the conquest being imperfect, the result was far otherwise. Moslem authority was concentrated on the rich plain country around Ahmadābād (the capital) and Kaira, and some other parts of the plain country, including the sea-board districts (Broach and Surat). In the regularly administered territory the "chiefs," of whatever kind, if they were not annihilated outright, were not only steadily subjected and reduced—all

\* It will be enough to say in a note that there were sometimes ruler-ships of Rājās and Thākurs; sometimes vassal baronies; sometimes estates granted to cadets and others.

territorial rule and independence being taken away, and the chiefs made (of course hereditary) Talukdars; they were often deprived of a large part of their land, and left to enjoy only certain “wāntā,” or fragments. But even in this tract the process was not quite uniform in effect. As we approach the more distant, hilly, and rough tracts of the province, we find the administrative “circulation” less active than nearer the heart. The estates there (as I have mentioned) held by Koli chiefs, and afterwards known as “Mewāsi,” were left more alone,\* and to this day have secured some “revenue” advantages in consequence.

But in the rest of the country another and distinct result followed. In Kāthiāwār, Pālanpur, Mahikāntha, etc., there are chiefships and baronies of *exactly the same description* (with whatever difference of race and family); but these did not become Talukdari or Mewāsi estates. They remained (what I have distinguished as) “political” estates. Partly reduced they were; they had to pay a tribute now and again, and, as events have shown, they lost an independent position, but still they could not be deemed to form part of a consolidated territory of a suzerain, such as could be assigned or ceded by treaty with him.† They have accordingly not become “British territory”—*i.e.*, they are not subject to the Collectors, the Civil Courts, and the Acts of the Legislature (as such). They are under a political control, which varies in degree from that general friendly supervision which the greater Protected or Feudatory States receive, down to a management under which the Political Officer is really the working authority in every detail.

\* I think this effect was partly due to the energetic character of the race, but partly also to situation. I do not think the “Rājput” lords of the plains were subjected, because they were then degenerate. They offered repeated, and sometimes heroic, resistance; but they never could combine for long or effectively: and their absurd punctilio and jealousies and feuds facilitated a defeat, which in any case (against such a power as Akbar’s) was inevitable. They suffered because they had neither the power to resist effectively nor the prudence to submit quietly.

† I have explained in some detail how far the “Sūba” under Akbar were *really* reduced.

Curiously enough, Mr. Rogers (in the paper before alluded to) asks why I have called these tenures "political"? If the answer is not obvious, I fear I have singularly failed to make the drift of my essay at all clear. The ("overlord") tenures which came fully under British rule, as the result of a long series of antecedent circumstances, I have called "landlord" tenures, for such they (legally) are; those which I have last spoken of above, remained under "political" control only, and I called them "political tenures" for distinction. Technically they are "Protected States," but so much unlike (in practice) what are usually so called, that they had to be noticed along with other "Rājput" estates and yet distinguished.

Thus, then, dealing with the whole area, which began by being practically uniformly covered with a series of Rājput and other States, baronies, and chiefships, we find them in modern days in *various stages* of more or less complete transformation.

1. They disappeared altogether, leaving the land *Khālsa* (or *talpat*), and the villages directly under Government.

2. Scattered holdings and fields alone remained, which have now mostly been classed as "alienated" lands under summary settlement.

3. Other more considerable vestiges of estates\* survive as Tālukdāris (in Ahmadābād) or Udhaḍjamabandi lands (Kaira) with distinctly proprietary rights and privileges under modern law.

4. A certain number of estates called "Mewāsi" may be distinguished in the scale, not as in any way different legally or in principle from No. 3,† but as having (histori-

\* It is not necessary for the present purpose to do more than note the effect of formal or virtual partition (owing to the custom of the chiefs themselves). It has had a terrible effect in impoverishing the Tālukdāris, so that many consist of no more than a single village, or even less. This, however, has nothing to do with the original character of the estates.

† By definition, in (Bo.) Act VI. of 1888, "Tālukdāri" includes all the other varieties for legal purposes. What is the "Nāik" mentioned in the Act? Is it a local title of Kasbātis? The gazetteers take no notice of the subject.

cally) secured some degree of independence, now represented by (what I may call) some revenue consideration or easier terms of assessment.\*

5. A number of estates, left intact as to extent (as far as any "wānta," or resumption proceedings are concerned), have not come into British territory, but are under political management. A few of them were important enough to be Feudatory States of the usual kind; but many more—notably the chieftaincies in Kāthiāwār—exhibit curious classes and degrees of subjection to supervision or management.

I doubt whether any other part of India could furnish examples of such a graduated scale, such various stages of development or decay.

But it will already have been observed that difference of *name* does not always mark difference in character of the tenure, or of such stages of alteration as I have alluded to; indeed, it is rather by a stretch, though an allowable one, that the "Mewāsi" estate is given a separate head or number. In reality, Talukdāri, Mewāsi, Udhaḍjamabandi, Wānta—though now (or formerly) shown in statistical returns as separate *tenures*—have no kind of tenure difference properly so called. The difference that does exist is solely due to the revenue arrangements made. It happened in the early days of British rule that the fertile district north of the Mahi River was divided into two parts, the eastern and western "Zillahs." Certain revenue orders were issued in one which did not apply to the other. Consequently the (Ahmadābād) Talukdars received a different treatment as to assessment, etc., from the (Kaira) Udhaḍjamabandi holders (whose old tribute payment was maintained unaltered). The difference in the case of the (Koli) Mewāsi estates has been alluded to; they were left without survey, and a moderate lump sum payment at a much less rate than the Talukdāris.\* As regards No. 2,

\* The details in each case would hardly be interesting. But Mr. Rogers calls in question my statement (p. 392), and then proceeds to

it is rather a pity that the historic term "wānta" has dropped out. As fragments of a once territorial estate, they were of course regarded as hereditary properties, and being held or claimed free of revenue, they have mostly become treated as "alienated" lands under summary settlement, and are now *sanadī salāmī* lands.

The differences of name which have thus arisen are (ultimately) the consequence of the different policy in land administration which marked the Bombay history. Had the Gujarāt tenures in question been in Bengal or the North-West Provinces, it may be taken as absolutely certain that no such distinction would have been officially made or preserved. That is not a matter of credit or blame, but of a difference which is not without its interest in Indian economic history.

When in any province a first stage of merely collecting the revenue demand in the old way, or by means of temporary farms, leases, or contracts, came to an end, a new stage was reached, which turned attention to rights in land, and the "title" to be recognised in favour of the person responsible for paying the land revenue.

Now, when British administration began in any presidency or province whatever, one thing was plain: the State was the virtual owner of all land in the directly administered or British districts. It had also the right of fixing the revenue demand from time to time at such rates as seemed to it advisable.

I will not stop to argue whether either right was an ancient right of sovereignty. Both unquestionably existed long before the eighteenth century, and the British Government had, on well-established principles, acquired them in succession to the preceding Government.

justify, not his correction, but my own statement; he shows that the difference *was* as I staté. The mere fact that the "Mewāsi" estates had Koli, not Rājput, owners does not make a different tenure origin; otherwise we should have to make a different "tenure" according as the estate was held by Kāthis, Parmārs, Maleks, Jhārejas, etc.



Regulations and Acts have repeatedly asserted, assumed, or implied this. The need for reform arose naturally first in BENGAL. Lord Cornwallis came out in 1786, and his first conclusion was that the State should not continue to own the land; he described it as "ruinous." In this province there were, in all the most important districts, persons who may be described as landlords *in posse*. These must be given a legal and secure position, and made answerable for the revenue to be assessed on each "estate." To constitute a number of "proprietary estates"—large or small as the case might be—and to find an owner for each who should "hold the settlement," was the essential object of the Permanent Settlement. A similar desire, however modified or disguised, is traceable in every form of revenue settlement which derives its parentage from Bengal. If such an owner (with equitable claims)—as, *e.g.*, the Bengal Zamindār—was not forthcoming, someone must be found. In the North-West Provinces it was largely a matter of *village* settlements,\* but the principle was the same. At first they made various individual owners; then they discovered the facts about the "joint" village community and the tenure of its co-sharers, and they constituted the *jointly responsible* body, the (rather ideal) landlord. In the Central Provinces (where the villages were unquestionably *raiyatwāri* by nature) they erected an artificial proprietary title (over each) in favour of the "mālguzārs"—persons who had had the contract or revenue responsibility under the Mahrāthas. The question always was, Who is owner? There must be someone to be liable for the revenue, and for the duties of a landlord between the actual cultivator (or the individual co-sharer) and the State.

When a similar stage was reached—several years later—in Bombay and in Madras, no such dislike to the owner-

\* Perhaps it is needless to say that by "village settlement" I mean where the single village, not any larger landlord aggregate of territory, is dealt with as a proprietary unit.

ship of the State was felt, or, at any rate, found expression.\* How, then, did Bombay and Madras come to adopt the *raiyyatwāri* tenure and consequent methods of revenue management?

In MADRAS the answer is somewhat curious. They certainly began with a vivid idea of the State ownership. It was even held *by some* that the raiyat was a year-to-year tenant, in virtue of his "patta" or revenue note, by permission of the Collector!

But Madras was forced by the Supreme Government (1799-1802) to adopt the Permanent Settlement pure and simple, and this provided landlords for certain parts of the country where there were local magnates who had been, or could be made, Zamindārs. They also tried elsewhere to make artificial landlord estates (*mootahs*) by allotting large parcels of land and selling the landlord right;† this almost invariably failed to work. But though the "*raiyyatwāri*" constitution was the natural and ancient one—varied by certain cases in which colonists, grantees, and others had obtained a title over *villages*, held by them in shares, and called "*mīrāsi*" by the Moslems—there was the utmost reluctance to deal with the individual cultivator direct. They tried to see whether the "*mirasi*" right was general enough to be the basis of a system of village settlements; then whether "*leases*" for each village (as a unit) could not be managed. And it was only after MUNRO'S strenuous efforts that the *raiyyatwāri* system was at last established.‡

\* Let me here explain that when I have spoken of the Government regarding the State ownership as a *locus standi* from which to declare or confer private rights, or any other status, I do not mean to say that any Governor proclaimed this in so many words. But the undoubted fact of the State's right did in itself afford such a *locus standi*, and the feeling that it was so is, I think, clearly traceable in not a few public minutes and preambles of Regulations, etc.

† This of course assumed, and acted on, the State ownership in the most pronounced fashion.

‡ To this day the exact position of the Madras *raiyyat*, whether he is or is not an "occupant" (under Government regarded as "owner"), is one difficult to define. Logically, on the whole system, he is really in the same

Mr. Rogers tells us that in BOMBAY the adoption of the *raiyatwāri* tenure, etc., was "simply forced upon the Government by the state of chaos they found existing." But it should be pointed out that the "chaos" of village rights was not greater than it was in many other provinces; and in none of *them* was *raiyatwāri* accepted as the natural, or inevitable, or only, solution. If one feeling more than another *generally* prevailed, it was that dealing with "rai-yats" individually was excessively difficult, and that almost anything else was preferable. Of course, in Bengal (and under systems derived from it) they would not have it at any price; and remembering the *joint* village system of North-West India, this was not wonderful. But in Madras, where the *raiyatwāri* was perfectly natural, it was, as we have seen, long avoided; and in Bombay there certainly was considerable discussion before it was adopted; and by that time all Munro's powerful minutes on the subject must have been before the Government advisers.

The modern *raiyatwāri* tenure is, however, based on the *retention* by the State of a general or ultimate ownership of the soil. The power of relinquishment of a holding was a most useful safeguard (in early days) against overassessment, and is an essential feature of the system; it is retained still, under the rules both of Bombay and Madras. But such a power involves the position that the holder is not exactly owner, but rather a sort of hereditary usufructuary, while the "property" resides (as before) in the State. The term "alienated" land, again, which is used in Bombay as

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position as in Bombay. But in a note prefixed (officially) to the collection of "Rules for the Lease of Waste Lands," the Government say that the "foundation of the raiyat's title" is in the Regulations of 1802, and "especially in Sec. 4 of Reg. II. of 1806 and Sec. 12 of Reg. XXX. of 1802." Both of these Regulations are, however, repealed; only the repeal does not affect rights already established. The curious phenomenon is thus presented that millions of land-holders (outside the Zamindari estates) have their title (whatever it is) depending on certain provisions which cannot ordinarily be referred to, since, being "repealed," all trace of them has disappeared from the current Statute Book!

meaning land granted free of the State demand for revenue, is also appropriate only to a state of things under which the State retains, normally or in general, the ownership. It is not used under the Bengal or derivative systems, where it would have little meaning, because there all land as a rule is "alienated"; it has been acknowledged as private property by law; Government only retains ownership in a few (exceptional) cases.

It is quite likely that, in early days, the true relation of the *raiayatwāri* tenure to the ancient village system was not always, or at all, perceived. The reason why it has, under proper conditions of revenue survey, valuation and assessment, proved successful, is the reason which *invariably* has shown whether *any* system is right or wrong—viz., its conformity in principle to the real native idea of land-holding in the locality.

Try to sell by auction an *artificial* landlord right over an artificial parcel of land; try (for supposed convenience of revenue management) to create artificially a body of cultivators as jointly liable (in permanence) for a lump sum of revenue; in nine cases out of ten, where such experiments have been made, they failed miserably. They were not natural to the people, and did not suit their notions of things.

The separate allotment of land, the liability to a regulated share of the produce (now a money rate instead) without any joint responsibility, the customary obedience to a headman, who is *not* a farmer of the total revenue—this, with other minor features of association, is the essence of the old village form before it was (in various parts) dominated by any co-sharing family of superiors, or any group of securities for revenue, or other managers. The modern *raiayatwāri* tenure is merely the old ideal, reduced to terms of law, and supported by the modern rules of demarcation, survey, modes of valuing the revenue payment, forms of record, and the like.

In Bombay, thanks to a clear and comprehensive Revenue Code, there is no doubt that the *raiayat* has a

certain title, and that the State remains *owner* of all land, except where by law (*e.g.*, the Talukdars Act of 1888) the right of ownership is declared to reside in some person or aggregate of persons; or where the land is "alienated," etc.

No *raiyat* (on the survey tenure, as it is called) in Gujarāt, or in any part of Bombay, can (*pace* Mr. Rogers) sell or mortgage his land, for the simple reason that he has no land to sell. His "property" consists in a permanent occupancy right under certain conditions; and *this* is alienable and heritable. For practical purposes, of course, such a title is perfectly satisfactory;\* but legally and historically it is not the same as his being the owner of land, the State title being abrogated. Nor was it from any love of technical refinement that the framers of the Code kept the distinction: it arose out of the antecedent history of the land.

In Bengal and its related provinces, the State ownership was denounced in principle, and haste was made to get rid of it; at the same time the middleman proprietor—in whatever form, and sometimes (as Mark Pattison would have said) "defecated to a pure transparency"—was welcomed. In Bombay no such objection was felt; no reason against the State ownership appeared, while as for the "middleman," the thought of him justly made the Bombay administrator shudder. Thus it came about that as historically and racially and geographically Hindustan (or Upper India)

\* Mr. Rogers (p. 393) charges me with having "tried to make out" that the State is owner of the land. I have not tried to make out anything, but have stated what is the plain legal and historical truth of the case. The scattered provisions of the Bombay Regulations of 1827, and the Act of 1865, etc., are now consolidated and revised in the Code (Bombay Act V. of 1879, as amended). Section 37 declares, "All public roads, etc., the bed of the sea, etc., of rivers and lakes, etc., and ALL LANDS WHEREVER SITUATED, which are not the property of individuals (or of aggregates, etc.), and except as provided in any law, etc., ARE, AND ARE HEREBY DECLARED TO BE, THE PROPERTY OF GOVERNMENT," etc. Talukdars and ināmdars are by law vested with an *ownership*, but the student will look in vain for any law establishing that the raiyat is "owner." Sections 65 *ff.* describe his right or interest, and Section 73 explains what interest he can alienate.

has been always more or less separated from India below the Vindhya, so in the development of land policy the distinction appeared also. South of the Narbada (if we exclude the peculiar case of the Central Provinces) the Government will never deal (if it can help it) with a middleman; north of the same valley it will never deal with anyone else.

If the remainder of my studies ever reach the stage of publication (which is not an easy thing in England for such subjects), I shall have the pleasure of submitting an account, on historical principles, of the growth (or the lack of growth, it may be) of the tenures of the *Khot* of Ratnagiri, the *Zamindar* and *Jagirdar* of Sindh, the *Zamindar* of Bengal, the *Talukdar* of Oudh, and the curious *Janmi* and *Wargdār*, proprietors of the lower West Coast (Kāñāra and Malabar). A general introduction will present the leading features of the landlord history in general, including primogeniture and the ancient rights of sovereignty.

## THE CATHAYANS.

BY E. H. PARKER.

IN the winters of 1869, 1870, and 1871 I made three journeys on horseback outside the Great Wall, covering 2,000 miles in all, reaching the sources of the Shira Muren and Shangtu Gol Rivers, and passing repeatedly through four of the ancient defiles which from ancient times have formed a natural barrier between China and the Tartars. At that time I had never heard of the Cathayans or Kitans; but now, having read their history, I recognise, from the descriptions given 700 years ago, some of the old familiar scenes, and much that is still common to the Mongol nomad life in those parts.

All the so-called Turkish races, before the invention of the name "Turk" in A.D. 500, were or could be pretty well grouped together by the Chinese in one great national category called "Hiung-nu," corresponding in its vagueness and perhaps in its etymology to the western word "Hunſ"; but the races east of the Turks, though roughly classed together by the Chinese as the "Tung-hu," or "Eastern Tartars," never had any common national term by which they could be ethnographically contrasted as a whole with the Hiung-nu. Moreover, the easternmost half of the Tung-hu, inhabiting the valleys of the Amur and Sungari (and their tributaries), were all essentially hunters, fishers, and keepers of swine; whilst the westernmost half, wedged in between the former and the Turks, and inhabiting the valleys of the Shira Muren and Shangtu Gol (with their tributaries), shared some of the nomad characteristics of the Turks, and seem to have been in many other respects a cross between the pure horse-riding nomads and the pure pig-keeping hunters. To add to the confusion, European authors, whilst borrowing the Chinese word "Tung-hu," and transforming it into "Tunguz," have only

applied it to the easternmost of the said two halves. Thus, whilst we may speak of all the Hiung-nu as "Turks," and of half the Tung-hu as "Manchus" in a wide and loose sense, there is no European word except "Kitan" by which we can designate in a similar makeshift way the intermediate "Mongol" or mongrel groups. It is quite as permissible to thus anachronically use the word "Kitan," which was only invented in the fourth century, as it is to retrospectively use the word "Turk," which was only invented in the fifth century. In each instance it is (as in our own case of "Angles") a petty tribe that gradually by superior energy comes to the top, attracts and assimilates less-favoured cognate tribes, and gives its name to the whole. Thus we may divide the two main language-divisions of Northern Asia into Turk - Ouigour (the Chinese Hiung-nu), and Cathayan-Manchu (the Chinese Tung-hu). In the last number of the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* I treated of one part of the Tung-hu, the Nüchêns or Manchus; and now I am about to treat of the other part—the Cathayans—in the same way.

I make a clean sweep of all their history between B.C. 200 and A.D. 900. During all that period they were never lost sight of by the Chinese, and always occupied sites somewhere within the same limited area already described. For 200 years one clan, known as the "Toba," even ruled with credit as Emperors of North China, whilst purely Chinese dynasties ruled on terms of friendly equality at Honan or Nanking in the south, just as in later times the Cathayans, Nüchêns, and Mongols ruled each in turn as Emperors of North China, whilst purely Chinese dynasties ruled at K'aifung Fu or Hangchow in the south. During all these 1,100 years the names of their chiefs, and the vicissitudes of the race, are pretty well recorded; but all this has no place here. My specific purpose is to describe the Cathayans from the time when they developed into a great political power.

- Originally the Cathayan system was elective. Every



three years one of the eight tribal chieftains was chosen to be *khagan*; but when, in 906, Hendeken Khan was succeeded by Apaoki of the Tiela tribe, this ambitious soldier declined to recognise the elective system any longer, got rid of his opponents by a bold *coup d'état*, and announced that in future *l'état, c'est moi!* Apaoki's name was first written Anpakien, so we may presume the real sound intended lies somewhere between the two. As to the khanly title of *khagan*, it was used by the masters of both Turks and Cathayans (the Jwan-jwan) before either of those peoples adopted it in that dissyllabic form; but there is good reason to believe that an earlier monosyllabic form *khan* had been in local use for many centuries before it was known in Persia. During his twenty years' reign Apaoki conquered the whole of the Manchus up to the borders of Corea, and all of the other Tunguses up to the Amur and Shilka; also all the nomad Turkish tribes between the northern Yellow River bend and the Orkhon, and all the Tibetan tribes up to the powerful state of Hia (Marco Polo's Tangut). In 916 he declared himself Emperor of Great Cathay, and his official reign as a North Chinese monarch dates from that year.

At this time the great Chinese dynasty of T'ang (the only one which had reigned over the whole of China for any lengthy period since A.D. 200) was tottering to its fall after 300 years of existence. Five ambitious generals (three of them sinicized Turks) took the opportunity, one after the other, of setting up dynasties of their own in Central China. These ephemeral houses, taken together, only covered about fifty years (907-960), a period of confusion known to Chinese history as the "Five Dynasties." South and West China, comprising nearly all the regions south of the Great River and west of the gorges, was governed by ten petty dynasties ruling at Canton, Foochow, Hangchow, Nanking, etc., and all more or less independent of the central or "legitimate" power in possession of the State archives; but in any case having nothing whatever to

do with the Cathayans, who thus found opportunities for making extensive raids into China in order to transfer to their own inhospitable steppes enormous numbers of civilizing artisans and cultivators. Apaoki's capital was at a place marked on the Russian maps as Tsagan-Soborga ("White Pagoda"), situated on the Tsagan Muren ("White River"), a small tributary of the Shira Muren. Its exact site is Lat. 44° 10' N. and Long. 118° E. Up to the time of his death in 926, though he had conquered and lost modern Peking, he had not gained much permanent foothold south of the Great Wall.

Apaoki was succeeded by his second son, Yaokutch, better known by his Chinese name of T'eh-kwang. This arrangement was made by his mother, whose influence over the chiefs thus secured the succession of her favourite son, to the exclusion of the eldest, made instead Viceroy of the newly-conquered Manchuria. Four years afterwards the discontented Prince-Viceroy escaped to China, where he was hospitably received at the Court of the second of the Five Dynasties, then represented by an able old Turk named Maokile (Li Sz-yüan). But Maokile's son and successor was imprudent enough not only to intrigue with the escaped Viceroy in order to get him back on to his rightful throne, but also to suspect and quarrel with his own chief general, who was faithfully guarding the frontier against Cathayan attacks. This led to the general in question (also a Turk) allying himself in self-defence with the Cathayan monarch, with the result that the Emperor and his protégé, the Viceroy of Manchuria, committed suicide, and a new Central Chinese dynasty was established under Cathayan protection (936). The new Central Emperor was the son of one Neliki, but is himself only known to history by his Chinese name of Shih King-t'ang. In return for Cathayan assistance, he ceded to them sixteen Chinese prefectures, or practically the modern Tientsin and all west of it, including Peking and Pao-ting Fu, up to the famous Goose Gate (Yen Môn) in the Great Wall, and all

that part of modern Shan Si north of the Goose Gate. The historical city, almost on the exact site of modern Peking, was now made the Cathayan "south capital." In addition to this, an annual subsidy of 300,000 taels of silver had to be paid, and the Cathayan Emperor required to be officially recognised as the superior and the patron of the Chinese Emperor. Notwithstanding these humiliating terms, the Turk remained loyal and faithful to his pact; he even died of chagrin when political complications caused the Cathayan Emperor to demand of him certain peremptory explanations. His nephew and successor presumed to claim that he ruled Central China of right, and not by the favour of Cathay. This bold attitude brought the Cathayans down in force across the Yellow River, and five years of bloody war followed, accompanied by fearful famines, massacres, and popular suffering. At last the Cathayans were victorious, the Central Chinese capital (K'ai-fung Fu) was occupied, and the imperial family were carried into ignominious captivity. Nothing is more pitiful than the story of the bedraggled journey through the Shan-hai Kwan to Kin Chou, where the wretched monarch was forced to kneel before imperial Cathayan effigies, and whence he was rudely summoned to be triumphantly "inspected" by the old Dowager; after which, insulted, flouted, and coarsely deprived of his prettiest concubines and daughters, he was given spacious quarters on the headwaters of the Taling River (Lat.  $41^{\circ} 30'$ , Long.  $119^{\circ} 30'$ ). He lived there for eighteen years, until his death took place about 955.

But the effects of the Chinese climate were equally fatal to the Cathayan conqueror, who, after a haughty triumph at the capital, and a cruel ravaging of the surrounding country, hurried off home to die, carrying with him the archives, regalia, astronomical instruments, and all other important public property he could lay hands on. Death overtook him at Lwan-ch'êng (Lat.  $38^{\circ}$ , Long.  $115^{\circ}$ ). His carcase was disembowelled and salted, and he was hurriedly

carted off in full view of the irreverent Chinese as a mere *ti-pa*, or "jerked Emperor," to his native steppes.

A civil war of succession now broke out between his mother, the Dowager, who wished Yaokutch's son to succeed, and Uyuk, son of the late Viceroy of Manchuria. The latter's cause was also opposed by his uncle, Li Hu, another claimant. It ended in the defeat and imprisonment of the grandmother, and Uyuk succeeded in 947, changing the dynastic name to "Great Liao." Like most Tartars, he was of a convivial turn of mind, but he was also a man of some artistic taste. Meanwhile, advantage was taken of these civil dissensions by another Turkish general to found on the ruins of the Central power just destroyed the next Central dynasty of Han, independent of Cathay.

Uyuk was murdered at the early age of thirty-four, and was succeeded in 951 by Yaokutch's son Shuhlüh, or Jurut, who, strange to say, bore exactly the same name as his grandmother. The Cathayans were on terms of perfect reciprocity with the last of the five dynasties, and were even forced to yield up part of the territory ceded to them by Shih King-t'ang. Shuhlüh was physically impotent, a steady drinker, a great hunter, and a man of ungovernable violence; he also was murdered at the moderate age of thirty-nine. Meanwhile, the great Chinese Sung dynasty, which lasted from 960 until Marco Polo's time, had succeeded in reuniting all but the extreme north fraction of China under one sceptre, and was able to offer a firm front to the Cathayans.

The next Emperor, Mingi, son of Uyuk, succeeded in 969, and most of his reign was taken up in arranging matters in dispute with China, neither side obtaining much permanent advantage. Like most of the careless Cathayan monarchs, he died young, at the age of thirty-five, and was succeeded by his eldest son Wênshumu, a boy of twelve. Wênshumu's mother acted as Regent, but she created great scandal by her open liaison with a Chinaman with whom she had become infatuated, and who had chief command of the

Cathayan troops. It appears that Cathayan women enjoyed considerable independence, for they are mentioned as local and provincial governors, and they certainly possessed great state influence at Court. In fact, it is specifically stated that they had a say in all matters but those concerning war. Korea is mentioned in 994 for the first time since her nominal submission in 918, and from this date down to the destruction of the Cathayan Empire by the Nüchêns she sends regular tribute. In 995 ten or twenty Corean youths were sent to study the language. The only countries on anything approaching reciprocity terms with Cathay were now Korea, China, and Tangut, and all four States seem to have been most punctilious in the exchange of regular formal missions, whether nominally vassal or suzerain. In 1010 there were serious hostilities with Korea, and the Nüchêns assisted the Cathayans with remounts. Fighting went on for some years, and general politics now transfer themselves from the Chinese frontiers to those of Korea and Manchuria. In 1021 a wife was granted to the sôn of the Tazi ruler, which either means the Caliph Kadir-billah of Bagdad, or some of the Buyids of Transoxiana, under whose tutelage the Caliphs then were. Already in 924 a mission had come to Apaoki from the Tazi ruler; at that date the ruling Caliph was Moktadir, grandfather of Kadir-billah. There seems nothing improbable in all this, for Persia had also sent a mission in 923, and in 924 Apaoki had visited the old Ouigour ruins of Kara-balgassun (near Urga), and had sent a flying force "across the desert to take the city of Buddha (Fou-t'u) and annex the western limits." With these exceptions, however, and missions from Khoten in 990 and the Kirghiz in 931, 950, 976, the Cathayans had no sustained relations with anyone west of the various Ouigours and Tibetans who were dotted about north and south of Kokonor. I have no idea what is meant by the "city of Buddha."

Wênshumu (better known as Lung-sü) is considered to have been the best of all the Cathayan Emperors. He

died in 1031, at the age of sixty-one, and was succeeded by his 'eldest son Tsung-chên, whose native name is variously written Chiku, Ipukin, and Mupaku, so that it must have been as hard for the uninitiated to pronounce as "Cete-wayo." He was a rollicking drunken fellow, who was disposed to leave many things to his mother, and was easily outwitted by the astute Chinese envoys. Still, Cathay maintained during his reign considerable influence over both China and Tangut, assuming to settle their quarrels for them by a kind of paternal arbitration. Mupuku's chief defect in the eyes of the historian is that in his choice of an adviser he "preferred his natural mother to his legitimate mother." It seems that the rough Tartar grew irritated when it was dinned into his ears by the intellectuals that "according to the rites" his legal mother—*i.e.*, his father's first wife—was his true mother; he therefore promptly solved the maternal difficulty by "going for" her and murdering her. He died, at the age of forty, in 1055.

The next Emperor was Chala, eldest son of the last. He dabbled somewhat in literature, and even issued editions of the early Chinese histories, but it is not stated in what language. He also interested himself in Buddhism and sacerdotal legislation, in consequence of which the historians ridicule his memory and call him a "religious fool." Like nearly all the Cathayan Emperors, he was an ardent sportsman; hunting, fishing, and hawking taking up a good deal of his time. Of him alone it is stated that he sailed down the Amur in a boat. He had a million horses in his corrals, which fact explains the wonderful mobility of the Cathayan armies. During his reign influence over China and Tangut was maintained, and Corea sent regular tribute. It seems that at this time part of the land on the east of the Yalu River belonged to the Cathayans, *i.e.*, to the Nüchêns, who were their vassals. Squabbles about the banks of the Yalu were like European squabbles about the banks of the Rhine. Chala lived to a hoary old age

for those violent times, and died at seventy in the year 1101.

The last Cathayan Emperor was Akwo (more commonly known as Yen-hi), grandson of Chala. The "Raw Nüchêns" are now first mentioned as a real political force which has to be counted with, and the first serious tussle with them took place in 1112-13. The rest of Akwo's reign is simply the story of the Nüchên conquest, as already shortly told in the *Asiatic Quarterly Review* for April last. After the loss of Peking, the fugitive Cathayan Emperor was for a time encouraged by and supported by a remarkable man who occupies a very prominent place in high Asiatic history; this was Yelüh Tashih, a relative ("Yelüh" being the royal clan-name), often also known as Tashih Linya, which means "the Doctor Ta-shih," in allusion to the literary office he had held. At last, disgusted with the Emperor's vacillation and pusillanimity, Tashih, dreading also for his own safety, abandoned the cowardly Akwo to his fate at T'ien-têh (Marco Polo's Tenduc), and galloping off northwards with a few hundred trusty followers, sped across the Blackwater to the land of the "White Tata"; these are supposed by Russian authorities to be the same as the Yung-ku (Marco Polo's Ung, Rashid's Ongut); these, again, are the descendants of that tribe of Shat'o or "Desert" Turks who, as we have seen, gave three dynasties (After-T'ang, After-Tsin, After-Han) to Central China two hundred years earlier. The reinforcements in horses and cattle supplied by these White Tartars enabled the Cathayan chief to make a respectable appearance amongst the eighteen nomad tribes in occupation of the desert oases, all of which had been in more halcyon days tributary to the Cathayans. With a fully-equipped force of 10,000 men he now proceeded to the Ouigour khanate of Kan Chou (Marco Polo's Campichu), and reminded the Khan Bilga how in 924, when Apaoki visited Kara-bal-gassun, his ancestor seven degrees back had offered the then Khan Umchu to allow the Ouigours of Kan Chou to

resettle in the Orkhon region if they so desired. The generous Ouigours, who for two hundred years since that event had been faithful vassals of the Cathayans, readily responded with further reinforcements, and the result was that Tashih (anticipating Genghiz Khan) was able to go on gathering warlike tribes like a rolling ball of snow as he advanced westwards to Samarcand, which place he ultimately conquered. It is now that *hwei-hwei*, the Chinese term for "Mussulman," first occurs in Chinese history, when the "King of the Mussulmans" came to offer his submission. As this term is clearly used in Mongol history to signify the state of Khwarezm, and also to indicate people living on the "Amu" River (the Oxus), it was plainly intended in the first instance for the populations and the empire of Transoxiana, near and around the Aral Sea; and that, the last certain and genuine Caliph Mostazhir having died in 1121, the Transoxiana princes were regarded by the Chinese as the leaders or representatives of the Faith. Many European writers confuse the name with that of *Hwei-hih*, or "Ouigours"; but the Chinese never do so. We need not here follow this branch of the emigrant Cathayans—known as the Karakitai, or "Black Cathayans"—any further. The dynasty was maintained alongside of the Khwarezm empire in the Aral region, until it was destroyed by the Naimans, directly after which all three, Naimans, Cathayans, and Khwarezm, were swallowed up by Genghiz Khan. The interesting point to notice is that the Hiung-nu had made straight for Soyd and Samarcand when broken up by China at the beginning of our era; the Cathayans did exactly the same a millennium later when broken up by the Nüchêns; and the conquests of Genghiz Khan, who had first broken up the Nüchêns, were simply carried along the old beaten lines. He did not advance nearly so far into Europe as Attila had done.

Akwo, thus abandoned by Tashih, spent some months in wandering about among the Tibetan and Tartar tribes,



even consoling himself with a nomad wife taken from the "Tulib" tribe. The death in 1123 of the Nüchên conqueror, Akuta, probably gave him some respite ; but at last (1125) he was captured by the Nüchên general, Wanyen-Lousih, at a spot between the Great Wall and modern Ta-t'ung Fu, was degraded to the rank of prince, and died in 1128.

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The habits of the Cathayans may be best understood by contrasting them with those of the Turks and those of the Tunguses (as usually meant). Unlike the Turks, they were great fishers and hawkers, pig-keepers, and exposers rather than burners of dead bodies. Like the Turks, they were great horsemen ; but, though kumiss drinkers, they do not seem to have depended so much as the Turks did upon milk foods ; and, though dwellers in tents, they do not seem to have possessed cart-tents until they had made explorations amongst the earlier Ouigour tribes lying to their north-east. The primitive Chinese name for the Ouigours was Kao-ch'ê, or "high carts," and the Cathayans first saw cart-tents in the "black carts" country. There is some reason to believe that our word "coach" is derived, through Hungarian, from the same source. Other points in which the Cathayans differed from the Turks were their knowledge of boats ; their elective system of presidency rather than hereditary monarchy ; and the absence, when the monarchy was established, of anything approaching to the Turkish Associate-Khans, or "Cæsars" associated with the one supreme "Augustus." They had no Romulus-like traditions about wolves and wolf-heads ; no broad-arrow emblems ("male and female arrows" were only used as tallies) ; no tendency to become either Nestorian or Buddhists. But for a completer comparison of habits I must refer readers to the "History of the Early Tunguses" (*China Review*, vol. xxi.), and "A Thousand Years of the Tartars" (Sampson, Low and Co.). As compared with the Eastern Tunguses, the Cathayans were decidedly more horsey and

less swinish, both literally and metaphorically; they depended less upon hunting, and were more nomadic, agricultural and herd-keeping. Their dwellings faced east instead of south. Their system of passing on wives to sons and brothers was Turkish, but apparently not so common as amongst the Turks; whilst among the Nüchêns it is scarcely specifically mentioned at all. One of their peculiarities was "willow shooting," which seems to have been ceremonially indulged in on solemn occasions, such as prayers for rain, sacrifices to Nature and the spirits, and so on. I have already mentioned this in my account of the Nüchêns already cited. Akin to this curious rite was the mysterious "shooting of devil-arrows," frequently mentioned in connection with prisoners of war, exorcising evil, marching out to fight, arresting spies, etc. "In starting out for war, the Emperor used to have a prisoner (or prisoners) who had been sentenced to death put in the direction of the intended march, and shot with innumerable arrows in order to remove evil. On his return captives of war were shot in the same manner, and afterwards the ceremony came to be used in an ordinary judicial way." Even last year the Chinese General Yüan Shī-k'ai so sacrificed some criminals on the occasion of his marching off to check the Germans in Shan Tung (*United Service Magazine*, 1899, p. 540). Possibly the unexplained *balbal* mentioned in the Turkish inscriptions in connection with tombs may refer to this widely-spread idea of sacrificing an enemy to the *manes* of every hero. When Jehangir of Kashgar was captured in 1828, his heart was torn out and placed upon the grave of the Manchu official he had murdered (*Contemporary Review*, 1897, p. 874).

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The Cathayans were great polo players, from the Emperors downwards. The court is described as having a very even, hard floor; the players were all mounted, and took sides, seizing each other and struggling for the ball quite regardless of rank. As an instrument called the

"moon-stick" is mentioned, and presents of "ball-horses" were exchanged with the Turkish dynasties, it is clear that both nations must have played polo, but I cannot say which invented it. One prince was killed by a fall from his horse whilst playing, and one Turkish Emperor of Central China "pulled down the accession altar, and turned the site into a polo court." It is fearful to think what Confucius would have said if he had witnessed this. Wrestling was much indulged in; there was a "hare-shooting" feast, and, at the new year, "first goose" and "first fish" festivals, when quills were playfully worn in the hair. There were also sacrifices to the "deer-god" for good sport, and annual fishing tours to the Amur, Sungari, Yalu, and Duck Rivers. Scattering salt to coax over the salt-licking deer is mentioned; and the Nüchên Emperor Akuta, with his Imperial brother Ukimai, whilst still mere chiefs, gained the favour of the last Kitan Emperor by their skill in imitating the cries of game. There were other indoor games which the Emperor used to play with his Ministers, but I cannot identify them in their Chinese dress.

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The question of Cathayan writing has not yet been solved, but it is quite certain that some ingenious Chinese suggested to Apaoki the idea of grouping Chinese pencil-brush strokes in an incongruous way so as to represent local words, and that the "big characters" were issued in 920 for general use. When the same Emperor visited Kara-balgassun, he found there a stone monument to the Ouigour Khan Bilga; a few days later "he directed this old stone to be rubbed away, and he recorded his exploits in Cathayan, Turkish, and Chinese characters." This monument would be a priceless find if we could only discover it; but, as M. Chavannes has pointed out (*Journal Asiatique*, May, 1897), one of the recently-discovered Turkish inscriptions is precisely a trilingual *stèle* from Kara-balgassun, recording in Ouigour, Turkish, and Chinese the exploits precisely of one Bilga. It is not quite clear whether

"his exploits" means Apaoki's or Bilga's exploits; but in any case the Ouigours had then left that region for the south, and never went back to it at any date; so that it is impossible to suppose that they could have revenged themselves upon Apaoki by rubbing out the Cathayan version of Bilga's exploits once more, and by replacing it by an Ouigour version. On the other hand, if Apaoki recorded his own exploits, neither the Turkish nor the Chinese inscription before our eyes at this day says anything about Apaoki. The only reasonable conclusion is that Apaoki was inflamed with ambition for permanent glory when he saw the stone, gave the orders as recorded, and, as he is stated to have left the place in a few days, forgot all about the orders, which probably could not be, and certainly never were, obeyed. That Cathayan script had, however, some vogue is certain, for, as we have seen, in 995 Corea sent a number of youths to study "our country's language"; and Yelüh Tashih is said to have been versed in both Chinese and Cathayan character; the same thing is said of Siao Hankianu (Siao being the "surname" of the second great Cathayan family, from which the Yelüh house always took its wives). Finally, as explained under the head of Nüchên script (*Asiatic Quarterly Review*, April, 1900), even the Nüchêns used the smaller Cathayan script, and this after they had one of their own.

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It will be easy to understand the nature of the Cathayan Empire if we imagine it to be in the shape of a Maltese cross, the centre being true Cathay, or the Jêho military command of to-day; this was what they called the "Central Metropolitan Province," and the capital (Lat. 41° 30', Long. 119°) was at a place marked on Wæber's map as Pai-tha-tsz, or "White Pagoda," which is the same thing as the Mongol Tsagan Suborga; this is on the head-waters of the Lohan Pira, *pira* being frequently mentioned in Chinese history as a Tungusic word for "river." The northern shank was called the "Upper Metropolitan

Province"; its capital was the other Tsagan Suborga already described, and it broadened out so as to take in the old Ouigour "Khatun city" (= Queenstown); also a city called T'alan somewhere on the Kerulon; and the Tunguses of the Shilka and Amur: but the distant tributary States were under special military rule, and not under the regular civil system. The eastern shank roughly represents Manchuria in its broadest sense, right up to the Yalu and Corea; the capital of the "Eastern Metropolitan Province" was the modern Liao-yang. The southern shank extended down to Lat. 39°, the Pai-kou Tien of Wæber's map; and the capital of the "Southern Metropolitan Province" was the modern Peking, but slightly moved to the south-west. The remaining shank represents the "Western Metropolitan Province," with capital at Ta-t'ung Fu; it broadened out westwards so as to take in some of the Tibetan and Turkish tribes settled in modern Shan Si. In identifying these places students must be careful to remember that the Cathayans shifted several of their capitals, especially their "central," several times. Towards the north and north-west there were only three important tributary States—the Shih-wei (a name which disappears with the Cathayans), the Tatan, and the Tsupu or Chob. The word "Mungku" appears in the T'ang, Kitan, and Nüchên histories in such a way as to suggest that the Shih-wei (who spoke the same language as the Cathayans), the Tatan, and the later Mongols are mere re-shuffles of one and the same stock or people. I cannot form a conjecture who the Tsupu were; no other history mentions them, though they were sufficiently powerful to give trouble to both Tangut and Cathay. It is just possible they may be the Altï Chub or "Six Chub" of the Turkish inscriptions, but in A.D. 700 these were much farther west.

To the east were Corea and Japan. Corea (Kao-li or Ko-ryê) definitively displaced the peninsular State of Shinra (Sin-lo or Silla) before the year 926, and was never again interfered with by Cathay till the students came in 995;

nor after that was there more than a single short border war with the Kitan power. As to Japan, in 925 alleged tribute was sent; but Japanese history puts a very different complexion upon the matter, and says that the Mikado refused to recognise the envoy sent to Japan "by Manchuria" (*i.e.*, by the state conquered in 925 by the Kitans) because he was not duly accredited. In 1091 a certain Chêng Yüan conducted a large tribute mission from Japan to Cathay. Japanese history says nothing of it, but exactly the same man is mentioned in the Sung history as being a Japanese author a century earlier; still, the names of two of his fellow-envoys have the ring of truth about them, and whilst there may be some confusion, it is improbable that there is misrepresentation.

The Cathayans had extensive relations with Tangut (*i.e.*, the kingdom of the Ordos or Yellow River Loop region), and also with various Tibetan tribes of the Kokonor region. The diplomatic relations with the three or four petty Ouigour States were regular; but Cathayan influence never extended to modern Turfan, Hami, Urumtsi, Cobdo, Kashgar, or Yarkand; unless, indeed, the Tsupu represent the Hami-Cobdo region. The Turks came in 928 and 991; but these must have been mere remnant tribes, for the Ouigours (themselves mere remnants) had long supplanted the true Turks, who were now in full career west. The Kirghiz came in 931, 952, 976; but that means very little, as the Kirghiz never became a serious power, and had long disappeared from Chinese ken; moreover, there is evidence that in one of the above cases the words "Turk" and "Kirghiz" were used by the historians to indicate what was really one and the same mission. From 1093 to 1099 there were brushes with the Başmäls, a tribe of Turks who are known to have lived in 700 somewhere about Urumtsi, and are also mentioned in the Turkish inscriptions.

Thus it will be seen that China proper, except in the neighbourhood of Peking and the Great Wall, remained practically untouched by Cathay, as also did Corea, Tibet,

and Turkestan. Cathay was in its essence a purely Mongol-Manchu power, the Mongol element being dominant. The Nüchêns were much the same power with another face to it, the Manchu element being dominant; but the area of China proper encroached upon by the Nüchêns was larger. The present Manchu power is once more the same, or was so; but the Mongol element has now been completely emasculated by drink and religion, whilst the dominant Manchu element has, in politically absorbing the whole of China proper, been itself socially absorbed into Chinese life, and has emasculated itself by opium and women.

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The Cathayan military organization was very like that of the Boers. Every male between fifteen and fifty was liable to serve, and every man provided his own horse and kit. The rallying-place where armies were generated was Dalai Nor (Lat.  $43^{\circ} 20'$ , Long.  $117^{\circ}$ ). The campaigns were almost always conducted in the autumn-winter season, and it was the invariable practice of the Cathayans to ravage the enemy's country. A gold-fish tally was the sole means of authorizing the movement of provincial troops: bird tallies had other uses; and all troops were mounted, whilst an excellent system of scouting and cavalry picketing secured the main army from surprise whilst on the march. In the five metropolitan provinces—*i.e.*, in the empire viewed from a regulation or directly administrative point of view—there were at the best period 1,640,000 soldiers. Besides these, there were the troops of the sixty vassal states, only a few of which were actually ever called upon to supply armies. Thus the Shih-wei regularly supplied standing regiments, and also sent horses; the Hi (apparently the Tata-Bi of the Turkish inscriptions) were incorporated bodily; the Nüchêns had to fight against Corea, and at the same time were held responsible for keeping the other eastern Tunguses in order; they also supplied horses. The Coreans, on the other hand, were expected to join against

the Nüchêns. The Ouigours supplied remounts. The Tanguts were ordered to assist against the Basmäls; the Tibetans to assist against the Tanguts; and so on with the Tsupu, Tukahun, and other mixed or doubtful tribes. All the Cathayan military titles are given, but I will not encumber these pages with unintelligible names. I will merely indicate, amongst others, the well-known Turkish and Ouigour title of *muiluk* (identified by Dr. Marquart with what he calls the "Old-Turkish" word *buiruk*); it appears in the following disguises, *miluk*, *meilao*, *molin*, *moli*, *meili*, *meiling*, *muilêng*, from A.D. 600 down to our own day; also the word *ta-la-kan* (*tarkhan*), which also has a pedigree of 1,200 years. The title *sz-kin* (*djigin*) is specifically stated to be Turkish. The Cathayan *t'ik-yin* I take also to be the Turkish and Ouigour *tegin*, which appears so often in the inscriptions. The rest of the purely Cathayan titles must lie by for the present until we know more. If we ask from what population so large a number of soldiers was drawn, we must answer that the Cathayans have left us no military records similar to those of the Nüchêns; besides, they never owned the four or five Chinese provinces which easily brought the population of the Nüchên Empire up to 50,000,000. It is evident that 1,640,000 men between the ages of fifteen and fifty must mean at least 3,200,000 males, as many females, and twice as many children—say, a minimum population of 20,000,000, of which the Chinese would certainly form two-thirds. The outlying tribes of the areas subject to Cathay have never, even to this day, numbered more than about a million souls, nor does all Siberia now contain 5,000,000. Nor is there any record left of a financial and administrative capacity such as distinguishes the Nüchêns and Manchus, and even to a certain extent the Mongols. The Cathayans, in short, were the Vandals of China, and have left not even a wrack behind them; their very name is unknown to popular tradition in the places they once occupied; nor is there a single incident recorded of any Cathayan which suggests



the least nobility of character, with the single exception of Yelüh Tashih.

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In religion the Cathayans seem to have been shamanistic, but no mention is made of priests. Later, Buddhist bonzes gained some influence. The old Kitans worshipped the sun, but not the moon, and faced east at all sacrifices. There were sacrifices to mountains, prayers for rain, burnt sacrifices of gratitude, and (for the royal families alone) twelve-yearly lustrations called "being born again." White horses and gray oxen were sacrificed to Heaven and Earth, and later also to ancestors; sometimes gray horses and red oxen. Geese and deer are mentioned as being sacrificed to Heaven alone, and the sun-worship at *Tailin* (a vague term variously supposed to be a willow coppice and a place-name) is specifically and manifestly that of the ancient Sien-pi; moreover, the burnt rams, facing east, the "Red Mountain," the marriage customs, etc., all combine to show that the Cathayans and Shih-wei (*i.e.*, as I believe the Mongols) were different phases of one and the same Tungusic *souche*. Human sacrifices, akin to suttee, of concubines, slaves, favourites, or prisoners with the distinguished dead, were not infrequent, but perhaps not common. A curious ceremony of "leading a ram" (or possibly goat) is twice mentioned in connection with the formal surrender of kings, in mourning attire; also the presenting to the surrendered as personal names of the names of the conqueror's war chargers.

There is not the same specific evidence of Cathayans marrying stepmothers and sisters-in-law as there is in Turkish history. In 940 marriages with deceased wives' sisters were abolished, which looks as though a radical change in ideas had taken place. In the same year Cathayans holding Chinese office were allowed to marry Chinese with Chinese forms. In 1017 women of a certain rank were forbidden to re-marry; and in 1019 the "three superior tents" (probably akin to the Manchu "three superior banners") were forbidden to marry with the "meaner

tents," and all marriages in superior tents had to receive imperial sanction. In 1094 border people were prohibited from marrying with foreigners. •

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It is not easy to make much out of the Kitan words given to us on Kien-lung's authority in Chinese dress. But two are very suggestive: *Ta-hu-li*, "cultivator," and *Sho-lu-n*, "mountain-peak." I take these words to be the etymological origin of the Daour and Solun Tunguses of to-day. There is also a word *A-mu-t'a-ha*, "hunter," which may be the Manchu word *butkha*, "hunter," now applied to the town of "Putcha," written Butkha by the Russians. *T'ê-li-n* is Cathayan for "lake," and *t'ê-lin* is Nüchên for "sea"; they both suggest connection with the Manchu *mederin*, "the sea." The *swan wo-lu-to* is said to mean "intimate ordo"—i.e., the royal or higher caste. The other ordo are thus enumerated: *K'wo-a-lien*, "grazers"; *ye-lu-wan*, "prosperous"; *p'u-su-wan*, "start grandeur"; *to-li-pên*, "conquering"; *kien-mu*, "bequeath"; *ku-wên*, "prince" (possibly a misprint for "jewel"); *nüku*, "gold"; *wo-tu-wan*, "procreate"; *a-sz*, "broad"; *alu-wan*, "assist"; *tê-shih-tê-pên* (or *ch'ih-shih-tê-pên*), "filial"; *na-po*, "shooting-box," or "travelling palace"; *cho-wa*, "falcons"; *t'ê-li-kien*, "Empress"; *nou-wo* (*mo*), "earth (mother)"; *sa-la*, "wine cup." The word *i-r* occurs in such a way that it must mean "day," and this suggests a connection with the Corean *il*, "day," which, however, is a strictly regular form of the ancient Chinese *yil*, "a day," now pronounced *jì* in Peking. *Wan* is evidently a grammatical inflection or agglutination.

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The next question is, Where are the Cathayans now? In 1161-63 there was a serious rebellion, which caused the Nüchêns to abolish the semi-independent Kitan chiliarchs and centurions, to confiscate all their horses, and to distribute the Cathayans over the Nüchên divisions. In 1169 another Cathayan revolt was quelled, and the Cathayans who did not revolt were removed to the "Ukuli-Shile"

land, which seems to mean modern Tsitsihar. In 1196 yet another Cathayan revolt near the Shira Muren was crushed, but in 1201 Cathayan officers who had done good service were allowed to have their horses once more. In 1213-17 there were risings of Cathayans not far from the point where the Shira Muren joins the Liao.

In 1213 a Cathayan chief named Ulanbar encouraged Genghiz Khan's general, Chebé, to occupy the passes north of Peking, and another Cathayan named Yelüh Ahai was envoy from the Nüchêns to the court of Wang Khan (Prester John of the Keraites), where he saw Genghiz, and went over to his interest. But a good many Cathayans crept out of danger into Corea at this time. In 1261 Kublai set a Cathayan named Yelüh Chou to work on his native country's history. In 1268 it was decided that there should be no governors (*darugachi*) taken from Cathayans, Nüchêns, or Chinese; only Mussulmans, Ouigours, Naimans, and Tanguts could share these ranks with the Mongols. In 1281 the Cathayans were impressed for service in the Japanese war, and in 1290 for similar soldiering in the war against Nayan mentioned by Marco Polo, who, however, whilst speaking of the Peking plain, Shan Si, etc., as "Kataia," never mentions any Cathayan *people*, except in the sense of "people of North China." "This seems to show that the Cathayan empire conquered by the Nüchêns continued to be called "Cathay" by the Mongols at least during the century that elapsed before the Mongols conquered it from the Nüchêns. Dr. Bretschneider informs me that *Kitan* is the Mongol plural of *Kitat*, "Chinese people," and from it the Russians at the beginning of the seventeenth century derived their word *Kitai*, "Chinese." The Coreans (by euphonic rule) call the Cathayans *Kyöran*, which means that they considered the original Chinese syllables to be *Kit-an*, and not *Ki-tan*; this means again in Corean *Kyöl-an*, instead of *Kye-tan*. I discovered this myself when in Corea. The descendants of the Cathayans who assisted Genghiz occupied official posts during Mongol

times. One of them was called Ch'ou-nu; and this is a very remarkable fact, for Ch'ou-nu, written with those identical characters, was, 800 years before Genghiz's time, the name of a Jwan-jwan prince. Therefore, there is an additional reason, besides those given in my "A Thousand Years of the Tartars," for surmising that the Jwan-jwan were rather Tungusic than Turk. Any way, Gibbon, has been completely misled in identifying them with those Avars who eventually found their way to Europe, and who were chased thither by the Western Turk branch.

During the Chinese Ming dynasty which replaced the Mongols in 1368, and which was displaced by the Manchus in 1644, the very name of "Kitan" totally disappeared; there is not a single mention in Ming history of either them or their kinsmen the Shih-wei. Incontestably they must have been swallowed up in the Mongol vortex, or distributed amongst the Nüchêns. Both Mongols and Nüchêns were practically left to themselves during the Ming dynasty, to blossom out afresh as the Mongol Djirgughan Tumen, or "Sixteen Myriads," evidently the old *mingan* system, the Khalkas, Kalmucks, Manchus, etc.

The Manchu Emperor K'ien-lung distinctly identifies the modern Solons with the old Kitans, and this is in accord with the fact that half of them were removed to the Ukuli-Shile land. Moreover, a number of supposed Nüchên words in his chapter on the Nüchên-Manchu language are stated by him to be Solon. As the Nüchêns had adopted those words from some other tongue, and no Solons existed in those days; moreover, as the Nüchêns also used and modified the Kitan government system and writing, it is evident they must have borrowed these Solon words from the Kitans, for there was no other organized tribe to borrow from. The words are certainly not Tangut, or Corean, or Turkish. At present half the Solons are on the Nonni in Tsitsihar, and half in Ili, whither they were sent as military colonists in 1760. With them are some of their neighbours of Tsitsihar or Kirin, the Sibê,

who, the Manchus explain, are really Mongols, and not Manchus. These must surely be the Sib of 1,000 years ago, who, though living near the Kitans, were stated to be a kind of Turk. Dr. Bretschneider tells me that the Russian Solons of Dauria speak only Mongol.

In 1691 the Manchu Emperor visited the Sibê Pira to give presents to the Kalkas and Korchins. In 1707 he visited the T'ao-r Pira to give presents to the Solons. In 1747 K'ien-lung tells us "both Solons and Mongols were under the Nüchêns at the zenith of their power." The Solons and Daours are usually mentioned together in Manchu history. The Solons, Bargu, and Cherim are also mentioned as serving together. The Bargu are mentioned with the "Mescrypt" (Merkits) by Marco Polo, and Palladius describes them as Mongols. In 1805 and 1816 the Manchu Emperor sent a man to sacrifice at the tomb of Apaoki somewhere on the Shira Muren.

Hence, we may sum up as follows : The western branch of the ancient Tung-hu, called Sien-pi and Wu-wan, are the ancestors of the Cathayans. The Cathayans and Shih-wei were merely "ripe" and "raw" varieties of the same Tunguses. Among the Shih-wei tribes were the Wu-wan and the Mung-ku, thus connecting as by a link the ancient Wu-wan with the modern Mongols. The Solons, Daours, and Butkha are all more or less Mongol-Tungus, and all three words perhaps appear in the Kitan language of 1,000 years ago. The Sibê are a special instance of how Mongol and Tungus tribes have always been apt to run into each other. The Mongols are themselves, if not Tungus, at least more Tungus than Turk. All the above, of course, refers to the Western Tunguses, who are as far removed from the Turkish element to their west as they are from the Eastern Tunguses, or Manchu element, to their east.

## SIAM'S INTERCOURSE WITH CHINA

(SEVENTH TO NINETEENTH CENTURIES).

BY MAJOR G. E. GERINI, M.R.A.S.

## INTRODUCTION.

## HISTORICAL SOURCES.

A CONNECTED history of the intercourse between Siām and China has yet to be written, and probably never will be done, because of the scarcity of materials, especially of those for the earlier periods. An endeavour has been made in these pages to collect most of the available data contained in those portions of the Chinese records and encyclopædic compilations which have been made accessible to non-Sinologists, through translations by European scholars, as well as all that could be discovered in Siāinese literature bearing upon the subject, and which has not been as yet—except in one solitary instance, and that incompletely—brought to light. An exhaustive search into the extensive field of Chinese records may yet yield important items of information, especially in regard to the intercourse which took place during the last six or seven centuries, although it is unlikely that any of the principal missing links in the long chain of Siāmo-Chinese relations, stretching over fully twelve centuries, may turn up.

In so far, however, as the Siāinese side is concerned, an analogous occurrence would seem still more improbable, unless some portion of the ancient records, lost in the destruction of the former capital, Ayuthia, is recovered, or some new epigraphic monument or manuscript be unearthed that will supply us with the information we are still in need of. Whatever can be gathered out of the débris of the extant Siāinese records has been reproduced here in its entirety, and it will be seen, after a perusal, that the gist of it is very inconsiderable, the rest being made up of legend and puerile fiction, so that we have mainly to depend upon the evidence of Chinese historians and travellers for reliable particulars on Siāmo-Chinese relations up to the last quarter of the eighteenth century. On the other hand, from that stage onwards to the middle of the century now about to expire, the period at which official intercourse between the two States practically ended, materials on the Siāinese side are plentiful enough to allow of a fuller treatment of the subject than would be afforded by the scanty and disconnected accounts given on the Chinese side. It will thus be seen that, in spite of the drawbacks referred to, in certain respects the information on the one side completes that on the other, and that no satisfactory result could be attained unless both are brought face to face, and thoroughly sifted and compared, as we propose to do here. It will, however, remain with Chinese scholars, in their special line of research, to fill up the gaps still left on their side, and to complete by further explorations

into the jungle of original Chinese literature the information which we have here gathered together.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF CH'IH-T'U.

In Chinese literature, Siām is first referred to in the *Sui-shu*\* under the name of *Ch'ih-t'u*. The earliest known relations between Siām and China did, in fact, take place under that dynasty, as will be shown in due course. *Ch'ih-t'u* means "Red Earth," and we are told that this term was applied to the country on account of the soil being very red at the spot where its capital was situated. It is a source of no small surprise to me that this "Red Earth" theory could so far obtain acceptance among Oriental scholars without a word of either reservation or protest. Out of several scores of toponymics recorded by Chinese authors as belonging to the Indo-Chinese peninsula into which I had occasion to examine, I have scarcely as yet found a single genuine Chinese name, until a comparatively recent period is reached. When the number of Chinese settlers in the land had considerably increased, then genuine Chinese place-names begin to crop up, presenting a translation of some native designation. All without distinction turned out to be transliterations of local terms, adapted, it is true, whenever there was a chance of so doing, so as to express some context in Chinese, however odd and nonsensical it might appear to the mind. Early Chinese travellers did not care for, in fact, or, like the Romans of old, were too proud to learn, the meaning of words in what they considered to be barbarous languages; they simply took down the native place-names in a leisurely manner, unsparingly rough-handling them in Procrustean attempts to make them fit into the iron moulds of their graphic system. Thus, a set of quaint and mostly absurd designations for places in foreign lands were produced, which, though Chinese-like in sound and meaning, are in reality but exotic terms tricked up in pig-tailed garb, and therefore eminently apt to exercise the ingenuity and polemic powers of philologists, holding further back that ideal era of perpetual concord in their ranks without which no universal peace-scheme would seem capable of realization.

That the soil was very red in appearance at the site of the ancient Siāmesse capital there is no doubt, it being there, as I have ascertained *de visu*, of a lateritic formation, heavily charged with iron oxide; but the fact remains that it looks more or less red all over Indo-China, especially along the coast-line, and just as intensely at many particular spots, which have in consequence been named accordingly in the local idiom peculiar to them. Among such I may quote *Tanah-merah* (in Malay, "Red Country"), in the Malay Peninsula; *Thā Din-deng* (in Siāmesse, "Red Earth Landing-place"), on the Mě Khōng River in Siām proper; and *Raktamrittika* (in Sanskrit, "Red Clay"), recorded in a Sanskrit inscription in Province Wellesley as the name of a seaport on the Malay Peninsula, which I have identified with Mergui (called in Siāmesse *Mūrit* or *Mrit*). Such instances might be multiplied, and I may add, moreover, that the

\* Chronicles of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-618), compiled about the middle of the seventh century A.D., Book 82.

term *Suvarṇabhūmi* (meaning, in substance, "land of a good or bright colour," and metaphorically "Golden Land"), applied from the earliest period to a part of Indo-China, was really suggested by the reddish appearance of the soil on the coast-line of that region rather than by any particular abundance in it of the precious metal. This is, of course, a mere conjecture. It is only on the shores of Cochin-China, and precisely to the north-east of Bāria, between Capes Tiu-an and Ba-kü, that we meet with another *Ch'ih-t'u* (*Hsik-t'ou* in Annamese pronunciation, or, as the French spell it in their missionary *quoc-ngü, Xích-tho*), this being, we are told,\* the designation applied to part of the territory of P'huoc-an and P'huoc-hüng, on account of the soil being very red there, and giving rise to a fine dust, which permeates everywhere, and tinges everything—even the air—with that colour. This may be a genuine Chinese toponymic,† in which case it cannot certainly boast of much antiquity. But if of long standing, I have no doubt it conceals, under its Chinese dress, some native term, either Khmer or Chām, which has most likely no connection whatever with the connotation it acquires in Chinese.‡ Analogously, with the identical term *Ch'ih-t'u* employed to designate the territory in

\* In Trang-hoi-duc's "Gia-dinh-thung-chi," Aubaret's translation, p. 173.

† Certainly not of Annamese origin, in which case its terms would be reversed, so as to read *T'ou-hsik* or *Tho-xich*, since in Annamese adjective follows noun.

‡ Another *Ch'ih-t'u* was apparently in the island of Hainan, if K'ang Hsi's thesaurus, the *P'ei-wên Yün Fu*, is correct, which I doubt, and for a very good reason. We read, in fact, in an extract from that work (see *China Review*, vol. xiv., p. 40): "*Ch'ih-t'u* State or *Wan-an Chou* [Hainan].—If you go south by sea with a good wind, in fourteen days you reach Ki-lung Island [Formosa], and then at once reach this State, which is an island in the Red Sea [*Ch'ih Hai*]." Here the translator, Mr. E. H. Parker, is undoubtedly wrong in taking *Ki-lung* Island to be Formosa, which was not known under this name until the sixteenth century, and after the Dutch had established themselves there, at the port bearing that designation. The passage referred to above is certainly of a much older date. It will be seen in the sequel that *Ki-lung* designates an island in the Gulf of Siām, mentioned by the Chinese envoys sent to *Ch'ih-t'u* in A.D. 607 as being met with immediately before reaching the shores of that kingdom, which statement is in perfect agreement with the above passage. The *Ch'ih-Hai*, or "Red Sea," is here the sea of *Shilaheth* of the Arab navigators of the ninth century, which I have shown elsewhere to be the same as the *Lohita* or *Srī-lohit* Sea of Indu literature, and the sea of *Selat*—i.e., of the Straits of the present day; but here it may be taken in the sense of "Sea of *Ch'ih-t'u*"—Gulf of Siām. As to *Wan-an Chou*, it is known to be the designation which the present *Wan Chou* in Hainan bore at the time of the Sui dynasty; but here this name may have been introduced through some oversight on the part of the compiler, otherwise we must take it that either Siām, its people, or some of its districts must have been known of old by that name or by some one of the forms in which it is pronounced in the various Chinese dialects: *Mun-on*, *Ban-an*, *Van-an*, *H'ang-ang*. These are suggestive of the terms *Vīnar* or *Bahnar* ("people dwelling in the forests"), *Vana*, *Vanañ* ("forest"), *Mañ*, *Mōñ*, *Mōñ*, or *Manya* (from *Rāmañ*, *Ramañña*, people of Mōñ-Khmer race), etc. As regards *Ch'ih-t'u* being described as an island in the extract cited above, this need not disconcert us, since nearly all the countries of Indo-China were by the Chinese authors of the Sui and T'ang periods said to be islands—e.g., *Fu-nu* (Eastern Kamboja), *Tun-sun* (part of the Malay Peninsula), etc. We must then conclude, until proof to the contrary, that the *Ch'ih-t'u* above alluded to is in Siām, and not in Hainan. With a good wind, it could certainly be reached in fourteen days from Canton, the place that the author of that passage had presumably in mind when penning it.



which stood the ancient Siamese capital, every probability seems to be in favour of that term being a mere phonetic rendering, rather than a Chinese translation, of the topical name by which the natives of the country called either their capital or the district around it. In order to detect what was the local term that lies disguised under this puzzling Chinese diagram *Ch'ih-t'u*, we must bear in mind that the characters which compose it were not in the old days pronounced as they now would be in Pekingese, which is the form that for uniformity's sake, and in compliance with the method now generally followed, we have adopted in transcribing them here. Even in the various dialects spoken at present in China and adjoining regions, those two characters would be read differently. Now, Sinologists are fairly agreed upon the point that out of the dialects referred to, the old pronunciation, and, above all, the ancient finals of words—which in most of them have in the course of time become obliterated or modified—are best preserved in Cantonese and, to a somewhat lesser degree, in Annamese, Korean, and Japanese imported Chinese words. On the strength of this assumption, and taking into account that the characters, reading *Ch'ih-t'u* in Pekingese, sound instead as *Ch'ik-t'ou* or *Ch'ek-t'ou* in Cantonese, *Hsik-t'ou* in Annamese, *Ch'ak-t'u* in Hakka, *Chök-to* in Korean, and *Seki-to* or *Shaku-to* in Japanese,\* we may well infer that at the time they were employed to record the name either of Siām's capital or of the site upon which the latter stood, they must have been pronounced somewhat like *Sakda* or *Sakut'a*. Now, this is, it will be admitted, a pretty fair approach to *Sukhada*, also called *Sukhodaya*, and pronounced *Sukho-thai* by the vulgar, the name of the ancient capital of northern Siām proper, and by extension of the territory of the State over which it swayed, which at various periods embraced also portions of southern Siām, and in later days had extended far into Pegu and Cambodia, and a good deal down the Malay Peninsula. I have therefore no doubt that *Ch'ih-t'u*, or, as we should perhaps now write it, *Sakda* or *Sakhoda*, is but a phonetic rendering of *Sukhada*, slightly modified so as to make it express the meaning of "Red Earth," justifiable by the appearance of the soil, thus making it easier of retention, while satisfying the exigencies of those of the Chinese literati gifted with a philological turn of mind. It would seem, in fact, from the context of the early Chinese accounts of *Ch'ih-t'u*, that the author's intention was to palm off this place-name as being the native designation which Siām's capital or its territory bore at the time, coincident in both letter and meaning with the characters by which it was rendered in Chinese. As we know, no Chinese dialect was spoken by the people inhabiting Siām proper at the time, and therefore such a coincidence would be impossible. However, as the natives of the country were then of Mōñ-Khmēr race and speech, *Sukhada* would be pronounced as it is by the Mōñ of the present day, *Saktā*, *Sökke'tā*, or *Sökkhaudā*,† thus

\* Pronunciation as supplied by Mr. E. H. Parker in Giles's "Chinese Dictionary," s. v.

† *Sukhodaya* is transcribed in Mōñ as သုခိဝေဒါယ (Sökkhaudāya), which is pronounced Sökkhaudāya; but a more common form of spelling it is သုဂ္ဂါဒါ (Sökkadā), pronounced Sökkatā. The Burmese, who usually lip the *s* into *th*, say

justifying the rendering of the first syllable as *ch'ih* (in Cantonese *ch'ek*, in Korean *chök*, and in Annamese *hsik*). It would appear, therefore, that while the transcription was sufficiently accurate, the connotation put upon it is of purely Chinese invention, and to one acquainted with the vagaries not only of Chinese, but of travellers in general, no matter of what nationality, such an occurrence cannot come as a surprise.

No apology is, I hope, needed for my having gone into so many particulars as regards the interpretation of this single place-name of *Ch'ih-t'u*. As the latter has hitherto been but vaguely, and on the basis of circumstantial evidence alone, assumed to apply to some place in Siām, taking it as its value and in the sense ascribed to it by the Chinese literati, I have thought it of material importance for the present inquiry to locate it and to establish its application more definitely, despite the fact that, in so doing, I had to run down one of those pet theories which have so far obtained among Oriental scholars. With this, let us now hope that the "Red-Earth" bubble is exploded.\* If such will prove to be the case, and *Sukhada* or *Sukhothai* will be recognised as the true equivalents of the Chinese *Ch'ih-t'u*, the foregoing discussion will not have been made in vain, and the pains I have taken for some time-past to trace the true meaning of that puzzling geographical expression will not have been useless. I may add, in conclusion, that no other locality of a similar name to *Sukhada* or *Sukhodaya* existed of old in Siām; hence it may be taken as pretty well certain that to this alone the term *Ch'ih-t'u* could have been applied.

#### IDENTIFICATION OF "SENG-CH'I."

There is, however, another difficulty cropping up which must be got over before we proceed. This arises from the statement of the Chinese travellers that the capital of *Ch'ih-t'u*, or at least the city where the King resided, was called *Seng-ch'i*, or *Seng-chi*, i.e., *Sangha* or *Sankha*, and was surrounded by a triple enceinte of walls. At first sight the city of *Svarga-*

*Thukkat'i* or *Thukkat'i*. The Talaing (Mōn) work on Gavampati-thera, to which I have of late drawn the attention of Oriental scholars, has (Book I.) the form ဘဒ္ဒကဒ္ဒိဂ္ဂါ (Sak-kadū-gām, pronounced *Sakkat'a-kēm*), intended evidently to represent *Sukhada-gāma*,\* as the *u* vowel appendage may have been dropped in the course of repeated transcriptions at the hands of ignorant scribes. This designation is, of course, meant to refer to the time when Sukhōthai was yet a mere *gāma*, or "village," and I take it as a further proof that the original name of Sukhōthai and its territory really was *Sukhada*, as I have inferred from other circumstances.

\* As an instance of the wild speculations that the name of *Ch'ih-t'u* has led to, I may adduce the following extract from an article in explanation of the titles of the early Chinese Emperors, which appeared in the *China Review*, vol. xiv. In it the author, in discussing the title of *Yen-ti*, the "Fiery God," applied to Shên-nung (B.C. 2838), bursts upon the reader with the following amazing argumentation (p. 27): "As for *Yen-ti*, we find that *Yen* [flame, blaze, hot] is the antique form of *Ch'ih* [red, fire, hot], and the deity is called in the Lushih *Ch'ih-t'i*, the "Red God." He was, then, doubtless a deification of the planet Mars. Curiously enough, *Ch'ih-t'u* (red land) is an old name for Siam, referring, as according to Pallegoix does the word Sayam [*vic* in Pallegoix, who unfortunately was innocent of either Pāli or Sanskrit] itself, perhaps to the reddish-brown colour of the people, so that read with this light the Red God of the South may be the Emperor of Siam" [!].

*loka* (whose name is pronounced by the present Siamese *Swankha-lôk*, but vulgarly contracted into *Sankha-lôk*, and even nasalized into *Sankha-lôk*), would appear to be meant. Old Swankha-lôk stood on the same branch and bank of the river as Sukhothai, and only at some thirty miles' distance above it, being besides the latter's sister-town, with which it divided the honour of being alternatively the capital of the State. If the Sovereign resided, for instance, at Swankha-lôk, he would install his nearest relative, whether son or brother, as *uparāja* in Sukhothai, and *vice versa*. Often on the death of the Sovereign his successor, that is, the *uparāja*, would prefer to keep his residence in the city and district over which he had been ruling so far, instead of removing to the capital of the King who preceded him, which in his turn he would hand over to the new *uparāja*, and so forth. Owing to the capital being thus continually shifted from one to the other of the two cities, the names of both these came to be collectively employed to designate the State or kingdom. As, however, Swankhalôk was better known under the alternative appellation of *Sajjanālaya* or *Srī Sajjanālaya*, from the name of the venerable ascetic under whose auspices it is alleged to have been founded, the realm was styled the "Kingdom of *Srī Sajjanālaya-Sukhodaya*."\* By outsiders, nevertheless, it would be—as in fact it was—spoken of simply as the "Kingdom of Sukhothai," whether the capital was at one or the other of the two royal cities. At first sight it would then appear, as already pointed out—from the fact that the early Chinese travellers mention *Sêng-ch'i* as being the King's residence—that the capital of the State was at that time at Swankhalôk. But then there is the statement to the effect that *Sêng-ch'i* was surrounded by a triple enceinte of walls, and here the difficulty presents itself. I had occasion to minutely survey the ruins of both Sukhothai and Swankhalôk, as well as of other ancient cities of Siām, and it was only at Sukhothai that I could not only trace, but plainly distinguish, a triple set of ramparts. These consist of earthen mounds thrown up in order to encase and strengthen the ancient walls—built in a quasi-cyclopean style of laterite blocks intermixed with

\* When this State was absorbed into the kingdom of Ayuthia in the second half of the fourteenth century, and a Governor was appointed over Swankhalôk, the term *Srī Sajjanālaya* was embodied in his title, so as to connote his function, and remained there ever after, being transmitted to all the subsequent Governors appointed to that post, as may be seen from the collection of the old laws of Siām (vol. i., p. 201, law of A.D. 1454 on the rank and titles of provincial officials). In view of this fact, as well as of the evidence from the Northern Chronicles establishing the identity of *Sajjanālaya* with Swankhalôk, it is a matter of no small surprise to me that the learned Père Schmitt, in vol. i., p. 8, of the "Exploration de l'Indo Chine" (Mission Pavie, Paris, 1894), could explain in this strain: "*Sajjanālaya* est aujourd'hui oublié; personne ne peut indiquer ses ruines"; after which he goes on to suggest that Kamp'heng P'het may be the vainly-sought-for *Sajjanālaya*. The same mistake is, of course, repeated in Fournereau's "Le Siam ancien" (Paris, 1895, p. 155); but here it does no longer come as a surprise, for the book just named is literally teeming with glaring blunders of this and other kinds. Suffice it to mention that its highly imaginative author dogmatically explains the name of Swankhalôk (*Svargaloka*) thus (p. 53): "*Sangkalôka* [*sic*] = la terre du Sangha" [!]. *Faire de l'archéologie pour rire* is certainly a legitimate pastime, but if one wants to be taken *au sérieux* he must possess at least some rudimentary knowledge of the extant historical literature of the country and of the language or languages that were current in its old days.

bricks—which are still visible in several places, where slips occurred. It is evident that these earthworks are but modern additions, while the walls encased in them must have constituted the original enceinte of the city.

As for Swankhalôk, with the exception of the remains of a rather insignificant wall which separated the royal city proper in the north from the rest of the town, extending southwards, no trace of any additional enceinte can be traced besides the ordinary wall, built here also of laterite blocks, encircling the town. A triple-walled arrangement would, besides, have been scarcely practicable, owing to the background further from the river being hilly with steep slopes, and to the space between these and the river being limited. I am therefore inclined to believe, both from the peculiar disposition of the enceinte of the town and from other particulars given in the Chinese narrative, to which we shall revert in due course, that the city which the early Chinese envoys visited was Sukhothai, and not Swankhalôk.

Such being the case, it remains to explain how they could refer to it as *Sêng-ch'i*, a name ostensibly belonging to the sister-town.\* It may be observed, in the first place, that this may be the result of a mistake due to the envoys having confounded the names of the two cities as one and the same; or it may be that other Chinese missions followed the first, having been separately received at either of the two cities, and that the Celestial historians and cyclopædists in compiling the reports of these missions, *more solito*, inextricably mixed up the particulars of one account with those of another, thus producing one of those egregious hodge-podges for which they have earned imperishable fame. But yet a quite different explanation might be given which would clear the Chinese historiographers of any charge of confusion in connection with the matter, and that is to the effect that Sukhothai may have also been well known by some name approaching to the one given in the Chinese records, and consequently given also to that of its sister-town. Of this fact I find some indications in the local records, although not meeting with any distinct mention of the name. As Oriental scholars are well aware, cities in India and Indo-China often changed names, and in many instances bore several designations at the same time. We have just seen that Swankhalôk was contemporaneously and preferably referred to under its alternative appellation of Sajjanālaya. In the case of Sukhothai we meet with an even more varied assortment of names. The oldest of these appears to have been *Ripunjaya* or *Haripunjaya*, twisted by some Buddhist wiseacre into *Haribhūja*, in order to make it consistent with an absurd legend, according to which Gotama Buddha paid a visit to the spot, and partook there of a yellow myrobalan fruit (*Haritaka*, *Hari-phala*) which had been presented to him. At that time the place is said to have been—like the neighbouring site of the future Swankhalôk—a mere village, or rather a cluster of five hamlets, occupied by Brāhman families, all related to each other, and their descendants, some of whom from Sukhothai, from Moggalli, the mother of Moggallāna-thera; and some from Swankhalôk, from Sāri, the mother of Sāriputta-thera.\*

\* Such transpositions of the birthplaces of the two principal disciples of Buddha from India to Siam need not surprise; it is quite a distinctive feature of Buddhist conventionalism, in Burmā and Siam especially, where almost each town arrogates to itself the

When, several hundred years later (dates are jumbled and conflicting, but the most reliable seems to be 101 B.C.), Swankhalōk was built on the advice of two famous hermits, of whom one was the Sajjanālaya, already referred to, and under the direction of *Bā* (Master) *Dhammarāja*, the chief of that village community, this latter personage was crowned as King in the new city upon its completion, seven years having then elapsed from the commencement of the work (*i.e.*, in 94 B.C.). Having married a descendant of Lady Moggalli, of the sister-village community of Haribhūñja, the new ruler was honoured by her with three sons, for whom he built walled cities, which he gave them to govern as vassal Kings. Among the new foundations was *Haribhūñja-nagara*, or *Haribhūñjaya*, which by the addition of a royal residence in its midst and protective walls all round was transformed from a mere cluster of hamlets into a regal city. This fell to the lot of Prince *Ulōka*, or *Ulūka* (*Ulōka-kumāra*), the second son of the Swankhalōk King. Upon being installed as ruler in the newly-founded residence, this Prince received from his father the suzerain, with the title of *Dharmās'oka-rāja*, that of King of Haribhūñjaya (*circa* 70 B.C.). Other versions give, however, slightly different titles, to wit: *Dharmās'oka-daya*, or simply *As'oka-daya*, and it is pretended that out of homage to the name of its first ruler the city had its original appellation of *Haribhūñja*, or *Haribhūñjaya*, changed into *Sukhodaya*, which is therefore spelled with the assimilated *s* thus: *Sukhodaya*. This is but another instance of those fanciful etymologies which native lexicographers often try to foist upon the unwary public. For although *Sukhodaya*, meaning "Dawn of Happiness," bears some subordinate relation of sense to *As'oka-daya*, "Giving freedom from sorrow," especially if the latter be read as *As'okodaya*, "Dawn of emancipation from sorrow," a literal derivation of the former from the latter by metathesis of *As'oka* into *Sukha* is grammatically inadmissible. What can be gathered from the above medley is rather that the name of the King must have been *Sukhodaya*, and that of the city and region over which he ruled *Sukhada*, an assumption which appears to be supported by other evidence besides that already adduced when discussing the interpretation to be put upon the term *Ch'ih-t'u*. *Sukhodaya* as a designation for the city and kingdom must have been a later improvement upon its original name of *Sukhada*, suggested by the desire to make it convey different fanciful meanings which I have already discussed in a former number of this Review,\* and

honour of having been the scene of some characteristic episode in the life of Buddha, or of being the birthplace of some eminent Buddhist personage, such as Moggallāna, Sāriputta, Ānanda, King Milinda of debating fame, etc. By reference to the Chinese accounts of *P'iao* (Lower Burma), it will be seen how the chief city of that country also boasted of having given birth to *Sh'ā-li-fo* (Sāriputta). See Hervey de Saint-Denys' "Ethnographie des Peuples étrangers à la Chine," vol. ii., p. 232. (Quite in the same way Moggallāna is reputed to have left traces of his residence in *Chang-ch'eng* (Cochin China). See Mayer's "Chinese Explorations of the Indian Ocean" in *China Review*, vol. iii., and vol. iv., p. 67. Apropos of Sāriputta's connection with the capital of *P'iao*, I think that the name of the latter, as recorded by the Chinese Buddhist travellers, Hwēn Ts'ang among others, is to be read *Sāri-ksātra*, instead of *Sri-ksātra*, as hitherto proposed.

\*January, 1898, pp. 149-154. All I may add here in support of my argument, that the Siamese have long believed in a classic derivation of the term *Thai*—their self-

which it would be waste of space to re-argue here. For the same reason I have to refer the reader to another publication of mine as regards the connection of Sukhothai and its original ruler with the *Sukhada* and *Sukhodaya* of the Purāṇas.\* •

Reverting, then, to the original argument anent the identification of Sukhothai with the *S'ng-ch'i* of the Chinese envoys, we find it stated in the chronicles of *Lamp'hūn* that Sukhothai was like a chank-shell (*saṅkha*) in configuration, and that, seeing how remarkably this city and its kingdom were prospering, *Lamp'hūn* was built in the same shape, and similarly named *Haribhūṇjaya*, vulgarly corrupted into *Lamp'hūn-ch'ai*, or simply *Lamp'hūn*. This was in A.D. 527 according to some chronicles, and in A.D. 657 according to others.†

It will thus be seen how very likely it was that, from its shape, Sukhothai might also be given, amongst several other names, that of *•Saṅkha-pura* or *Saṅkha-nagara*—i.e., "Chank[-shaped] City." Of course, this is a mere surmise, not directly corroborated so far by any of the local records I have had occasion to examine, but, taken together with the other circumstantial evidence adduced above, should tend to turn the balance of opinion in favour of Sukhothai being the city visited by the early Chinese envoys rather than Swankhalōk. Naturally, after all, it does not matter much which of the two it was, both cities being in so close proximity, and so strictly related to each other as alternate capitals of the same State, as to preclude the possibility of a mistake on our part anent the kingdom with which the Chinese had their earliest intercourse in this region. A more precise determination of the city which was its capital is merely a matter of archaeological speculation. Nor can it be expected that, because the suzerain of the State originally resided at Swankhalōk, this city was still the seat of government, several centuries later, when the Chinese embassy

assumed national epithet—from the name of their ancient capital city Sukhothai, is a fresh bit of documentary evidence which I had overlooked when writing on "Shān and Siām." This comes from the famous Sukhothai inscription in Kambojan characters of circa A.D. 1365, now preserved within the precincts of the palace temple at Bāngkōk, a passage of which says: "The people of the realm are neither slaves nor bondmen: they are all free (*thai*) and happy (*sukhō*) withal, hence the country became known by the name of *Sukhothai* [i.e., the kingdom of the 'Happy Freemen' (or *Thai*)]." This important passage has been omitted in both the transliteration and translation which Père Schmitt gives of this epigraphic monument in the publications of the Mission Pavie, tome i., pp. 29 *et seq.* In the same inscription occurs the collective designation of the State as "Kingdom of *Sri Sajjanālaya Sukhodaya*." This also appears in the previous inscription of circa A.D. 1300—the oldest epigraphic monument in the Siamese language as yet found, reproduced in the above-quoted work, pp. 10-26, and numbered I. in the plates.

\* "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia," which is to be issued in the "Asiatic Studies" Series of the R.A.S.

† The year after that Princess *Cāma-devī*, the daughter of the King of *Lavō* (afterwards *Lop'huri* or *Lava-pura*) was obtained in marriage for the *Lamp'hūn* ruler, and from this union the dynasty that up to A.D. 1281 reigned over *Lamp'hūn*—styled therefore the *Cāmadevī-raṇsa*, or *Cāmadevī* Dynasty—is said to have sprung. A hint for Mr. E. H. Parker: this kingdom of *Lamp'hūn* (and not Cambodia) is the *Nū-wang*, or "Female Prince" State, said by the Chinese annalists to have been bordering on the south upon the territory of the Nān-Chāu Confederation from the seventh century onwards. See *China Review*, vol. xix., p. 72, and vol. xx., p. 340.

arrived, for the kingdom appears to have been conquered towards the close of the fifth century by the King from Northern Siām who founded *Lavô* (apparently in A.D. 493), and the capital forthwith established at Sukhōthai, where it presumably remained until the middle of the eleventh century. It was then, as we shall see directly, transferred back to Swankhalōk.

In connection with the foundation of *Lavô* at the head of the delta in Southern Siām, there is a reference to some relics of Buddha which its founder brought thither from *Svāṅga-purī*, a town situated in the present district of Mûang F'āng on the Nān River (not to be confounded with its namesake to the north of C'hieng-māi), and said to have been built in A.D. 457 by a certain Paṇḍitya (or Paṇḍita)-rājā. I have purposely drawn attention to this town of *Svāṅga-purī* in order to show how easily it might lay claim to identification with the *Sêng-ch'i* of the Chinese envoys, were other particulars wanting to establish the rights of Sukhōthai—and, in a less probable measure, of Swankhalōk—to such a distinction.

#### KING RÙANG'S CORRECT DATE.

Having thus disposed of the principal topographic difficulties besetting the present inquiry, it remains, before we enter definitely into the serial history of Siāmo-Chinese relations, to deal with the chief stumbling-block which Siāinese records exhibit at the outset in regard to this subject. As the extant memoirs touching that early period are but the *dissecta membra* of one or more quasi-historical works presumably lost at the time (A.D. 1767) of the destruction by the Burmāns of the former Siāinese capital Ayuthia (*Ayodhyā* or *Ayuddhyā*), indiscriminately gathered up, regardless of either order or dates, historical facts and traditions, or legend, and fiction, into a most chaotic jumble termed the *Phongsavadān Nān*, or "Northern Annals [of Siam]," it becomes necessary to clear the ground, by some critical examination of the dates assigned to the relations with China mentioned therein, before we can examine these local narratives with those presented on the Chinese side. These dates all centre, for the early period, round that of the accession of King Rùang, under whose reign the first Siāinese intercourse with China took place, according to those records. King Rùang, officially known as *Aruṇa-rājādhirāj Rùang Chāu* or *Aruṇavati Rùang*, is represented as having been born from the clandestine union of the Sukhōthai King *Abhayagāma-muni-rājā* (evidently a clerical error for *Abhayagamani*) with a Nāga woman. His birth is variously assigned to 950 and 1150 Buddhist era (A.D. 407 and 607), and to 500 or 530 Śaka Era (A.D. 578 or 618); but, as we shall demonstrate directly, neither of these dates is reliable, and all are several centuries older than the correct one. When in his twenty-fifth year of age his father wedded him with the daughter of the King of Sajjanālaya (Swankhalōk), who had no male issue, and the fortunes of whose State and dynasty were declining. Thus Aruṇavati Rùang became a vassal King at Swankhalōk; but on the death of his father the suzerain at Sukhōthai, instead of transferring his residence thither, he simply placed a relative of his in the ascendant line to govern it, and preferred to continue holding his Court at Swankhalōk, which he made the capital, his kingdom then embracing most

of Northern Siām, and extending as far west as Tōngū (Taung-oo) on the Sittang River. This celebrated monarch is credited with having, in his fiftieth year of age, abolished the use of the Buddhist era in his dominions, establishing in its stead the *Cūla* or *Culla-Śaka* (Small) era, henceforth employed, which began on Sunday, March 22, A.D. 638 (Julian reckoning). It is merely on the strength of this vague tradition that the birth-date of King Arunavati Rūang is thrown back to the extent of several centuries, so as to make his fiftieth year of age coincide with the initial year of the era he is represented to have established. But while some MS. copies of the "Northern Annals" place this event in the year 1200 of the Buddhist era = A.D. 656-7, which would be correct if it were assumed that he merely adopted the new era from elsewhere, and sanctioned its employment in his States when nineteen years of it had already expired (*i.e.*, in March, A.D. 657), other copies of the Annals say that he cancelled the Buddhist era in its 1,000th year (*i.e.*, in A.D. 457), thus giving us reason to contend that either the era thus abolished was not the Buddhist, or that the newly-founded one could not be the Culla-Śaka, as this began nearly two centuries later. Neither of these contentions, however, seems tenable, as we shall demonstrate.

#### THE CULLA-ŚAKA ERA AND ITS INTRODUCTION INTO SIĀM.

The *Culla-Śaka* or *Śaka-rāja*\* era, although employed up to a quite recent period in Siām,† and still in use in the Lāu States and Kamboja, is but of comparatively modern introduction. Established according to tradition at Pagān (Bukām), the ancient capital of Burmā, by a Primate of the local Buddhist Church who gave up religious life for the throne, and passed in consequence to history under the vague designations of *Saṅgha-rājā*‡ and *Pubbajjārahan*,§ whence it has also become known as the

\* Also spelled *Sakka-rāja*, from a belief of its having been established by or at the suggestion and under the auspices of *Sakka*, *i.e.*, Indra. It is frequently designated by adepts the *Khāchapañca* era, owing to the fact of its being reckoned from the 560th year expired of the *Saka Samvat*, *Mahā Saka*, or *Mahā Sakarāja* ("Great Saka") era, equivalent to A.D. 638. As usual with Indū astrologers, the figures 560 are expressed by means of mnemonic words written in the reverse order, thus: *kha*=0; *cha*=6; *pañca*=5. In the "Northern Annals" the copyists have made a mess of the above mnemonical formula, transcribing it at times *Pahampūyā*, and at others *Khahampūyā*, terms in which it is not easy to discover the vestiges of *Khacha pañca*. In fact, it took me a good deal of investigation ere I could hit upon the right meaning of that abracadabra, which every local scholar I had occasion to consult so far has declared undecipherable. It occurs in the "Northern Annals" in every instance connected with the adoption of the Culla-Saka era by some one or other of the Indo-Chinese potentates.

† It was superseded in 1889 by the *Ratna Kosindra Saka*, or "Bāngkōk era," which was made to date from 1782, the epoch of the foundation of the present reigning dynasty and of its capital on the eastern bank of the *Mé-nam Chāu Phiyā*, or Bāngkōk River. The Buddhist era is, however, still in use for religious and important State documents, in these latter it being employed in conjunction with the Bāngkōk era.

‡ "Patriarch," or "Chief of the congregation (*saṅgha*)," pronounced *Thenga-radā* by

• the Burmese.

§ That is, "Elder Saint (*Arhat*)"; in Burmese *Pouppadzu Rahan*.



"Pagān" or "Pouppa-dzau era,"\* the Culla-Śaka era did not cross the frontiers of the Pagān kingdom until the time of Anuruddha. It was this famous ruler and warrior who brought it along with him in his brilliant career of conquest through Pegu, part of Western and Southern Siām, the "Shān" (Thai) States of Northern Burmā, and Northern Lāos. Encouraged by his success in Pegu in A.D. 1057,† he shortly afterwards attacked Lavô in Southern Siām, retreating only after having obtained in marriage the sister of the King ruling there.‡ In the course of the following years he started on an expedition to Western Yunnan, and among the petty Thai States which he visited or made tributary was that of C'hieng Sën on the Upper Më-Không, north of C'hieng-Măi (Zimmé). The C'hieng Sën Chronicles (Part II.) mention Anuruddha's visit to that territory, which gave him occasion to appoint a new King to rule over it, and to establish therein the Culla-Śaka era in substitution of the Mahā-Śaka, which had been hitherto in use among its people. The chiefs of all the neighbouring States were summoned to be present at the inauguration of the new style of reckoning, and all convened at the meeting adopted the new era except two—to wit, the rulers of Haribhūṇja (Lamp'hūñ) and Sukhōthai.

It is perfectly clear from this passage from the C'hieng Sën Chronicles that Sukhōthai had not so far become acquainted with the Culla-Śaka era,

\* I may, however, call attention to the fact that the epoch of the Culla-Saka era is synchronous with that of the *Māgi-San*, till now current in the district of Chittagong. Although the years of the latter follow the solar reckoning of the *Bengali-San*, whereas those of the Culla-Saka are luni-solar, and the intercalation of months takes place on a different system from the one followed in the Indū luni-solar calendar, the synchronism of the epochs of the Māgi and Culla-Saka eras above alluded to is, I think, no faint indication that the Culla-Saka era was probably introduced into Burmā from either Chittagong or Lower Bengal, and did not at all originate at Pagān, as claimed by the Burmese. A thorough investigation of this point is, however, necessary ere we can definitely settle to which country—whether Bengal or Burmā—appertains the paternity of the Culla-Saka. As far as I can judge for the present, the odds seem to lie on the side of Bengal.

† This is the date given in the Kalyāṇī inscriptions of Pegu, which state that Anuruddha attacked that country in the year 1600 of religion, and brought thence the Buddhist Scriptures and priests to Pagān in the following year—1601 of religion and 419 *Sakarāja*—A. D. 1057.

‡ So state with a wealth of details the "Northern Annals" of Siām. The *Ratana Bimbavamsa*, or "History of the Precious-stone Idol" (the so-called "Emerald Buddha"), and other records, mention how one of the ships sent by Anuruddha to Ceylon in quest of sacred books and relics, when returning from that island straggled on to Kamboja, thus leading to a rupture between Kamboja and Burmā. These events do not appear to have been recorded on the Burmese side, and yet they cannot be devoid of some historical foundation, since the contemporaneous inscriptions of *Campa* make distinct mentions of slaves—evidently prisoners of war—from *Pukam* (i.e., *Bukam*, or Pagān), thus leading us to infer that hostilities must have taken place at that period between Burmā and Kamboja—as we know, from both Khmer and Chām epigraphic evidence, it occurred between Kamboja and *Campa*—in the course of which Burmese prisoners of war made by the Khmers passed into Chām hands. For further remarks anent this subject the reader is referred to my former paper in January, 1898, issue of this Review. I may here add, however, that the invasion of Lavô ascribed to Anuruddha was more probably the work of some one of his successors. This point will be discussed in due course. Like King Rūang for Siam, and Paduma-Suriyavamsa for Kamboja, Anuruddha is Burmā's national hero, and thus he is sometimes credited with exploits which partly belong to legend, and partly were instead performed by some of his predecessors or successors.

and that if it ever adopted the latter it must have been after the middle of the eleventh century. It follows, therefore, that if King Aruṇavati Rūang's name is at all to remain associated with the establishment of the Cullaśāka era in the State of Swankhalōk and Sukhothai, the date of his reign must be shifted forward accordingly. Reasons are not wanting in support of this argument, and principal among them is the following, which will for the present suffice for our purpose.

#### LĀU INVASION OF SWANKHALŌK.

Shortly after King Aruṇavati Rūang's death—which, by the way, happened in no less a mysterious way than that of his Western counterpart Romulus\*—Swankhalōk was attacked by an army from Northern Lāos, which, the Siāmesic chronicles say, was under the leadership of the King of C'hieng Sēn. As, however, the chronicles of C'hieng Sēn themselves make no mention whatever of any expedition against Swankhalōk—nor do those of either Lamp'hūi, C'hieng Rāi, Mūang Yōng, P'hra-Yāu (or P'hū-yāu), and other neighbouring petty States, which I had occasion to examine—we must assume that such an invasion must have come from some other quarter, which we propose to find out. It was in connection with this attack upon Swankhalōk that the second instance of Siāmesic intercourse with China, mentioned in the local records, took place, the Swankhalōk King—said to have been a son of the late Aruṇavati Rūang by the Princess whom this legendary hero had obtained from the Chinese Emperor—having applied thither for assistance. After some preliminary skirmishing on both sides, however, things were peacefully settled between the besiegers and besieged through the intervention of the chiefs of the Buddhist clergy; and the Lāu King withdrew upon obtaining the daughter of the Swankhalōk ruler in marriage.

#### FOUNDATION OF P'HIṢṢULŌK.

It appears, nevertheless, that the State of Swankhalōk, or part of it, must have become tributary, or, at any rate, was within the sphere of influence—if a very modern euphemism for a very old political manœuvre may be used—of the Lāu potentate; for this latter is represented as building within the territory of the invaded State the city of P'hiṣṣulōk (Viṣṣuloka), over which he placed the eldest of his sons (sprung from his union with

\* That is, by disappearance into the *Keng Liang* rapids of the river, in front of his palace at Swankhalōk, where he went down to bathe—thereby returning, as the legend has it, to the realm of the Nāgas, whence he was descended from his mother's side. Owing to this incident and to the wonderful stories which are told of his exploits both in Siām and abroad, King Aruṇavati Rūang became the legendary hero of Siām, just as Romulus did of Rome; and up to the present day a statue of his is preserved in an old chapel at ancient Swankhalōk, of which city it is considered the palladium—or, at least, one of the protective lares, as was that of Julius Cæsar in the Roman capitol. Floral offerings are made to it, and athletic games held in its honour on the fourth day of the fifth moon every year, which is the season when the Siāmesic year commences. The crocodiles haunting the river within the precincts of the old city are held sacred to King Rūang, and therefore they are left unmolested. They are, however, reputed to be harmless to man, owing to the deterrent influence exercised upon them by the benignant spirit of the deceased hero.

the daughter of the Swankhalôk King) to reign, sending the other to rule over Lop'hburi (Lavô) in Southern Siām.

At the same time the Lāu monarch had three famous bronze statues of Buddha cast in P'hiṣṇulôk, one of which is still to be seen in the principal temple there, the other two having been not long since transferred to Bāngkōk.\* Now, the dates given for these events in the Northern Chronicles are fully three centuries later than the commencement of the Culla-Saka era, at which it is pretended that King Arunavati Ràng lived,† whereas the number of years that elapsed between the latter's reign and the building of P'hiṣṇulôk could not very well exceed half a century. It is therefore evident that some one or other of these dates is wrong—presumably more so the one ascribed to King Ràng's reign—and that the story of the foundation of the Culla-Saka era by him is absurd. Nor is this all, for we are enabled by a fortunate circumstance to check the date of the building of P'hiṣṇulôk, and demonstrate, in a manner which I think decisive, that the latter also antecedes the correct one by a couple of centuries, and that, consequently, neither of the dates given for the events we have mentioned in the Northern Annals can be accepted.

In fact, the missionary Gervaise, a fairly good Siamese scholar, and one of the best informed of his contemporaries on Siamese subjects, states in his valuable book on Siam‡ that the founder of P'hiṣṇulôk was the *Chāu Mūang Hāng* (or Prince of the Lāu State of Hāng), surnamed the "Black King," who built that city about 250 years before King Ū-thōng settled at Ayuthia. As Ayuthia did not become King Ū-thōng's capital until A.D. 1350, we obtain the approximate dates of A.D. 1100 for the foundation of P'hiṣṇulôk and the casting of the three famous statues of Buddha, and A.D. 1050 for King Arunavati Ràng's reign. It is unfortunate that Father Gervaise did not supply us with more definite data. Probably he contemplated doing so in some more strictly historical work, which he never completed; but even as we have it, his information is, I think, reliable, as he had the opportunity of consulting chronicles and other records which have since been lost, and which we can hardly hope will ever be recovered. The question, of course, cannot be considered as settled until we can corroborate Father Gervaise's statement with evidence extracted directly from the Mūang Hāng Chronicles—supposing that such exist, and I see no reason why they should not§—or from other authentic

\* The statues called *P'hrah C'hinasī* (Jinasiri or Jinasihā) and *P'hrah Sāsū* (Sāstri, Sathā) were brought down to Bāngkōk in A.D. 1831, and instated at Wat Pavaranives, where they may be seen up to this day; while the image termed *P'hrah C'hinarāt* (Jinarāja), the most famed of the triad because of its having to be recast with the supernatural intervention, the legend says, of Indra in the disguise of an artisan, still remains at P'hiṣṇulôk.

† The year 315 Culla-Saka, third month (January, 954 A.D.), is given for the foundation of P'hiṣṇulôk, 317 C. S. (A.D. 956) for the casting of the statues, and 319 C. S. (A.D. 957) for the recasting of the P'hrah C'hinarāt.

‡ "Histoire naturelle et politique du Royaume de Siam," Paris, 1688, p. 47. The author resided four years in Siām, between 1681-85. He spells P'hiṣṇulôk, like most of his contemporaries, *Porselouc*.

§ Mūang Hāng, or Hāng, called also *Mūang Hāng Liang*—i.e., the Greater or Major Mūang Hāng—in order to distinguish it from less conspicuous namesakes, is situated on

sources. In the meantime we may consider the datum he supplies us with as sufficiently approximate for our purpose.\*

#### KING RUAṄG'S CONNECTION WITH THE CULLA ERA.

Such being the facts of the case, it is evident that King Arunavati RUAṅG could not be the founder of the Culla-Śaka era; all he did was either to cancel the Buddhist era in its 1,600th year (or A.D. 1056-57) instead of its 1,000th, as tradition would have it—a deed which strikes one as extraordinary in such a fervent Buddhist as this ruler is represented to have been—establishing the Mahā Śaka era in its stead; or else to cancel the latter in its 1,000th year (A.D. 1078-79), adopting in substitution the Culla-Śaka era. This second course would naturally not be expected to be taken by one who refused to comply with Anuruddha's request anent the same matter twenty years before that; but it may be that upon recognising the advantages of the new method of reckoning time upon the much more complicated and perhaps less accurate one which found favour up to that period in his dominions,\* he overcame his antipathy for the Culla-

the banks of the Mē Hāṅg, on the Salwin watershed, at about eighty miles north of C'hiēng-mai, and sixty miles west of C'hiēng Sen. The famous Siamese King, Narēt (Naresvara), surnamed by the Portuguese the "Black Prince" (I hope Gervaise did not fall into some pit-hole here by confounding this Prince with the founder of P'hisulōk; but this seems hardly possible, on account of the very considerable difference in dates between the two personages), took it in A.D. 1605, and died almost immediately afterwards within its territory. Commenting upon this event, Khūn Lāṅg Hāwat (the last King of Ayuthia but one) says in his "Memoirs," p. 20, that Muāng Hāṅg was a very old foundation, dating from the epoch of King Dharmāsoka of Pāṭaliputra (circa B.C. 263-222); and that about a hundred Kings had reigned there by the time it was conquered by King Narēt. In another passage the same writer gives the name of the King who cast the three famous images of Buddha at P'hisulōk as Sudhamma-rāja. This fairly agrees with the somewhat fanciful one ascribed to the same personage in the Northern Chronicles, viz., *Siri Dhammatripitaka*, on the score that he had caused a transcription of the Buddhist Tripitaka to be made in one of his previous existences! It will appear from these few references to Muāng Hāṅg's history that a search made in the monasteries of that district (now forming part of British territory in the so-called "Shān States") with a view to discovering the old records of that principality—which must exist there in some form—may well repay the trouble, and enable us to set at rest the chronological question discussed above, besides putting us in possession of other very-much-needed information on the past of that and adjoining districts. The attention of British officials in Upper Burmā is therefore invited to this important matter in the particular interest of history.

\* The advantages of the new method consist in the fixed position assigned to the intercalary month, which is obtained by a reduplication of the month of *Asuḥha* (or *Asalha*, in which the Buddhist Lent or *vassa* begins), and in referring the reckoning to a nearer epoch. Both these features concur in greatly simplifying calculations. It is worthy of remark that the length of the solar year adopted both in Siām and Burmā for the adjustment of the calendar is exactly the same (365 days 6 hours 12 minutes 36 seconds) as laid down in the original Sārya Siddhānta, which is anterior to A.D. 500, and is known to have been in use in India till at least A.D. 665. While, however, in the Burmese calendar the lunar months are reckoned from *Caitra-sukla 1*—i.e., from the new moon immediately preceding the *Mesa-sankrānti*, or passage of the sun through the first point of Aries—in Siām they are numbered instead from the new moon of *Margasirsa*, which is termed the "first moon" (*Dien-Ai*), so that the beginning of the solar year falls after the fifth new moon. This method of counting the lunar months from *Margasirsa* is

Śaka era, and eventually adopted it by cutting off—as other potentates in both Siām and Kamboja are represented to have done at various periods

evidently the relic of an ancient usage—anterior to the adoption of the Culla-Saka era—according to which the year began with the new moon or first day of *Margāsīrsa-sudi*. Now, this is known to have been the case in several parts of Western and Northern India, especially in Sindh, Multān, Kanouj, Lahore, according to the testimony of both Alberuni (A.D. 1030) and Abu Rihān. It is, therefore, possible that the practice was introduced into Northern Siām from that quarter, in connection with either the Mālava (Vikrama-Samvat) or the Saka era. It must be noted, however, that the Lāu of Northern Siām reckon their months from *As'vina*, hence their first month, or *Dien-Chieng*, as they call it, corresponds to the eleventh Siāmesé month (September-October), and New Year falls in their seventh month. Whether this mode of reckoning is due to some era having been formerly in use which began the year with *As'vina*, or to other causes, it is now difficult to say. In India there existed at least one era—to wit, that of Cedi or Kalachuri—in the western and central part of the country, in which the year commenced from *As'vina-sukla-pratipadī*, or the first day of the new moon of *As'vina*. No trace is to be found in either Siāmesé or Lāu records as to any of the two eras just referred to, viz., the Vikrama and Kalachuri—ever having been employed in the country. Nevertheless, it is very likely that not only these, but also other Indian eras—as, for instance, the Gupta-Samvat, which found favour in Upper Burmā in the fifth century A.D.—may have been at different periods current in the various States into which Siām was divided of yore. This would partly account for the muddled condition of the chronology in local records. At the same time, the evidence to hand points to the Saka era having been the one which mostly obtained in both Siām and Kamboja from the earliest days. The oldest inscriptions in Kamboja (seventh century A.D.) are dated in the Saka era, and likewise are the earliest epigraphic monuments of Sukhothai in the Siāmesé (Thai) language (fourteenth century), in spite of the alleged establishment there of the Culla-Saka era through the instrumentality of King Arunavati Riāng. This circumstance shows that, if eventually adopted, the Culla-Saka era soon fell into disfavour in Sukhothai, the Mahā-Saka being reinstated in its stead. It appears that the Culla-Saka era did not again come into use until the capital was established at Ayuthia in A.D. 1350 by King U-thōng. This ruler being descended from the dynasty that formerly had its seat at C'hieng Rāi in Lāos—the region where the Culla-Saka era had been introduced and enforced by Anuruddha of Pagān in the eleventh century—we may reasonably infer that it was he who brought this era down to Southern Siām and instituted it there. Yet, of the laws that King U-thōng made, only one—that is, the *Kol Monthierahān*—is dated in the Culla-Saka (C. S. 722 = A.D. 1360), while all the others are dated in the Buddhist era. This fact demonstrates that, although in use—mostly for ordinary purposes—from that period, the Culla-Saka era did not find its way into State documents until several centuries afterwards, and that very slowly. The first inscription in which we find it employed is dated C. S. 862 = A.D. 1500, and this comes from C'hieng-māi (Lāos). In conclusion, we may take it as certain that the Culla-Saka era did not become popular in Central and Southern Siām until the Burmo-Peguan invasions of the second half of the sixteenth century, when the country remained for several years under the sway of the Burmese dynasty that reigned in Pegu. It was then that the Culla-Saka era must have definitely prevailed over the Mahā-Saka, and superseded it in all civil matters. These facts, even when coupled with the tradition of the early introduction of the Culla-Saka era into Siām at the initiative of King Arunavati Riāng, are far from sufficient to impress a national character to this era. It appears, therefore, that it can lay no claim whatever towards being designated a Siāmesé era, as it has often been. It is distinctly foreign in its origin, and should provisionally be termed the “Burmese era” until it be found whether this is not also a misnomer, and some different epithet, such as *Magi*, *Bengalese*, or other should be more properly applied to it. See our remarks anent this subject on a former page. So far, then, the *Ratna-Kosindra* or Bāngkok era is the only one which may be accepted as genuinely Siāmesé. The fact of its having been established fully 107 years after the epoch assigned to it is in itself sufficiently convincing to show that eras

—560 years from the current Mahā-Śāka date, in accordance with the *Khaçapañca* formula previously explained.\*

It will be observed that by viewing King Arunavati Rūang's interference with eras in this light the number of years\* of the old era that had elapsed when he abolished it, given in most copies of the Northern Annals and other records as 1000, will be found correct, if they be taken as Mahā-Śāka instead of Buddhist era years, as evidently it is wrongly stated in those works.\* There is yet another point which might be mentioned in favour of the same view. Arunavati Rūang was, according to all accounts, fifty years old when the new era was established, he having been born in the year of the Dragon (*Marông*). Given, then, as we have just assumed, that he abolished the Mahā-Śāka era in its thousandth year—that is, in A.D. 1078-79—the date of his birth would fall in the year 1028-29, which bears the cyclical sign of the Dragon. He died—always according to most accounts—at a rather advanced age in the year of the Rat. This may be, when reckoned after the same standard, either A.D. 1084 or A.D. 1096, which both fall under that denomination. At this rate his journey to China, said to have taken place immediately after he had changed the era, might be put down as A.D. 1079; the siege of Swankhalōk and the despatch of the second Siamese mission to China as A.D. 1097; and the foundation of Phisnulōk as between A.D. 1115 and A.D. 1120.

Should we instead reckon these events on the assumption of the Buddhist era having been abolished by King Arunavati Rūang in its 1,600th year (A.D. 1057-58), we would then have to shorten by twenty years the date of his embassy to China, making it A.D. 1059, and by twelve years the dates of his death and of the successive events above alluded to. This would not matter much when it is considered that prior to the present inquiry we were at a loss as to which of the six centuries comprised between the fifth

are not always founded in their initial year, and this should serve us as a guide in dealing with such vague traditions as that of the establishment of the Culla-Saka era by King Arunavati Rūang in A.D. 638 as its epochal point.

- \*. It appears to have been a widespread custom among Oriental nations, especially in India and adjoining countries, to abolish eras in their thousandth year, starting to count the years afresh for the period next following. This may be inferred from the following remark which General Alexander Cunningham made in his "Book of the Indian Eras" (p. 84, 1883 edition): "I have read somewhere that in A.H. 992, when the Hijra millenary began to draw towards its close, and Akbar was meditating the establishment of the Ilāhi era, one of his courtiers stated openly that the eras even of the greatest Kings did not last beyond 1,000 years. In proof of this he cited the extinction of some Hindu era, which was abolished at the end of 1,000 years."

As regards Siām and the Culla-Saka era in particular, we learn from the *Chronicles of Ayuthia* (vol. i., p. 271 *et seq.*) that in A.D. 1638, when the millennium of that era approached completion, the King then reigning in Siām (Prāsād Thōng by name) had a great festival held, in the course of which he proceeded with much ceremony to cancel the era, substituting to the duodenary cyclical sign of the Tiger belonging to that year—which he feared might portend calamities for the ensuing period—the less ominous sign of the Hog, so as to make the new year of the era (C. S. 1001 = A.D. 1639) begin under the sign of the Rat, the first in the series of the twelve-year cycle. By this means he hoped to cause the new millenary period to commence auspiciously. But his reform fell through during the succeeding reigns, and the old style of cyclical nomenclature was re-established.

and the eleventh to assign those events to, whereas now we are able to localize them within the limits of the eleventh century, or very nearly so, without fear of being very far wrong; and we may consequently easily overlook the small difference of a score or a dozen years, more or less, between the two sets of dates.

So much was necessary to make clear in order to justify the dates—however approximate—which we assign to the embassies of King Rùang and his successor. Although designedly shirking from entering into technicalities—as a far greater amount of space would then have been required—we could not refrain from tackling the subject critically, and trying to arrive at some logical conclusion as to the date at which the Culla-Saka era was introduced into Siām and the causes that led to its spread and adoption in nearly all the countries of Indo-China, since it is upon such an event that the chronology of the earliest Siāmo-Chinese relations mentioned in Siāinese records is based.

#### AUTHORITIES AND METHODS FOLLOWED.

With these preliminary remarks, we shall now turn to the accounts of those relations which have been preserved on both sides, taking them in chronological order, supplementing and commenting upon them as fully as is compatible with the sources of information lying at our disposal, and the original materials which we have been enabled to collect as bearing upon the subject. First in point of antiquity comes the Chinese account of *Ch'ih-t'u*, and of its earliest intercourse with the Celestial Empire, compiled from various sources by Ma Tuan-lin, who gives it a place in his well-known and highly-esteemed cyclopædia called the “Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao.” The ethnographic portion of this standard work appeared translated into French some seventeen years ago by the Marquis d'Hervey de St. Denys, whose version we follow, consulting at the same time the translation which Mr. De Rosny has made of a parallel account from a treatise of historical geography termed the “Tung-hsi Yang-k'ao,” and printed in his “*Les Peuples Orientaux connus des anciens Chinois*” (second edition, Paris, 1886, pp. 198-212). While reproducing the Marquis d'Hervey de St. Denys' version translated into English, with the variants I have met with in De Rosny's, I have thought it necessary to supply a full and entirely new commentary of my own, as almost no attempt is made by either of those learned translators at identifying the numerous place-names occurring in the Chinese text, and supplying illustrative notes on passages bearing on the history, ethnography, customs, and beliefs of the country and people described in that account. I have thought it likewise expedient to transcribe all Chinese proper names and other words, for which the original characters have been given in M. d'H. de St. Denys' version, according to the Pekingese pronunciation, in compliance with the method now generally followed, instead of allowing them to stand in the style of transcription adopted by the translator. The same remarks apply to other extracts on matters bearing upon the subject of the présent inquiry which I have made from St. Denys' work or culled from other publications. The source for such is invariably acknowledged at the proper time and place. Likewise

I have taken care to indicate—whenever it was possible—the authority for the passages and other chips of information which I have obtained from native records and other original works in the languages of both Siam and neighbouring countries. For the translation of such I am alone responsible, as well as for the comments I have appended.

## CHAPTER I.

## EARLIEST RELATIONS WITH SUKHOTHAI.

A.—*CH'IH-TU KUO* (THE KINGDOM OF *SUKHADA*) IN A.D. 607.\*

THE inhabitants of *Ch'ih-tu* [*Shaku-to*, *Sukhada*] are of the same race as those of *Fu-nan*.† It takes over a hundred days' sailing across the Southern Sea [in order] to reach their country. At the spot where their capital is built the soil is extremely red; hence the name of *Ch'ih-tu* given to the country.

## EXTENT AND BOUNDARIES.

The kingdom borders on the east the State of *Po-lo-la*;‡ on the west

\* From Hervey de Saint-Denys' "Ethnographie des Peuples étrangers à la Chine," par Ma Tuan-lin, vol. ii., "Méridionaux," pp. 466-475. This account is in the main a compilation from the *Sui-shu*, or chronicles of the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-618), being evidently based upon the information obtained by the Chinese envoys who visited Sukhothai in A.D. 607. It exhibits, therefore, a picture of the state of Siam at that period, and thus possesses so great a historical importance for us as not to admit of being curtailed in any of its parts.

† *Fu-nan*, i.e., Kamboja. I have elsewhere identified this much-discussed name with the Khmer term *P'hanom* or *P'hnom*, so often occurring in names of towns, such as *P'hnom-p'hēn*, etc.; and I have located the early capital of *Fu-nan* at *Ba-P'hnom*. (See my "Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia" in a coming publication in the R.A.S. series of "Asiatic Studies.") The race of *Fu-nan* is, of course, the Mōn-Khmer race, which then occupied the whole of Southern Indo-China, extending in Siam as far north as Kamp'heng-p'het and Raheng (Tāk), whither it had been driven back from the banks of the Upper Me-Khong at Ch'eng-sen by the Thai during the preceding centuries.

‡ Pronounced with some differences in the various dialects: *Pu-lo-la*, *Bu-lu-la*, *P'a-ra-la* or *Pa-na-la* (Korean), *Ha-ra-la* (Japanese), *Ba-la-lat* (Annamese). The local equivalent should be something like *Purala*, *Barala*, *Bahnar*. But as the transcription is probably faulty or maimed, I have little hesitation in identifying this place with Ptolemy's *Bareukora* or *Bareuathra* (Barikan on the Mé-Không, long. 103° 39' E., lat. 18° 34' N.), which occupied a position E.N.E. of Sukhothai. In this case the correct Chinese rendering should be *Po-lo*-[kou]-*la*, or *Po-li*-[ka]-*la*. De Rosny, "Peuples Orientaux," p. 199, has *Po-lo-lah*. He thinks this State was the same as *Po-li-lo-chah*, which is mentioned as sending, together with *Lin-i* (Campā), ambassadors to China under the T'ang period, *Ch'eng-kuan* (A.D. 627-650). He holds that *Po-lo-chah* is a shortened form of *Po-li-lo-chah*, and makes it one with Ma Tuan-lin's *Po-lo-so*, located to the west of *Ch'ih-tu* (p. 221). This is very doubtful. *Po-lo-chah*, or *Po-li-lo-chah*, may be a collective term resulting from the union of *P'o-li* (Perak, Bali, Brunei?) and *Lo-ch'a* (Pahang?), as the kingdom of *Lo-ch'a* is located to the east of *P'o-li* (Ma Tuan-lin, p. 489), and is said to trade on the coast of *Lin-i*. There appears, therefore, to exist no connection whatever between *Po-lo-ch'a* or *P'o-li-lo-ch'a* and the *Po-lo-la* referred to above as being situated on the eastern frontier of *Ch'ih-tu*.



it is conterminous with that of *Po-lo-so*,\* southwards lies the kingdom of *Kou-lo-tan*,† northwards it is bounded by the great sea. Its frontiers extend over a tract of several thousand *li*.

#### KING'S NAME AND DESCENT.

The King's family name is *Ch'ü-t'an* [Gotama];‡ its personal name is *Li-fu-to-sai*.§ It is not known how far back into antiquity the ancestry of this ruler can be traced.|| We are simply told that his father, having relinquished the crown in order to enter into the religious orders,¶ had

\* *Po-lo-so*, *P'a-ra-sa*, *P'a-na-sa*, *Ba-la-tiva*. Most evidently *Plaksa*, *Palaksa*, *Balaksa*, or *Praksa*, which I have demonstrated to have been the name borne at one time by the whole or part of *Burmā* (*op. cit.*, p. 39), still referred to as *Balassia* by Barbosa (in Ramusio's "Navigationi," vol. i., f. 321, 1563 edit.). The *P'üwen Yun-fu* (quoted in *China Review*, vol. xiii., p. 384) spells the initial syllable 𑖑𑖥 (*P'o* = *ba*) instead of 𑖑𑖥 (*P'o*, sometimes also used as an equivalent for the Sanskrit *ba*, *ba* and *Bra*), as in Ma Tuan-lin's edition, followed by Hervey de Saint-Denys.

† *Kau-lo-tan*, *Kou-lo-tan*, *Ku-ra-tan* (Kor.), *Kō-ra-tan* (Jap.), *K'ü-la-dan* (Ann.). The Chinese text is evidently at fault in placing *Hou-lo-tan* to the south and the sea to the north of *Ch-ih-t'u*. The reverse should be the case. Hence De Rosny's suggestion that *Kou-lo-tan* may be Kalantan in the Malay Peninsula appears untenable. No more plausible would be any attempt at identifying *Kou-lo-tan* or *Kū-ra-tan* with Khorāt, on the double ground of topographical and historical incompatibility, as Khorāt did not then exist under this, its present name. Assuming then that *Kou-lo-tan*, *Kuladan*, or *Kradan*, as its local pronunciation may be, is to be looked for to the north of Sukhothai, it is not an easy matter to say which is the place it designates. The only approaching toponymic I know of in that position is that of *Khelanga* or *Khelanga-nagara*, now Nakhōn Lampāng, founded about twenty years after Lamp'hūā, i.e., in circa A.D. 550, according to the most reliable accounts. *Sakratam* was the name of the ruler of part of Northern Siām (Müang Tāk district) who founded Lavō in about A.D. 493. His capital is classically styled Takkasilā-mahā-nagara in the Northern Chronicles, but has always been known to the vulgar as Müang Tāk. In its halcyon days it may have been distinguished as *Nagar Tak* or *Nagor Tak*. It is therefore possible that *Kou-lo-tan* may represent, if not *Sakratam* himself, at least the capital of his State, *Nagor Tak*. The transition from *Tak* to *Tan* in Chinese transcription is not only quite possible, but is exemplified in the title of P'hyā Tāk, which is always rendered in Chinese books as *P'hyā Tan*. Hence *Nagor Tak* = *Nagor Tan* = [*Na*]-*kou-lo-tan*. Of course I give this identification as merely conjectural in default of anything better.

‡ Kings bearing the name of *Gotama* appear referred to in the chronicles of a later period both in Siām and Kamboja. Examples: *Gotama-devaraja*, *Gotama-rajā*, etc. The fact of a ruler of Siām bearing the name of *Gotama* at the early epoch treated here may be taken as positive evidence as to Buddhism being honoured in the land. This evidence will receive ample confirmation in the sequel of the narrative.

§ *Lei* } *fu-to* { *s'ik* (Cantonese); *Li-fu-to* { *set* (IIakka); *Ni-fu-ta sek* (Kor.);  
*Lai* } *ts'oi* { *t'sai* }  
*Ri-fu-ta-soku* (Jap.); *Loi* } *fu-ta* { *tak* (Ann). This is a very puzzling name, and looks like an imperfect transcription. It may stand for anything from *Revadasi* to *Sariputta* if its last syllable be removed and prefixed to it. It may also be a corrupt rendering of *Ripunjaya* (under the form *Riputjaya*), a name connected, as we have seen, with Sukhothai. All the proper names occurring in this narrative should be examined by some competent person in the original Chinese texts, and all their variants carefully noted, if something like accuracy in their interpretation is to be attained.

|| This phrase, remarks De Rosny (p. 199, note) presents considerable difficulties in its interpretation.

¶ Evidently the Buddhist orders, as evidenced from the fact that he renounced the crown. This has been a frequent practice with subsequent rulers of Sukhothai.

transferred to him the regal power which he held for sixteen years [in A.D. 607; *i.e.*, from A.D. 591]. This King *Li-fu-to-sai* has three wives, two of whom were Princesses from the neighbouring States.\*

#### DESCRIPTION OF THE CAPITAL.

He resides in *Sêng-ch'i* [or *Sêng-ch'i-ch'êng*],† a city surrounded by a triple enceinte of walls, with gates pierced into them at about 100 paces apart from each other.‡ Each of the gateways is ornamented with wreaths of chased golden bells; *Bodhisattvas* and painted immortals [*Devas*] poised in the air.§ The adjoining spaces have been filled in with [representations of] several scores of females, elegantly decked, some playing sweet melodies, and others holding golden flowers in their hands. Four other female figures [or statues], coiffed and dressed like *Chin-kang-li-shih* [*Vajrapāni*], such as are to be seen by the sides of Buddhist spires, are also represented both on the inside and outside of the principal gates.|| Those on the outside are equipped in warlike style, while those on the inside hold in their hands whisks of white *Cāmara* hairs.¶ On the lateral

\* De Rosny, p. 200, has: "filles de princes des états voisins."

† Probably *Sankha pura*, or *Sankha-nagara*, *i.e.*, Sukhothai, and not *Sajjanalaya*, or *Sagga-loka* (*Svarga-loka*, Swankhalök), as we have remarked in the Introduction.

‡ De Rosny translates: "Il y a de triple portes, séparées l'une de l'autre par une distance d'environ cent pas" (p. 200). It is essential to know whether we are to understand "triple walls" or "triple gates," or both, as it makes a great difference. Sukhothai had a triple enceinte of walls; Swankhalök had a single one.

§ De Rosny, *ibid.*: "Sur chacune de ces portes, on a peint des images d'immortels ailés, d'hommes immortels [*hsien-jên*], et de *bodhisattvas*. On les a décorées de fleurons d'or. Dix femmes, parées de petites cloches et d'écrans de plumes, y font de la musique ou offrent des fleurs." These representations have remained in favour up to this day, and may be seen about the gates and precincts of Buddhist temples in Siām, especially at Bāngkōk. It is simply a question of *Devas*, to wit: Indra, Brahma, and other celestials, offering flowers or playing on musical instruments, and otherwise doing honour to Buddha, either in his perfect state or in his as yet probatory condition of *Bodhisattva*. Owing to some of the *Devas* being depicted with quasi-womanlike features, they have been taken for females by the Chinese envoys. The *Devas* offering flowers are probably the well-known images called by the Siānese *Thep'h-pranom*, who hold flowers between the palms of their hands joined in respectful attitude at the height of the breast.

|| These, again, are not females, but male *Yaksas* armed with clubs, such as are usually placed at the entrance of gates in order to guard the passage. De Rosny makes the four female figures quite distinct from those of the *Yaksas*, which seems very unlikely. He translates: "On y a en outre représenté quatre femmes aux figures ornées comme des bouddhas (?). Sur les côtés de la porte principale, on voit des représentations de guerriers athlétiques (*vajrapāni*, 'guerriers armés de massue de diamant'). Ceux qui sont du côté extérieur du portique (*kiah men*) sont armés en guerre; ceux qui sont du côté intérieur tiennent en main des écrans (?) blancs." He then follows with a diagram, in order to illustrate his idea of the *kia-mên*, or portico, and the position of the figures. It goes without saying that such an idea is completely wrong as far as Siānese gateways are concerned. These are generally roofed passages with a kind of open portico or veranda attached internally, and sometimes on both sides, which often continues along the walls. The *Yaksa* figures are placed laterally at both ends of the passage—that is, immediately outside of the porch. In this respect Hervey de Saint-Denys' translation is far clearer and to the point.

¶ The translator has "des chasse-mouches de crin blanc (symbole d'immortalité)," and De Rosny "des écrans blancs." I have added the term *Camara*, as these whisks

walls of the gateway are suspended light nets, on which flowers have been symmetrically arranged so as to form handsome decorations.\*

#### THE ROYAL PALACE.

The palace buildings are simply one-storied. All the gates [of the palace walls] are disposed on the same line facing the north.

#### THE THRONE HALL.

The throne, erected upon a three-storied dais, is likewise turned towards the north.† The King appears thereupon dressed in a magenta-coloured robe.‡ His head-dress is profusely ornamented with golden flowers and with jewelled pendants.§ Four young damsels stand by his side. His

were evidently made out of the tail of the *Camara* or Yak ox (*Bos Grunniens*), like those used nowadays at the Siamese Court, and reckoned among the insignia of royalty.

\* De Rosny has "des filets blancs émaillés de fleurs." Here it is probably question of hangings or imitation lace curtains made of fresh flowers (double jasmines, etc.) strung up together, a kind of decoration for which Siamese are famous, and which may be seen in use up to this day.

† De Rosny : "Toutes les maisons du palais du roi ont un étage et leur porte du côté du Nord. En face du Nord est placé le trône formé d'un triple divan" (p. 201). The throne halls in Siām, whether at Bāngkōk, Ayuthia, or Sukhothai, are, or were, all turned towards the north, and so is, or was, the throne upon which the King sits or sat facing towards the same quarter. Likewise in every place where the King tarries to give audience or to take a short rest, whether in a roofed building or in the open, the royal chair is always disposed so as to face the north. This custom had its origin in the fact that the north is regarded among the nations of India and Indo-China as the most auspicious point of the compass, and that towards which the ground rises, culminating in the Meru mountain. Next to the north in order of auspiciousness comes the east. Siamese sleep with their heads either to the north or to the east, but preferably to the north; therefore their houses are as a rule, whenever practicable, turned so as to present their long sides to the north and south respectively. On the southern side is the front entrance and veranda, or open terrace, while along the northern the couches are ranged at right angles to the wall. On the Sukhothai inscription of the fourteenth century, preserved within the precincts of the royal temple at Bāngkōk, north and south are designated respectively with the epithets *hua nōn* and *tin-nōn*, i.e., literally *head* and *foot* of the couch. *Nua* and *tai*, the Siamese terms for north and south, mean, respectively, "above", and "below," the former corresponding to the Sanskrit and Pāli *uttara* (upper, higher, northern, above), and thus furnishing the proof that also in the Indū minds the northern quarter is considered to be elevated above the others. The preference is, however, among Indūs given to the east, which is considered to be the quarter of the gods, while the north is regarded as the "quarter of men." [See Satapatha-brāhmana, Eggeling's translation, vol. ii., pp. 3, 4, where the following direction as to how to sleep is also given : "One should not sleep with his head towards the west, lest he should sleep stretching (his legs) towards the gods."]

‡ De Rosny (p. 201) : "Les vêtements du roi sont en étoffe aurore." Red, the sun-colour, is up to this day the regal colour in Siām, and the gates of the city and palace, as well as the timber-work of the roof of royal buildings, were up to a recent period always painted red. La Loubère says : "C'est un usage général, à Siam, que le Roi et tous ceux qui le suivent à la guerre ou à la chasse, sont vêtus de rouge."

§ De Rosny, *ibid.* : "de son bonnet, orné de fleurs d'or, pendent des colliers (?) façonnés avec toutes sortes de bijoux de prix." "Colliers" is evidently incorrect, for what is meant here are the pendants or ear-flaps hanging on both sides as protections for the ears. This style of head-dress, which may be seen represented in the sculptures of the ancient monuments of Kamboja, is of Indū origin, and is still retained in its main

body-guard exceeds 100 men in number. Behind the throne there is a sort of large niche made of five kinds of scented wood incrustated with both gold and silver,\* and in the background of it there hangs a disc of golden rays in the shape of a flame.† On each side of the throne platform are fixed two metallic mirrors; in front of each is placed a golden vessel, and in the front of each vessel a golden scent-burner.‡ Right below the front of the throne platform there is a golden representation of a bull sheltered by a canopy ornamented with magnificent fans.§ Several hundreds of Brāhmanas are sitting in two rows, each facing the other, both on the right and left-hand side of the throne, and attend the royal audience.

#### GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.

The high dignitaries charged with the joint administration of the State include a Prime Minister with the title of *Sa-t'o-chia-lo*,|| two functionaries features in the present royal crown of Siām, and in the head-dresses worn by *lakhōn* (nautch) actors in Siāmesse theatricals.

\* This is what is called a *puspaka-niche*; in Siāmesse, *busitbok*.

† "Un disque à rayons d'or en forme de flamme"; thus the translator. It is obvious that if shaped like a flame it can no longer be a disc. Of course, one easily understands that what is meant is one of those flame-shaped nimbi such as encircle and surmount the head of Buddha in native works of art. In a note (12, p. 468) the translator remarks, in fact: "Placé derrière la tête du souverain, ce disque [*sic*] lui formait une auréole [read *nimbus*] pareille à celle que l'on donne aux images de Bouddha. Le P. Kirscher [read *Kircher*] nous montre ce genre d'auréole [read *nimbus*] dans une représentation de l'Empereur du Mogol (*China illustrata*, *Amstelodami*, 1667; planche en regard de la page 78). On verra plus loin que le même usage existait au *Tchin-la*." In fact, at p. 478 of the same work, under the chapter devoted to *Tchin-la* (*Chên-la* = Kamboja) we see it stated that behind the throne is suspended, as at *Ch'ih-t'u*, "un disque [*sic*] à rayons d'or en forme de flammes." De Kosny has (p. 202): "Au fond, se trouve une flamme d'or suspendue sur le divan." This custom, which was evidently followed at all the courts of India and Indo-China, is no longer in force in Siām and Kamboja. The *Svetachattrā*, or white state canopy (of nine tiers, and conical in shape), is now alone suspended above the throne, and no *rasmī* or *nimbus* appears in the background.

‡ What have here been taken for "metallic mirrors" are most probably the lenticular taper-holders used in the *arati*, or light-waving rite, which was to be performed upon the Sovereign whenever he appeared in public. They were probably stuck upright, like at present, into bowls filled with husked rice. The vessels placed in front of them were probably *bai-srī* trays, containing offerings of food such as are used in connection with the *arati* rite. For details anent this rite and the implements used in connection with it I must refer the reader to pp. 69-72 and 159-161 of my book on the "*Cūlakantamaṅgala*, or the Tonsure Ceremony as performed in Siām," Bāṅgkōk, 1893.

§ It is here question of a representation of Siva's sacred bull *Nandi*, called *Usup'haraj* (*Usabharaja*, or *Vrsabharaja*, i.e., "the King of Bulls") in Siāmesse. Although Buddhism was in great honour, Brāhmanism, and more especially Sivaism, still maintained their hold in the country, and continue to do so—though in a less marked measure—up to the present day. A live white bull, styled the *P'hra*: *Khō Usabharaj* (*Vara Go Usabharaja*, i.e., "the sacred Bull-King"), was kept and fed in the royal stables at the old capital Ayuthia, and ceremonies were annually held in its honour, as prescribed in the *Kōt Monthierabal* or "Palatine Law" of A.D. 1368 ("Laws of Siām," vol. iii, p. 133). This practice was discontinued after the capital had been removed to Bāṅgkōk during the last quarter of the eighteenth century.

|| Cant. and Hakka, *Sat-t'o-ka-lo*; Kor., *Sal-t'a-ka-ra*; Jap., *Satss-da-ka-ra*; Ann., *Tat-da-gia-la*. A Sanskrit or Pāli word is evidently implied here, but which it is it does not clearly appear. *Chattakara* (for *Chattadhara* [?]), *Satthakara* and *Sradhakara* are not satisfactory.

bearing the title of *To-na-ta*,\* and three assistants termed the *Chia-li-mi-chia*.† The repression of crime is particularly entrusted to a high magistrate styled the *Chü-lo-mo-ti*.‡ Finally, each town is placed under the authority of two principal officials designated, respectively, the *Na-hsie-chia* [*Nāyaka*(?)]§ and the *Po-ti* [*Patī*].||

\* Cant. and H., *To-* { *na-tat* } ; Kor., *T'a-na-tat*; Jap., *Da-na-* { *tatsz* } ; Ann., *Tat-na-dat*. Some such word as *Dhanadatta* or *Dhanyadatta* seems to be implied. De Rosny (p. 202, *op. cit.*) has *To-no-tah-chai*, and remarks that Ma Tuan-lin (Bibliothèque Nationale edition) wrongly spells this name *To-na-tah-yeou*. In the event of the reading *To-no-tah-chai* proving correct, the official meant may be the *Thanench'ai* (*Dhanāñ-jaya*), one of the prominent dignitaries of the State both in ancient Siām and Kamboja, mentioned in the Khmer inscriptions and in the Northern Annals of Siām. He held office as a second Minister. *Thanadar*, *Thanadhar*, and *Danadhar*, also are possible interpretations.

† Cant., *Ka-* { *lei* } ; H., *Ka-li-mit-ka*; K., *Ka-ni-mil-ka*; Jap., *Ka-ri-mitsz-ka*; Ann., *Gia-li-mêt-gia*. Presumably *Karmika* or *Kammika* is intended; but I am inclined to identify this term with *Kramakara*, in Siamese *Kromakar* (pron. *Kromakarn*). The *Kromakars* are now the officials who assist the Governor in the administration of the *Müang* (province, district, or township); but in the old days the same epithet may well have had a higher application, and may have designated the assistant Ministers (or Under-Secretaries) of State.

‡ C., *K'öü-lo-mut-tai*; H., *Ki-lo-mat-ti*; K., *Ku-ra-mal-che*; J., *Ku-ra-* { *batsz* } ; Ann., *Ku-la-mat-de*. Possibly a defective rendering of *Yokkrabat* or *Yukkrabat* (*Yukta-paktra*), an old term still employed to designate the third chief of either a department or a province, but which may have had a different signification in the old days. *Kalamatya* (*Kala-amatya*) may also be suggested as a title allusive to *Kala* (Yama) in his character of Indian Minos (*Dharma-rajā*, "king of justice").

§ C. *Na* { *sa* } ; H., *Lo* { *sia* } ; K., *Na* { *sa* } ; J., *Na* { *sha* } ; Ann., *Na* { *ja* } .-*se-ka*; II., *Lo* { *sia* } ; K., *Na* { *sia* } ; J., *Na* { *sha* } ; Ann., *Na* { *ja* } .-*gia*. In the *P'üi-wên Yün-fu* (see *China Review*, vol. xiv., p. 44) the initial syllable is spelt 𠵹 [*chiu* (?)]. I cannot make out this character, as I do not find it entered in Giles's Dictionary; but the local Chinamen from Hainan read it *jiu*, rising tone, instead of 𠵹 (*na*, *no*) as in Saint Denys' Ma Tuan-lin. This circumstance makes it doubtful whether the Sanskrit-Pāli term *Nayaka* is meant, although it is difficult to suggest any other satisfactory interpretation. There existed, indeed, up to a quite recent period in Siām a high official bearing the title of *Samūha-nayaka*; but this personage was the Minister for the civil department, and the chief of the administration of the northern division of the kingdom, and not a mere provincial Governor like the *Na-hsie-chia* of our text. It is possible, nevertheless, that long before the day when the officials of the

|| C., *Put-tai*; H., *Pat-ti*; A., *Bat-de*. Evidently the word implied is *patī*, meaning (in Sanskrit and Pāli) "chief, ruler," which here stands in the sense of "chief of a village," "village headman," or "chief of a section of the township (or district)," and thus corresponds to the modern Indū *Paṭīl* ("lord of one village," anciently *Paṭṭakīla*, *Patalika*, *Gramakūṭa*, *Gramapati*, etc.). Though apparently no longer used alone in the above sense in India, but generally prefixed by some other term connotating the office—as in *Grihapati*, "head of a household," *Visayapati*, "governor of a district," *Rāṣṭrapati*, "lord of a province or region," etc.—there is evidence to show that this word *patī* by itself must have, in the old days, denoted merely a village chief or headman. In fact, in Java, where a similar administrative organization to Siām appears to have prevailed, it being likewise introduced thither from India, we find the term *patī* used in that sense.

## DRESS.

The people of *Ch'ih-t'u* pierce their ears and crop their hair short.\*

kingdom were divided into the two classes of civil and military, and the post of *Samūha-Nayaka* was instituted—an event which happened, according to the “Annals of Ayuthia,” p. 28, in A.D. 1434—it is possible, I repeat, that the title of *Nayaka* was given to the Governors of the provinces. In the chapter devoted by Ma Tuan-lin to *Pan-p'an* (a petty State occupying the south-western part of Siām, and extending for some distance down the Malay Peninsula) occurs the statement that the provinces of that region were governed by officials bearing the title of *No-yen*. This term, I presume, represents the Southern-Indian word *Nair* (originally *Nayar*), a well-known designation for the ruling class of Malabar, and is probably connected with the titles of *Naik* (= *Nayaka* = chief, lord [?]), *Naib*, or *Naib-suba* (district governor under the Mogul domination in India), etc., which we find likewise in use in the southern part of the Indian peninsula. These designations were undoubtedly imported from a very early period by the Indū emigrants who settled in the southern part of Indo-China; and still survive, both in the Mōñ (Peguan) and Siāmesse *Nai* (SS, 2678), meaning “lord, chief, master.” It is not unlikely, therefore, that they were at the outset employed thither to denote the “chief” or “lord” of the district or township, because there is evidence as to their having held in the past a much higher signification than at present, being then almost equivalent to, if not synonymous with, “prince,” whereas nowadays they are employed, both by the Siāmesse and Mōñ, simply in the sense of “owner, chief, headman, bondmaster.” The Venetian traveller Gasparo Balbi, who was in Pegu in A.D. 1585, mentions two of the sons of the then reigning King as *Naidū* and *Naimor*, making it evident that *Nai* was a mere prefix then denoting a “prince” (*Nai*) [“Viaggio dell’Indie Orientali,” Venetia, MDXC., p. 120]. In Siām the princes are still termed *Chau Nai*, a compound of the indigenous Thai word *Chau* = “lord, master,” and of the Indū-imported term *Nai*, *Naib*, *Nayar*, *Naik*, or *Nayaka*, noticed above. This is the only instance known to me in which the term *Nai* still retains its older high signification in the Siāmesse language. The now obsolete title of *Samūha Nayaka* designated the “lord” or “chief of the aggregation [of civilians].” Previous to its coming into use, *Nayaka*—or simply *Naik*, *Nayar*—must have meant “lord, prince, chief,” and it is therefore pretty certain that it was used as a title for the district governors, who were practically kinglets within their own jurisdiction, much like the barons *et hoc genus omne* of our old feudal system. Hence, I think, the origin of the double form of transcription *Na-hsie-chia* and *No-yen* (*Nayaka* and *Nayar*) in order to designate the same class of officials in the two states of *Ch'ih-t'u* and *Pan-p'an*, which, from the fact of their being situated in close proximity to each other, and within the territory of the same region—the ancient domain of the Mōñ-Khmer race—must have had in common both language and institutions.

and Chinese history tells us that in A.D. 1436 the Javanese envoy, who had been sent on a mission to China, “had been advanced from *pai* to *ale* [*adhi*, *adhipati*] rank.” (See *China Review*, vol. xxiii., p. 257.) Moreover, the Portuguese historians of the sixteenth century record the names of various Javanese chiefs—e.g., *Pati-Samora*, *Pati-Quiter*,

\* The same customs prevailed in Pegu and Kamboja, being introduced thither from India. The ears were pierced for ear-rings from early infancy, and this practice constituted one of the propitiatory rites or *samskaras* in ancient Indo-China, as I have shown in my book on the *Cūlakantamangala*, or Tonsure Ceremony, already quoted, p. 2. The Thai and other peoples in Northern Siām wore flowing hair, and were required to cut it off when entering the dominions of the Mōñ-Khmer race which ruled in the southern part of the country. For this purpose hair-cropping sheds had been established at the border stations of the southern kingdoms. The ruins of one of these sheds are still pointed out to the traveller at old Kamp'heng-p'het.

They do not pay obeisance by genuflexion.\* They rub scented ointments over the body. Buddhism is more devoutly practised in their country than anywhere else.† The Brāhman women gather up their hair in a knot behind the head. Males and females indiscriminately wear garments of any colour, whether red, blue, or otherwise. Wealthy people bedeck themselves as sumptuously as they like; gold chains are the only sort of ornaments forbidden to be worn, unless they have been presented by the King.‡

*Pati-Unu*, etc.—who attacked Malacca in A.D. 1511-13, and who were evidently village chiefs or subordinate officials of a district. The Malay term *Batin* is probably a derivation of the early-imported *Pati*. In so far as Siām (*Ch'ih-t'u*) is concerned, De Rosny (*loc. cit.*) has “six *Poh-ti*” for each town (or township). The *P'ei-wên Yün-fu* (see *China Review*, vol. xiv., p. 44) states that as many as “eighteen *Po'ti*” were appointed for each city. In view of these figures, it is plain that the officials so termed must correspond to the modern Siāmesé *Amp'hô* [*Ambô*, cf. Manchu ᠠᠮᠪᠤ *amban*=governor] and *Kamman* [from *Kan*=to protect, to look after, to govern], who are placed at the head of a section of the town, of a group of villages, or of a simple hamlet. The memory of the term *Pati*, employed in this sense, has now been lost in Siām; but, thanks to the narrative of the Chinese envoys who visited this country in A.D. 607-8, we have it revived.

\* De Rosny translates: “On n'a pas l'habitude de se prosterner en s'agenouillant.” It is thus difficult to make out which was the form of obeisance or salutation adopted. The text is probably corrupt, as we are told in another passage from the same author that in *Chên-la* (Kamboja) both prostration and genuflexion were practised.

† This statement is very explicit, and agrees not only with local tradition but also with a considerable amount of fragmentary evidence which I have collected from inscriptions and other sources. I shall revert to this subject in due course.

‡ The gold chains referred to here are evidently the kind of ornament called *sangwān*, consisting, as explained in my book on the Tonsure Ceremony quoted above (p. 46), of “a triple gold chain strung with alternate lozenge-shaped and round medallions, . . . a modern substitute for the traditional Brāhmanical thread,” which is, “like the latter, thrown over the left shoulder and passed underneath the right arm, as a badge of high descent.” The wearing of the *sangwān* is forbidden to the vulgar—except on the occasion of special religious or domestic ceremonies—up to the present day, along with a number of other ornaments, such as golden anklets, golden fig-leaves (for female children), golden “pepper-corns” (or ovoidal pendants shaped like the berry of *Piper longum* tied by a string round the waist of male children), etc. A decree dated May, 1800, and numbered 20th in the collection of the old laws of Siām (vol. ii., pp. 74-76) calls attention to the frequent infringements of the ancient custom regarding such ornaments committed by persons not entitled by their rank to wear them, and enjoins upon the parties concerned the scrupulous observance of that custom, forbidding at the same time to the goldsmiths the manufacture and sale of the golden ornaments referred to, under the threat of severe penalties. It is quite possible that this custom—like many others to which we designedly call attention in the course of the present notes—already existed in Siām at the early period we are concerned with, as the passage of the Chinese narrative commented upon here would lead us to conjecture. Although the present Siāmesé belong—as we have repeatedly shown—to a different race from the early occupants of the country, it must be remembered that they have adopted and inherited many a custom, belief and practice from their predecessors, which still survive in a more or less modified form up to this day. Hence the reason why we so often differ in instituting comparisons between the practices obtaining among the modern Siāmesé and those referred to in the Chinese narrative, notwithstanding the fact that the two peoples whose practices form the subject of such comparisons be racially different and otherwise apparently unconnected. In connection with the subject of the ornaments forbidden to the people to wear, it is curious, to notice that a very similar injunction had been in force in Malacca since the thirteenth

## MARRIAGE CUSTOMS.

For marriages an auspicious day is designated in advance.\* The five days preceding the appointed date are spent in rejoicings and drinking.† On the sixth the father of the bride places the latter's hand into that of the bridegroom,‡ and on the seventh day the marriage is consummated.§ The wedding ceremony over, everybody departs, and the married couple withdraw to live apart, unless the bridegroom's father be still living, in which case the pair go and dwell with him.||

## FUNERAL CEREMONIES.

Those who are bereft of their father, mother, or brothers, shave the head and dress in white garments as a sign of mourning.¶ A bamboo structure being erected over the water [the river or creek], it is filled with pieces of wood, and the body deposited therein. Flags are then hoisted aloft,

century, as evidenced by the sumptuary laws established by the ruler of that State, Sultan Mohammed Shah, between 1276 and 1332, translated by Mr. A. Marre in his brochure on "Malâka" (Paris, 1874), from which I extract the following short passages (pp. 22, 23): "Il n'était pas permis de porter ni des bracelets ni des *kris* avec des ornements. Il était interdit d'avoir des anneaux d'or aux pieds, et même des anneaux creux, en or, avec fermoirs d'argent. Nul vêtement pouvait être porté, s'il était enrichi d'or, sans la permission du Roi; ceux à qui cette faveur avait été une fois accordée pouvaient le porter toujours."

\* Such is also the present practice.

† De Rosny (p. 204): "À festoyer et à boire du vin." For "vin," read "fermented liquor." The feast is nowadays held at the bride's house, on the evening of the wedding-day.

‡ De Rosny (*ibid.*): "Le père conduit par la main sa fille au futur époux." The bride is also nowadays escorted to the new house which the bridegroom has had erected. The bride is not, however, accompanied thither by her father or mother, but by the elderly persons deputed by her family to arrange all preliminaries for the marriage.

§ It does not now take more than two days to go through the wedding ceremonies proper, but several days may elapse ere the bride is escorted to the bridegroom's new house, an auspicious date having to be awaited for this final ceremony.

|| De Rosny (*loc. cit.*) says somewhat differently: "Puis on partage la fortune, et les nouveaux mariés vont demeurer dans leur maison particulière. Il n'y a que les enfants qui habitent avec leur père." This version is almost in perfect agreement with what takes place nowadays. "On partage la fortune" evidently refers to the verification or counting of the *thun* (capital to start with in life) devoted to each member of the young couple by the respective parents. The spreading out and counting of the money thus supplied on each side takes place at the new house on the forenoon of the day of marriage. Both sums are then mixed up together and delivered for temporary keeping to the parents of the bride. "Leur maison particulière" implies, of course, the *hō*, or nuptial-house, built specially for the young couple by the bridegroom himself or his parents; whence we see that the custom of having such a building erected was then already in force. The next phrase, as to the "enfants" dwelling with their father, is not clear. It may be added that the same nuptial ceremonies as referred to above are observed also in Kamboja, they having been originally introduced from India.

¶ This is still the custom up to the present day. Subsequent to the funeral of Queen Sômanat, in 1852, however, the modern variant was introduced by the Court (which has been since followed by the gentry and people), that only the younger relatives of the deceased shave the head and dress in white garments, as of yore, while the elder relatives simply attire themselves in black, according to the European custom, and do not shave the head.



perfumes burnt, chank-shells blown, and drums beaten, while fire is applied to the pyre, and the flames are left to do their work. Ultimately everything falls and disappears in the water.\* This method is invariably followed, and no distinction exists between the obsequies of a high functionary and those of the vulgar. For the King alone care is taken to carry out the cremation in such a manner that his ashes and charred bones can be collected afterwards. These are enclosed in a golden receptacle which is enshrined in a funeral monument.†

#### CLIMATE AND PRODUCTIONS.

Whether in winter or summer, there reigns a constant heat.‡ Heavy showers of rain unceasingly fall; fine weather is seldom to be seen.§ Sowing has no fixed season.|| The soil is favourable for raising crops of rice, millet, white beans, and teal-seed.¶ The other productions of the country are the same as in *Chiao-chih* [Tonkin].

The people of *Ch'ih-t'u* manufacture a wine very agreeable to the taste

\* Funeral pyres have not been for a long time past erected over the water, and I hardly think that such has ever been the case, except perhaps at periods when the country is flooded; but the ground of the temples where cremation ceremonies are usually performed is, as a rule, high enough to escape the annual inundation. On the other hand, the ashes remaining after the burning are, after the bones of the dead have been dutifully collected and urned, consigned to the water, in pursuance of the old Indū custom. This is, perhaps, what misled the Chinese envoys into saying that the funeral structure was built over the water.

† This is perfectly true up to this day. An imposing structure called a *Meru* (pronounced *Mên*), because of its symbolizing the Meru Mountain of Indū cosmology, is erected for the funeral obsequies of royalty. A spire was in the old days usually raised to cover the spot where the funeral pile stood (in pursuance, again, of an old Indū custom). Into this monument part of the bones gathered after the cremation of the deceased were enshrined, the remaining portion being put into a golden urn (jewelled or not, according to the rank of the departed), which was henceforth kept in the royal cumbalaria, to be honoured at the appointed seasons and on extraordinary occasions, such as, for instance, at the funerals of royal personages who would subsequently pass away in their turn.

‡ The translator has: "Hiver comme en été, il règne une humidité constante," and explains in a note (p. 470) that the word for "heat" has been in a later edition of the Chinese text substituted for the term for "dampness" appearing in the older editions, and that therefore he feels inclined to follow the older version. De Rosny has (pp. 204, 205): "Hiver comme en été, il fait toujours chaud," and appends a note to the effect that, "suivant une autre version: 'il fait toujours humide.'" I have followed the version adopted by him, as it seems to me in better agreement with the actual climatic conditions of the place. There is, in fact, a dry season as well as a rainy season, while the heat may be said to make itself felt all over the year, at least during the day-time.

§ This is not actually the case, and the Chinese envoys are therefore in the wrong for the nonce. De Rosny has, however, the more temperate statement that "les pluies sont fréquentes, et rarement le ciel est sans nuages."

|| It has, however, as far as rice is concerned, the season for the working of the paddy-fields being annually inaugurated by a Ploughing Festival, the auspicious date for which is determined beforehand by the royal astrologers.

¶ Millet does not now appear to be anything like as plentiful as of yore. On the contrary, the output of the other articles of produce enumerated in the text is considerable. Tilseed, called *nga-dam* in Siamese, is exported in quantities varying from 1,200 to 1,500 tons yearly.

out of sugar-cane and the root of a gourd called *tsz-kwa*.\* The colour of this wine is yellow, with a nuance of red; the flavour is perfumed.† The cocoanut-palm also supplies them with a kind of wine.‡

\* Here, again, the Chinese authors are nodding; but their mistake arises from a misunderstanding of the native term here referred to. *Tsz-kwa*, which might be taken to mean "dark-red gourd," or "purple brinjal" in Chinese, is evidently a mere phonetic rendering of the name by which a certain plant or tree was designated in Siām. In connection with wine-making from the juice of the sugar-cane and other saccharine liquids obtained from the fruits, flowers and stems of various trees, the root (and bark) of either the *Maklūa* (*Diospyros mollis*) or the *Takhien* (*Hopea*) trees are employed—steeped into the liquid with an admixture of other ingredients—in order to induce fermentation. No root of any gourd, brinjal, or similar plant, is ever used for this purpose. Now, the Mōn name for the *Maklūa* tree is *tsu-krak* (ဆုကြက်), and that for the *Takhien* tree is *tsu-kueh* (ဆုခွေ), *tsu* or *ch'u* being the term for "tree." It is evident that the Chinese *tsz-kwa* is meant not for the root of any gourd, brinjal, or cucumber whatever, but for that of the *tsu-kueh*, or *Hopea*-tree, whose name appears to be its nearest phonetic equivalent in the language of the country at the period now under consideration. In modern Khmer the *Maklūa* and *Takhien* trees are known, respectively, as *dom-klūa* and *dom-kaki*, terms which appear to be but corrupted forms of the older Mōn-Khmer designations, modified through the influence of Siānese domination over Kamboja. It is quite plain that the Chinese travellers merely took down the native term for the *Hopea*-tree without troubling themselves to inquire about the nature of the plant it designated. Finding as nearly a perfect phonetic coincidence as could be wished for between the two words that compose it and the Chinese vocables for, respectively, "purple, dark red, or brown," and "gourd, brinjal, melon, cucumber," they felt quite satisfied at the discovery, and wrote down 紫瓜 (*tsz-kwa*), adding—and here is where their oversight, supineness, or designed trickery makes itself manifest—the explanation that a gourd was implied thereby, just as if things were called by identical names in the languages of China and Siām. Of course, among the present Siānese (Thai), *kwa* means a cucumber, being one of the many Chinese-derived words which compose the Thai language; but we know that, at the period treated of in the Chinese narrative, the Thai language could not be spoken at Sukhothai, because the Thai race had not as yet settled there; and we are aware besides that no gourd, cucumber, or other vegetable is employed in connection with the manufacture of either sugar-cane or palm wine. It is only in the brewing of rice-beer—the drink termed *K'houng* in Burmā, and *Lau-uh* in Siām—that the root of the brinjal and other varieties of *Solanum* finds employment; but then it merely enters, among other ingredients, in the preparation of the wort designed to induce the fermentation of the parboiled rice or rice-flour which is to be mixed with it. In Kamboja the Radō use, according to Moura ("Le Royaume de Cambodge," p. 427), an aromatic, farinaceous tubercule, known to them under the name of *Ankau-kua*, in the preparation of the wort; but this is, no doubt, but one of the many ingredients required for that purpose. It is, besides, difficult to admit that the Chinese envoys confused, by mistake, sugar-cane wine with rice-beer, and the only plausible conclusion thus seems to be the one arrived at above.

† De Rosny (p. 205) translates: "La couleur de leur vin est jaune et rouge; le goût en est parfumé et agréable," adding a note to the effect that "suivant le *Fang-yu-ching-lan* 'parmi les vins fabriqués par les Barbares, celui de Siam est le plus parfait.'"

‡ De Rosny (*loc. cit.*) is altogether at sea in translating: "On fait également du vin avec le lait de la noix de coco," an interpretation which Hervey de Saint-Denys (p. 471, note 22, *op. cit.*) finds "très-plausible." It is quite notorious to any resident in the East Indies that the juice or toddy which is to be transformed into wine by a process of fermentation is obtained, not from the nuts or fruits, but from the wounded spathes of the cocoa-nut and other kinds of palms, such as the Talipot (Palmyra), the Attap (*Nipa fructicans*), etc. It is not drawn from the latter-named exclusively, as some authorities pretend. Dr. Anderson, for instance, in his "English Intercourse with Siam," p. 33,

almost sneers at Linschoten for saying that palm-wine in Tenasserim "is made of Cocos or Indian Nattes," and with self-assumed authority gravely corrects him with the remark, "Not the cocoa-nut, but *Nipa fruticans*, as is well known." On another page (27), apropos of the famous wine mentioned by the Chinese as being made from a tree at *T'un-sun* (on the Malay Peninsula), he again puts in his bigoted opinion that "this was doubtless the liquor made from *Nipa fruticans*." The mode of obtaining the sweet sap consists in first squeezing and bruising the embryo blossoms of the palm-tree (whether *Nipa*, cocoa-nut, or Palmyra), and then slicing off a little of the ends of the bruised parts, which answers for tapping the tree. The flower-spike is next bent downwards, for the purpose of causing the sap to flow from its extremity into a little bucket made of a joint of bamboo which is suspended under it. A single spathe thus prepared and tapped may be kept flowing more than a month by simply cutting occasionally a thin bit from the end of the spike. The output is but slight the first and second day, but on and after the third day from a pint to a quart may be caught in one night. Every morning the sap is collected, and a new bamboo bucket substituted to receive a further supply. This process of collecting toddy is most graphically described by Marco Polo in his account of the kingdom of *Samara* (Samalanga, on north coast of Sumatra) as follows: "Egli hanno alberi, che tagliano gli rami e quelli gocciolano, e quella acqua che ne cade è vino; ed empiesene tra di e notte un gran coppo che sta appiccato al troncone, ed è molto buono. L' albero è fatto come piccoli alberi di datteri," etc. Nowadays in Siam most of the sap is concentrated by evaporation, and transformed into jaggery or palm-sugar. The sugar obtained from the sap of the Attap-palm is not quite so good as that made of the sap of the Palmyra and cocoa-nut palms, having a slight saltish taste, which, however, an unpractised palate can scarcely detect. Some of the toddy is nevertheless drunk when newly drawn, while another portion is usually fermented and transformed into the intoxicating beverage known as palm-wine (in Siamese, *Nam-tan-mau*). As seen above, on the authority of Chinese travellers, this sort of wine manufactured in Siam was reputed to be the most perfect. As regards that made in the Tenasserim district, Linschoten and Teixeira speak in very high terms of its excellence. There is no doubt that the industry of both sugar and wine-making from palm-toddy was extensively carried on in Northern Siam in the early days, perhaps on a larger scale than at present. Within the precincts of ancient Sukhothai talipot-palms are even now plentiful, and may be seen rearing their tufted heads everywhere amongst the ruins. The inhabitants of the adjoining hamlets exploit the trees very keenly for the sap. Coconut-trees were no doubt also plentiful at one time. The production of jaggery, at least, was yet considerable two centuries ago, as evidenced by the report on the trade of Siam written in A.D. 1678 (see Anderson, *op. cit.*, p. 424), in which occurs the statement: "Jaggarah is made in great abundance att Purselooch [P'hinulôk], Campem [Kamp'heng-p'het], and Succotai [Sukhōthai], very considerable quantities being yearly transported to Japan, and some to Malacca."

As regards wine made from the fermented juice of the sugar-cane in Siam and Kamboja, Mr. E. H. Parker remarks (*China Review*, October-November, 1899, p. 103) that sugar seems to have been first heard of by China about the fifth-century. Three centuries later Abu-zaid states that the use of *nabid* (palm-wine) was discontinued in the kingdom of *Komar*, or Western Kamboja. See Reinaud, "Relation des Voyages," etc., t. i, p. 97.

(To be continued.)

## PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION.

A MEETING of this Association was held at the Westminster Town Hall on Friday, June 29, at four o'clock, the Right Hon. the Lord Reay, G.C.S.I., LL.D., occupying the chair, when a paper was read by R. Maconachie, Esq., late I.C.S., Punjab, on "The Desirability of a Definite Recognition of the Religious Element in Government Education in India."\*

The following among others were present: Sir Roland K. Wilson, Bart.; Sir Charles Elliott, K.C.S.I.; Sir Lepel Griffin, K.C.S.I.; Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., C.S.I.; Lieut.-Colonel A. T. Wintle, R.A.; Hon. Madan Gopal; Hon. Frederick Verney; Rev. George Hanson, D.D.; Rev. G. B. Durrant; Mr. R. N. Cust, LL.D.; Kumar Shree Harbonjee; Mr. M. Sirajuddin Ahmed; Mrs. and Miss Arathoon; Mrs. F. Aublet; Mr. Alan Cadell; Mr. Cavendish; Mr. A. K. Connell; Miss Cooper; Mr. W. Coldstream; Mr. J. S. Dyason; Miss Gawthrop; Mr. B. B. Joshi; Mr. R. N. Kabraji; Mr. C. G. Master; Mrs. Macnaghten; Mr. Alay Mahomed; Mr. J. B. Pennington and Miss Pennington; Mr. F. Loraine Petre; Mr. S. S. Thorburn; Mr. N. B. Wagle; Mr. C. W. Arathoon, hon. secretary.

After the reading of the paper

DR. CUST said that he much regretted being obliged to entirely oppose the proposition contained in the paper. From fifty years' experience of India he thought it would be very unwise to change the present system. He belonged to the school of which Lord Lawrence was the representative, whose view was to let the people alone in anything affecting their religion, but in every possible way to encourage missionaries in their private capacity. There was no wish to live godless lives; but as public officials they felt it their duty to keep entirely clear of the question. They had gone as far as possible in making large annual grants to the missionaries, and in shutting their eyes to the fact that while teaching the young people, they were trying to take them away from their hereditary religions; and, with regard to teaching morals, a circular had been issued by the Education Department, that a high degree of morality should be part of the lessons. Moreover, the respectable Hindoos and Mahomedans had a conception of morals very much the same as prevailed in this country. The effect of what was proposed would be, not to inculcate the doctrines of Christianity, but to make the people of India largely Unitarians and atheists. With reference to the expression, "godless colleges," he might say that a copy of the Bible was placed in the hands of every student on leaving the college. They had gone as far as they dare go in India, and anything further would be dangerous, and he would urge that things should be left alone for at least another twenty-five or fifty years.

MR. A. K. CONNELL inquired in reference to the philosophy curriculum in the Indian Universities, what were the great text-books taken up and recommended to students.

\* See this paper elsewhere in this Review.

SIR CHARLES ELLIOTT agreed with Dr. Cust in the view that more could be done in the matter of inculcating religious truth among the natives in the schools. He did not understand that Mr. Maconachie desired that any direct religious instruction of any dogmatic or denominational kind should be given, but general doctrines as to the power and love of the Deity, and that the moral doctrines taught to English children should be taught to the children in India. He desired to point out that there was nothing to prevent that which Mr. Maconachie wished being done at the present time, and similar lectures being given to those which had been referred to by Dr. Chester Macnaghten; and to his personal knowledge other teachers in Calcutta, Allahabad, and other places, had proceeded on the same lines. With reference to Mr. Maconachie's suggestion as to teaching dogmatically the belief in God's existence, in practice it would be found that a certain portion of the curriculum could not be laid aside, and that during that period only the doctrines of God's love and Divine government of the world should be taught. The subject would very soon be exhausted, and they would soon get into critical and dangerous grounds as to the conduct of the government of the world by God, and the keen logical mind of the native boy would very soon lead his teacher away into discussion of opposing views. What was wanted was that the instructors in Indian schools should be so imbued with those doctrines as to impart them to the boys, and as a general rule he thought they had been very successful in the gradual training of the teachers under the education which the Indian Government itself offered. Then Mr. Maconachie had not referred to the monumental report on education prepared by the Commission, of which Sir William Hunter was the President, under Lord Dufferin's Government, which discussed this very question at great length, and brought out the conclusion that these views should underlie the teaching of every teacher, and not of themselves be made the subject of teaching. As showing that the Government of India had attended to this subject, he might mention the moral text-book, which though ridiculed at the time it was brought out by the Government of Bengal was a meritorious and useful production tending to create in the boys' minds types of high character and honourable conduct in public life, and of bravery, honesty, and chivalry. He desired to say that it was not the case, as mentioned in the paper, in Bengal at any rate, that the works of literature given to the boys for study were mutilated so as to contain nothing to interfere with the religious prejudices of Hindoo or Mahomedan. With reference to the inquiry made by Mr. Connell, the philosophical works were laid down from year to year by the University, but he had always thought that they did not give enough modern literature, though there was a great deal of eighteenth-century literature. He had listened to the paper with a great deal of sympathy, but he trusted Mr. Maconachie would accept the view that what he aimed at was being done, at any rate in the best colleges, and by the best teachers, and in perhaps the only way in which it could be done in the present relations between the Government of India and the people.

MR. N. B. WAGLE desired to put before the meeting the Indian side of

the question. He highly appreciated the anxiety expressed by the lecturer for giving higher moral tone to the educated Indians, but when it came to enforcing religious teaching in Government colleges and institutions, there were immense difficulties which deserved their serious consideration. The first question that confronted them was as to what religion should be thus introduced into the Indian colleges. In this country, where there was one prevailing religion, it was easy to introduce religious instruction, because there were no other conflicting religions in the whole of the country ; but in India, which was a country of religions, there were various sects which materially differed one from another, and under such circumstances it was difficult to give preference to one over half a dozen others which should equally deserve their attention and study. It seemed that the lecturer, when he insisted on religious education in schools, openly meant to adopt Christianity, but that in his opinion seemed highly impracticable and objectionable at present. It was quite absurd to suppose that India would at any time adopt Christianity as a national religion—he meant Christianity in the form in which the missionaries have hitherto tried to introduce it in that country ; and he would express regret that the missionary movements were now looked at by the people with a degree of suspicion and fear. Change of religion was not the same in India and in England. An average Indian, in his opinion, was more religious than his Western neighbour. The latter could change his faith without any corresponding change in his social and other surroundings, while it was the most difficult thing for an Indian to change his religion, for he was thereby torn away mercilessly from his dearest and nearest relations and friends—parents, sisters, brothers, and all. In fact, he was considered dead and gone, his funeral took place, his people went in mourning for him. In short, to convert one man to Christianity was to throw half a dozen or more families in utter grief, despair, and desolation, and he should not therefore sympathise with any religion that worked such horrible results on the social structure of any nation or community. The advocates of the Christian religion, therefore, would do well to turn their attention towards the mitigation of these evils before they were impatiently eager to force their religion on the people by getting it introduced in schools and colleges by Government sanction. Looking at that side of the question and the consequent misery of the parents and relatives, he should certainly agree with the suggestion of one of the speakers that they should wait for another twenty-five years before they change the policy of neutrality of religion in Government schools and colleges. Then, again, the term “religious education” was a very wide one. There was the internal and moral, as well as the external and theological, part of religious education. He would certainly encourage the introduction of moral education, which is the foundation and groundwork of all good religions, into the schools and colleges ; and he would go one step further, and say that that sort of education, though not given in Government colleges directly through text-books, was given most effectively by the personal example and influence of the professors and by the philosophical books that were read in the colleges. He himself had the honour to belong to the Elphinstone College in Bombay,

and he could say that the moral lessons he had received from his professors were sufficient to give him as clear and pure a moral conscience as anybody who had been taught in a missionary college or even in any English university. Speaking of the Bombay University, they had to study authors like Butler, Martineau, Aristotle, Kant, Paley, Bacon, etc. Again, speaking of Christianity, students were given the option at the M.A. examination of answering two papers, either the ancient and modern philosophy or the internal and external evidences of Christianity. He thought that was sufficient introduction at present into the universities of Christian religious education. He must certainly contradict the proposition put forward by Mr. Maconachie with regard to the difference in the moral tone of the students of Government College and the missionary ones. He remarked that India was advancing in all ways under British rule, and those who watched the religious activity of the country would find that the religious life of India was not extinct, new doctrines were laid, new forms were started, and the greatest advocates of different religious movements were, at least the majority of them, from Government colleges, and not missionary ones. The future religion of India, as prophesied by Professor Max Müller, must be some form of Christianity, and all over the country a new sort of religion, which was a compromise between Hinduism and Christianity, had been started by educated people, namely, the sect of the Brahmasumaj, which was started by Keshub Chunder Sen, and now kept up by equally distinguished people. The life and soul of such religious movements were always men belonging to Government colleges, where, according to Mr. Maconachie, religious education was not given at all. Speaking of the presentation of the Bible, he said he had had the honour of being presented with a copy on passing his B.A. examination by the society to which Dr. Cust had referred, and he had no hesitation in saying that he made a good use of it, and had had great pleasure in thinking over the subject-matter of the great work. He should be glad if any of his countrymen embraced Christianity for the simple reason of their being convinced of the truth of it. He himself could see that Christianity was as good a religion as his own Hinduism; a good Hindu was, in his opinion, a good Christian, and *vice versa*. The essence of both religions were similar, and the action and effect the same. But people in this country have a very hazy notion of Indian religions, and so they put everything they could not account for in any other way down to the Indian religion. For example, Mr. Maconachie had treated Suttee as part of the Hindu religion, but he must say that it was as much a part of Hindu religion as wearing a black coat was that of Christianity. He was at a loss to understand how English education would destroy Hinduism as alleged by Dr. Maconachie. He maintained that English education, instead of destroying Hinduism, purifies it. The best feature of English education is criticism, and he unhesitatingly confessed that the English methods of education had given them keen critical power. It gave them the power of discriminating the good from the bad, and they could thus separate the chaff from the grain, throw away all that part of Hinduism which does not suit the present, and accept the purer Hinduism, the spirit of which was, as he said before, just the same

as that of Christianity. There was a simile in the Upanishads which was that all religions were like small rivulets flowing till they joined one big river before they fall into the sea. If at any time it will be considered necessary to introduce religious education in Government colleges and schools, it should be to bring home to every student the truth of this idea, namely, whichever form of religion one belonged to, the spirit, the essence, the foundation of all religions in the world is just the same, namely, to be moral and good. (Applause.)

SIR ROLAND K. WILSON said it appeared to him that the paper and the subsequent speeches amounted very much to a *reductio ad absurdum* of the principle of State education. On the one hand, the lecturer could point to a large body of opinion on his side when he insisted that the results of the present system were unsatisfactory from a moral point of view. But on the other hand, the remedy suggested, that of requiring the educational authorities to teach officially the existence of a personal God, had evoked strong and weighty protests. The contrast between Mr. Maconachie's view, that English secular education must destroy, with that of Mr. Wagle, that it tended to purify, Hinduism, went to show that there was no common ground of principle on which a great State organization could found systematic teaching. The remedy he would suggest was that education should be left entirely to those who were inspired with the missionary spirit. It used to be a commonplace with Liberals that the State had nothing to do except to ascertain and protect the rights of individuals. It was plainer in India than in England that the Government was the embodiment of force, and depended for its justification on the existence of evils for which force was the only remedy. Its resources were taxed to the utmost by a very imperfect performance of its proper work of making laws and enforcing them. Why not leave the spiritual work to which force was altogether inappropriate to the spiritual agencies which, in India, were not likely to fail? If all financial exactions intended for the support of education were gradually remitted, the public would rise to fill the gap, and they would have, perhaps, not so many persons educated to read and speak English, but a larger number trained spiritually by individuals and societies to whom that task would be a labour of love.\*

\* I should like to add a word or two with reference to a remark which fell afterwards from the Chairman. I can well believe that many, perhaps most, of the natives who have themselves been educated in Government colleges are in favour of maintaining and augmenting State expenditure on higher education. This has been evidenced, now and again by resolutions of the Indian National Congress, a body in which this class may be supposed to have a preponderant influence; and it is only what ordinary experience of human nature would lead one to expect. On most matters their pronouncements deserve most respectful attention, for they bring to the consideration of Indian problems more enlightened minds than the bulk of their countrymen, and more sympathetic insight than the British press and bureaucracy. But on this particular subject the class bias is too obvious. State aid to university and middle-school instruction is a tribute levied on the trader, the artisan, and the rayat for the benefit of the literary, professional and official classes, and we know only too well in this country how hard it is for a class so situated to avoid confusing the public good with its own privileges. Nevertheless, the most recent Congress resolutions seem to foreshadow a change of attitude in the near future. One of them asks for more technical instruction, which is in effect asking the Government



SIR LEPEL GRIFFIN desired to point out what appeared to him to be one or two weaknesses in the premises of the syllogism put before them by Mr. Maconachie. In the first place he would like to express his agreement with the opinions expressed by Mr. Wagle, who had with great precision shown what was the Hindu point of view. When Mr. Wagle said that people not very conversant with the deeper side of Indian life imagined every form of religious belief to be Hinduism, he had stated a great truth, and he was also correct in saying that the effect of English teaching in India was not infidelity, but the purification of Hinduism. (Hear, hear.) Those who carefully followed the religious life of India of to-day would understand that there was a great religious fire and enthusiasm arising among educated Hindus in the direction of a purer life and a simpler faith. The founders of this great movement possessed a creed with an ethical basis as ennobling and purifying as Christianity itself. He referred to men like Rajah Ram Mohan Roy, and Keshub Chunder Sen. Infidelity was not the result of English teaching. Scientific training no doubt destroyed belief in puerilities—absurdities which had attached themselves, not as part of the religion, but as part of the cloak of religion to Hinduism, which in its best and purest form was not dogmatic at all. The Hinduism of to-day, popularly known as Brahminism, was absolutely tolerant in its character, and accepted a million gods or one with equal complacency. Polytheism, and indeed Pantheism, was to a certain extent affected, no doubt, by the teaching of English literature and science; but these in no way affected the Brahminical or the sacerdotal force of Hinduism. They rather stimulated the devotion of earnest and educated Hindus to the esoteric teaching of their creed, which was a high and pure monotheism, and was to-day far more attracting thoughtful and cultured men than it had ever done before. He thought they might safely leave the question to the Hindus and their own great teachers, of whom there had been some as worthy of respect as any prophet who had arisen in other countries. Let them leave in the hands of the Hindu teachers the gradual withdrawal of the masses from the superstitions which the more cultured among them condemned and rejected, and the reform which all wished to see would be gradually effected in the religion of India. (Applause.)

MR. S. S. THORBURN said that listening to Mr. Maconachie's paper he realized how the missionary spirit which burnt within him had been tempered by the cold prudence of a constructive Deputy Commissioner, and he marvelled at what he might almost term the unchristian moderation of Mr. Maconachie's concrete proposal, which was to remedy what he deplored as the result of the existing system of secular education by intro-

to meddle less with the higher branches of education; the other strikes, though perhaps unconsciously, at the very root of the system by pointing to a political difficulty even graver than the religious one now under discussion. I refer to the demand that managers and teachers of State-aided institutions shall be free to take part in political movements, a demand which can neither be refused without grave injury to the cause of political progress, nor conceded without risk of considerable embarrassment to the Government. But to develop this thought would carry me far beyond the limits of a footnote.—R. K. W. 1

ducing the dogmatic teaching of theism. He disagreed with that proposal; dogma was the weapon of a bigot. It was a lamentable fact that education acted as a solvent of belief and induced atheism. Where not only theism but Christianity was taught, the educated product was agnostic, as had been found by those devoted missionaries, the members of the Cambridge Mission at Delhi. If a Christian Government taught divinity in its classes, certainly in the Punjab it would be regarded as a first step towards a wholesale attempt at proselytizing, which admittedly would injure, and not advance, Christianity. With regard to Mr. Maconachie's point that a purely secular teaching amounted to a denial of God, a theistic teaching without Christ would amount to a denial of Christ. Some inoffensive means should be adopted of keeping before the minds of the Indian schoolboys the existence of an Omnipotent power and the advantages of holy living. The central idea of the four great religions prevalent in India was theism, and apart from that the founders of those faiths had drawn up ethical codes containing a vast variety of admirable precepts which were all concordant. His own suggestion would be that as the initiative must come from outside, not from the Government itself, pious representatives of those four great religions might well meet and draw up a religious text-book, in which the existence of God should be affirmed, and the advantages of holy living, according to their conceptions of God's rules, set forth. All dogma and controversial matter would, of course, be eschewed. Government might then be induced to use the book in Government schools.

MR. A. K. CONNELL commented on the philosophical text-books in use at the Indian Universities, and expressed his astonishment that Jowett's translations of Plato and Aristotle had not been adopted. He could conceive no greater discipline for the Hindu mind than to be taken through Plato, who in many respects was Oriental as well as Greek. With regard to a moral text-book, if it consisted of biographies of great men and an account of heroic acts, it would be good, but mere copy-book sentiments of the type of Tupper's "Proverbial Philosophy" were worth nothing. He agreed with Sir Lepel Griffin that nothing would be more fatal than to undermine the Hindu or Mahommedan religions, because the religion of any country was bound up with the life of that country and its associations and stories, and was a power in that country for good. The best moral and religious teachers in India were those who took the religion as they found it, and did their best to purify it through its own prophets and preachers.

MR. J. B. PENNINGTON said: It would be impossible, I think, for anyone, whatever his personal belief may be, not to sympathize with such a very moderate presentment of the case for religious education as we have just listened to, and for my part I do not doubt that any believing Hindu and Mahommedan would welcome such instruction. But the question is whether it is the business of a Government to teach even such almost universally accepted dogmas. Considering how impossible it has been found to invent an undenominational religion even in this country which will satisfy every kind of Christian, I am most strongly of opinion that it

should make no such attempt. And I doubt if the harm done by purely secular education is so great as some people imagine. I don't know why I should hesitate to say that I do not accept Macaulay's sweeping assertion that "no Hindu who has had an English education can remain sincerely attached to his own religion," nor even the other statement that "education provided by the State simply destroys Hinduism." In my experience the educated Hindu generally remains a Hindu still, but his Hinduism is purged of much dross by his education. He no longer believes a great deal of what he believed before, and it is a good thing he does not. Indeed, he often becomes quite anxious to prove that *real* Hinduism is as good and as spiritual a religion as any other. As an old Hindu friend of mine once said to me after reading the Epistle of St. James, "Sir, that is pure Hinduism." Every religion, even the best, requires to be constantly reforming its views in accordance with the established facts of science, and Hinduism will be all the better for the influence brought to bear upon it by the steady growth of civilized and Christian thought in India, however imperfectly that thought may be expressed in the lives of Europeans; but for the Government to enter into the domain of theology and attempt to teach religion as the only basis of ethics, would in my opinion be a fatally retrograde step. Judging from experience we have all had, I should say it was not even true that a pure moral life can only be based on the hope of future reward, or still less on the fear of future punishment. Morality is no longer dependent on the religious sanction, it is rather the other way. Let us by all means, both as a Government and as private individuals, endeavour to set the natives a better example of what a Christian life ought to be, and it will not then be necessary to attempt the impossible task of teaching them religion in schools not properly adapted for the purpose. It would be necessary to start a conscience clause for those, however few they may be, who disbelieve in any Divine Ruler of the world.

The CHAIRMAN in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Maconachie for his very interesting paper, said that he approached the subject from the same standpoint as Mr. Maconachie, but came to a different conclusion. He would not discuss what could be done by missionary effort, but the question was raised by Mr. Maconachie, What were the duties of the Government of India with reference to education? Now, the instruction was as clear as anything could be: "We do strictly charge and inform all those who may be in authority under Us, that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of Our subjects on pain of Our highest displeasure." That was a command which every Governor and official in India had to obey implicitly, and it was from that basis they must start: that the Parsee, the Hindu, and the Mahommedan had as perfect a right to the exercise of their own religion without any hindrance, in educational establishments or elsewhere, as any Englishman in England had to practise his religion. (Hear, hear.) The question then arose whether education as given in Indian schools fulfilled all the requirements which could be required from secular education. He absolutely denied that secular education must inevitably lead to an irreligious disposition,

(Applause.) If secular education had that for its result, it was because the spiritual leaders of the children attending secular schools did not do their duty in supplying outside the schools the instruction which ought to be given. Then came the question whether the Government of India was doing all that it ought to do with regard to the formation of character. The main point of education was the formation of character, and he was perfectly convinced that if Dr. Arnold of Rugby had been at the head of a secular establishment the boys coming from that school would have been men of a very high character. The character of a school depended entirely on the character of the person who taught. At the root of all educational problems was not the question what text-books were given, but whether the personal influence of the person at the head of the school was of a high character. If that were the case, he was convinced that without mentioning a word of Christian dogma the teacher's Christian influence would be felt in the institution. (Applause.) With regard to primary education in India, they must rely on teaching by natives. There could therefore not arise any question of teaching any other religion in the native schools for natives in India than such religion as would be understood by the teacher conducting the school. Then came the great question whether the training colleges for elementary teachers in India were at present such as to satisfy all that could be asked of them. That subject was such a large one that he would not like to enter upon it, but he could only say that during the years he was in Bombay he gave a great deal of attention to the subject, and he considered the local governments of India had hardly any duty of greater importance than to see to it that the heads of training colleges for the teachers of elementary schools should be persons whose influence over the pupil teachers was such as to make them proper guides for the youth of India. Of course the idea of making these training colleges in any way institutions of a proselytizing character must, under the instruction he had quoted, be absolutely abandoned. The same thing applied to the secondary schools, although he was of opinion, an opinion shared by several of his native friends in Bombay, that it would be very desirable to place at the head of those important institutions graduates of English Universities. With regard to the colleges, he again considered there was no more important duty that the Government in England had to exercise than in the appointment of the principals and English professors of those colleges. (Hear, hear.) He was very glad to hear the testimony given by Mr. Wagle to the professors of the Elphinstone College in Bombay, and what could be done was borne out by the statement of the influence exercised by his late excellent friend Dr. Chester Macnaghten. Of course, men like Dr. Chester Macnaghten were rare, and the duties to be performed in Indian colleges in the formation of native character were infinitely more difficult than similar duties in English colleges, and therefore he maintained that in the selection of principals and professors of Indian colleges higher tests should be applied than in the case even of their own schools and colleges in England. There was one thing that must not be forgotten, and that was, that the Hindus, the Parsees, and the Mahomedans had a conscience, and they must try and find the key to that con-

science. He was convinced that that could be done by men who laid themselves out to win the confidence of the men in Indian colleges. That had been done by Dr. Chester Macnaghten and by Principal Wordsworth when at the head of Elphinstone College. In doing that a great deal more would be done than by accepting the solution proposed by the paper. In India he believed there was a feeling that their education must be more directed to the formation of character, and they must certainly find the means of showing that they did not limit themselves to teaching Plato and Aristotle, or, worse still, introducing moral text-books which would be entirely nerveless because the main factor of all morality would be absent ; but they must try and find their way to the consciences of their native fellow-subjects. (Applause.) He was convinced that could be done, and that nothing would more add to the popularity of their rule than what was done in that way to promote education. Sir Roland Wilson had proposed a policy of absolute withdrawal from the field of education, but his (Lord Reay's) experience in India was that he was always asked for more money for education, and the great complaint against him was that he was niggardly in providing higher education. Every penny spent on technical education was watched, and under those circumstances he said deliberately that nothing would more redound to the discredit of our rule in India than to leave the field open to agencies which, whatever might be their merits, would not meet in any respect that to which our Indian subjects had a perfect right, that was, that the Indian Government should spend on their education, from their money for their improvement, what was spent in England by the English Government for our improvement. (Applause.)

MR. MACONACHIE then briefly replied, and pointed out that he had not been trying to urge the teaching of theism as a complete religion, but his thesis was that Government taught certain things which were important and left out other things vastly more important which did harm to the people it wanted to do good to. He also disclaimed the statement that the Government colleges induced atheism.

## CORRESPONDENCE, NOTES, AND NEWS.

OPEN LETTERS TO LORD CURZON ON FAMINES AND  
LAND ASSESSMENTS IN INDIA.\*

SIR,

Is it possible in this age of incessant hurry to get even the Anglo-Indian section of the British public to take any interest in the never-ending old controversy between the advocates of zemindāri and ryotwāri tenures of land in India? Volumes have been written on the subject during the hundred and odd years that have elapsed since the permanent settlement in Bengal, and yet it is commonly believed that not a single convert has ever been made by either party!

Perhaps, however, if it is once realized that the ryotwāri system, properly understood, stands for land nationalization, where the State takes what may fairly be called the rent, and that in the case of the zemindar (who is the Indian representative of the English squire, or rather, since the promulgation of the various restrictive rent-laws, of the modern Irish landlord) the State only gets a tax on the rental value, it may be possible to excite some interest even yet in what Sir George Campbell, with characteristic shrewdness, called a dispute about words; and it is from this point of view that I propose to venture a few criticisms on Mr. Dutt's most useful volume. It is only fair, however, to say to begin with that he professes the most absolute indifference as to the character of the tenure on which land is held in various provinces of India; his only object in this work is to insist on the necessity for strictly moderate assessment of the Government demand, whatever the method of assessment may be; but it is easy to see that his preference is (naturally) for the permanent settlement of Bengal, and his prejudice in favour of superior landlords makes him sometimes inaccurate, and sometimes (unintentionally, of course), a little unjust in his remarks on the ryotwāri tenure. He also too often ignores the principle which underlies the assessment of all land in India, namely, that *the State is entitled to a share of the produce*, "an eighth, a sixth, or even a fourth," though he does very frequently insist (and I am inclined to agree with him) that *more than one-fifth* should never be taken as revenue. Now, this principle of sharing the crop is not only a most reasonable arrangement, but is also the very backbone of all the schemes that have ever been made for land nationalization in this country. It does, however, involve a fair standard of cultivation, and it is impossible to say that it does not sometimes take more than it ought out of the ryot's own labour. That is why *scrupulous moderation in assessment* is an essential feature of a ryotwāri settlement. The actual division of the crop has long been found altogether impracticable, and would, of course, necessitate some power on the part of Government to compel the proper cultivation of the land. The Madras plan, therefore, is to estimate the crop as it

\* Romesh C. Dutt, C.I.E.; Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., 1900.

ought to be under fair average cultivation, and to assess the land periodically with a tax equivalent to about half the net crop after deducting the cost of cultivation ; and it is a fair question whether, if the value of the land has been materially increased since the last assessment, it ought not to be assessed somewhat more highly, not only on account of any actual rise in the price of grain, in which case Mr. Dutt himself would agree to enhancement, but also on account of any increase in the crop itself, *so far as that increase could be fairly attributed to the action of the Government, and to the general increase of prosperity in the country* in providing a better market for grain, etc., and so reducing the cost of cultivation. It is obvious that gradual and almost imperceptible improvements in irrigation and drainage would fairly entitle the Government, or any other "landlord" at whose expense they might have been carried out, to some increase of "rent." In fact, the State, as representing the whole people, could hardly carry out local improvements for the benefit of a few of its ryots with any fairness unless those ryots paid their share of the cost by increased assessment, and perhaps the simplest way of getting at the increased value of the crop is by looking to the increased value of the land, and considering how far that increased value is due to the exertions of the ryot, because so far, of course, the Government has no claim to increased revenue.

The true principle, then, of a ryotwari settlement is that the State and the ryot are *joint owners of the land*, or, as we should prefer to put it, joint trustees for the proper cultivation of the land, and share equally in its good and evil fortune ; and those of us who are inclined to the idea that the State should never entirely divest itself of its share in the produce of the soil believe that the ryotwari system, *properly administered*, is the fairest for all, though (and perhaps even because) it can never produce millionaire landlords like some of the zemindars of Bengal, who were not only presented by that most honest and well-intentioned of landlords, Lord Cornwallis, with vast tracts of then uncultivated land, but also with all the "unearned increment."

Mr. Dutt makes a great point of the fact that many of our old settlement authorities, including Sir Thomas Munro himself, committed themselves to the opinion that the Government demand on the land under the ryotwari system once fixed was "fixed for ever," and, apparently, they meant fixed *in money*. But these were mere opinions, and when the subject came to be thoroughly considered in 1855, it was soon observed that to fix the assessment *in money* on every field, no matter what standard of cultivation it had reached, would be not only contrary to the true principle of a ryotwari settlement, but also to common-sense ; and it was ultimately decided, after full discussion with the Home Government, that the assessment should be fixed in money for thirty years, and should then be liable to revision either way, so as to bring it up, if necessary, to the usual share due to Government. Mr. Dutt's charges of breach of faith on page 32 are therefore quite unfounded, the exact character of the ryotwari tenure having never been finally settled till the inauguration of the special department in 1855. To fix a permanent money assessment on each field at the beginning of the century would have been to repeat the blunder of the

Bengal Permanent Settlement, though on a less extensive and less arbitrary scale, and to adopt a practice to which Sir Thomas Munro himself so strongly objected, viz., that of settling things without a sufficient knowledge of the facts. It is curious that, in 1824, after forty-four years of constant work amongst the people, he should have said that his "experience was still too short to judge what rules are best," and that more than thirty years "must probably elapse before we can be certain what is best." It was just over thirty years later that the principles of the ryotwari system were definitely settled. "No survey assessment of a great province," he says again, "can ever at once be made so correct as not to require future alteration" (Sir A. J. Arbuthnot's "Munro," vol. i., p. 261); and it is clear that even he did not consider that the assessment was absolutely fixed in money, for he speaks of it on the same page as "a standard by which the revenue can at any time be raised or lowered according as the state of affairs may require an increase of the burdens of the people, or may admit of their diminution," and adds that he "trusts we shall never have to go beyond the original assessment," etc. The very last words of this famous minute are to the effect that the land revenue should be "lowered when circumstances admit of reduction, and raised again in time of war" (p. 275 *id.*).

It should always be remembered, however, that at the first settlement in Madras the rates were almost invariably reduced, sometimes very largely, and that the immense strides the country made during the next thirty years, and the immense improvements that have been made in irrigation and in the means of communication, fully justify a considerable increase now in some localities. Then, again, in comparing the incidence of assessment in Bengal and Madras, it must not be forgotten that the revenue paid to Government under a ryotwari settlement is to be compared with the rent paid to the zemindar in Bengal. Mr. Dutt's comparison of the land revenue paid in Bengal and Madras, on p. 113, is entirely misleading. The Madras assessment of 12 to 31 per cent. of the gross produce (assuming his calculation to be correct) should be compared with the statement on p. 106, which shows that the Bengal ryots pay from 11·2 to 29·4 per cent. to his landlord—no great difference. In what respect, then, are the ryots in Madras worse off than the tenants in Bengal? Mr. Dutt says that *on the average* the tenants pay no more than one-sixth of the produce; but this is only another example of the misleading use of averages. The man who pays 29 per cent. of his produce is no better off, because "on the average" only 16 per cent. is paid, and it surely makes no difference to the cultivating ryot whether he pays from 11 to 29 per cent. to Government direct or to a zemindar who annexes two-thirds of the amount and pays to Government the remaining one-third, however much the neighbourhood generally may benefit by the private expenditure of the zemindar. There is, however, really no reason why the expenditure of a ryotwari Government like that of Madras should not be as beneficial to the ryots as that of a local zemindar, and it ought to be even more so. Sir Arthur Cotton's irrigation schemes would never have been carried out by a number of private zemindars.



In describing (on p. 8) the proposals that were made for introducing a permanent (ryotwári) settlement in the North-West Provinces in the time of Lord Canning, Mr. Dutt says that if they had been carried out, "India would have been spared those more dreadful, desolating famines which we have witnessed in later years." Now, considering that on an earlier page (xiv of the Preface) he admits that "famines are directly caused by the failure of the rains, over which man has no control," it is rather too much to say that the introduction of a permanent settlement, which would simply have made middle-men of a certain number of actual cultivators, would have put a stop to famine altogether. I, at any rate, cannot believe it; and when he goes on to say that "the interests of the land revenue received greater consideration than the well-being of the people," I feel bound to protest most strongly, because we advocates of a ryotwári settlement believe that the well-being of the country is best consulted by the ryot holding his land direct from the Government, and that he is (or ought to be) better off than a mere tenant under a private landlord (zemindar) however he may be secured by stringent tenant law. That the fortunate individuals who were to be presented with 10 per cent. of the produce and made zemindars, or rent-chargers, would have been better off is undoubted, but there can be equally little doubt that such permanent alienation of the revenue of the State is most unwise. Mr. Dutt indeed asserts (p. 12) that the extension of the permanent settlement would have "improved the condition of landlords and cultivators alike. He quotes the example of Bengal as proof of his assertion, but I have never been able to discover how the "actual cultivator" can be better off as tenant under a zemindar than when paying *the same share of his produce* direct to Government, and being to all intents and purposes owner of the land.

It is interesting to note that Sir Thomas Munro, after forty-four years of such experience of the country as few men have ever had, scoffs at the idea of the land revenue having ever been so low as one-sixth or one-fifth or even one-fourth of the produce (vol. i., p. 246), and his argument that, if it had been so moderate as that, "the payment of a fixed share in kind and all the expensive machinery requisite for its supervision would never have been required," affords at any rate a curious incidental corroboration of Mr. Dutt's contention that with such an assessment as 20 per cent. of the gross, "the revenue would in every year, in good or bad seasons, be easily and punctually paid."

I commend to Mr. Dutt's attention the whole of Sir Thomas Munro's reflections on the assessment levied in the good old days, even before the Mohammedan conquest (vol. i., pp. 246-250). Property in land has grown up in Tinnevely since Munro's time, for in 1820 the collector reported that land in the Tambraparni Valley, where it is scarcely to be bought now for love or money, had "no saleable value." Mr. Dutt's statement that a rental of "one-third of the gross produce is unexampled in Bengal or Northern India, and *double* the rate prescribed by the old Hindu law," which allowed one-eighth, one-sixth, or even one-fourth in extreme cases, is indeed surprising, and may be usefully compared with Sir Thomas Munro's opinion on the point. The truth is, we all know that if the

Government limits its demand to one-fifth, or even one-fourth, of the gross produce, the ryot will soon become a landlord in a small way, because we know that land is actually being cultivated by men who receive no more than 25 per cent. of the produce as the reward of their labour; and such petty landlords will, it may be hoped, be in a position very soon to tide over a bad season now and then, and even keep their "actual cultivators" out of the clutches of famine.

Land nationalizers are not anxious to create great landlords, but there can be no proper cultivation of the land and no permanent improvement of the country unless the "actual cultivator" is assured of the reward of his own exertions, and has a reasonable prospect of rising from the ranks of labour by his own thrift and hard work. This is not incompatible with a steady increase in the revenue by the systematic taxation of the "unearned increment."

J. B. PENNINGTON.

September, 1900.

#### FAMINES AND LAND ASSESSMENTS IN INDIA.

SIR,

Since the publication of my work on "Famines and Land Assessments in India," I have received numerous communications on the subject from retired officials who have held high judicial or administrative posts in India. All my correspondents agree with me as to the necessity of moderating rents and fixing some reasonable limits of enhancement in order to improve the condition of Indian cultivators. And some of my correspondents have also favoured me with friendly criticisms on one or two points which require to be cleared up.

The different land administration systems in the different Provinces of India may be broadly divided into two classes, viz., the *Zemindari* system of Northern India, and the *Ryotwari* system of Southern India. I have purposely abstained from pronouncing in favour of one or the other of these two systems; all that I have insisted upon is, that the land revenue should be moderate and equitable, whatever the prevailing land system may be.

Mistakes were made in every Province of Northern India in the early years of British rule. In Bengal nine-tenths of the rental was demanded as the Government revenue; but as this revenue was permanently fixed the evil was remedied in time; and at present the Government revenue represents less than one-third of the rental. In the N.W. Provinces three-fourths of the rental was demanded as the Government revenue, but the proportion was subsequently reduced to two-thirds, and then to one-half, which is the present rate. In the Punjab one-third of the gross produce was demanded as the Government revenue, but this was subsequently reduced to one-fourth and then to one-sixth; and, generally speaking, the Government revenue represents about one-half the rental in that Province at present. It will thus be seen that the worst mistakes have been rectified in Northern India, and the land revenue in Northern India now represents one-half or less of the rental; in other words, about *ten per cent. or less of the gross produce of the soil.*

Similar mistakes in over-assessing the land were made in Southern India, and my contention is that in Southern India the mistakes have not been rectified after a century of British rule. I go further, and maintain that this over-assessment has been continued in Madras, and in Bombay in violation of distinct orders from the Court of Directors and from the Secretary of State for India. The Court of Directors wrote in their despatch of December 17, 1856, that the "right of the Government is not a *rent* which consists of all the surplus produce after paying the cost of cultivation and the profits of agricultural stocks, but a *land revenue* only." And after the East India Company was abolished, Sir Charles Wood, Secretary of State for India, repeated this mandate in his famous despatch of 1864, and further laid down that only a share, generally a half-share, of the rent, should be taken as land revenue. If this order had been loyally carried out, the land revenue in Madras and Bombay would have been the same as in Northern India, for one-half the rent is about one-tenth the gross produce of the soil. But the order of Sir Charles Wood has been virtually ignored in Madras and in Bombay, and, by a vicious system of testing the productive powers of the land, by under-estimating the cost of cultivation, by carrying on settlement operations and calculations in the dark, and by denying the cultivator any appeal to any independent tribunal from the finding of the settlement officer, the actual land revenue obtained in Madras and Bombay is, not one-half the rent as was laid down by Sir Charles Wood, nor 10 per cent. the gross produce as in Northern India, but *from 12 to 33 per cent. of the gross produce*, which is more than the full average rent paid by cultivators to landlords in Northern India.

*Half the rental* is nominally the rate of land revenue all over India where the revenue has not been permanently settled. It is the rate laid down by Sir Charles Wood for Madras and Bombay, and it is the rate recognised by the Governments of the N.W. Provinces and the Punjab. Now see how this rule is applied in the different Provinces by the different Local Governments. In the Punjab and the N.W. Provinces half the rent actually paid is taken as the Government revenue; in Madras and in Bombay virtually the full rent is swept away as the Government revenue. In the Punjab and the N.W. Provinces 8 to 10 per cent. of the gross produce is considered as half the rent and taken as the Government revenue; in Madras and in Bombay 12 to 33 per cent. of the gross produce is considered as half the rent, and taken as the Government revenue. It is against this injustice, it is against this practical violation of Sir Charles Wood's orders (and not against the *Ryotwari* system as such) that I protest.

So long have Madras and Bombay settlement officers accustomed themselves to act in violation of the spirit of Sir Charles Wood's orders, that their very conceptions of the relation between the State and the cultivator are undergoing a change. They now speak of the State and the cultivator as *joint owners of the land*, which is untrue, because the State has repeatedly and emphatically recognised the cultivator as the sole owner or proprietor of the land. They claim as *revenue* more than what landlords in Northern India obtain as *rent*, forgetting that under Sir Charles Wood's mandate the

revenue should be about half the rent. They make enhancements on vague grounds, such as *the general prosperity of the country*, under which no landlord in any civilized country would be permitted to raise his rents ; and the result is that the so-called prosperity of the country leads to the growing impoverishment of the cultivator after each recurring settlement, and therefore to frequent and widespread famines, such as we have seen in Southern India since 1877.

I have, in my work, quoted chapter and verse to prove that for a period of forty years, from 1816 to 1856, both the Madras Government and the Madras Board of Revenue held the settlements made with the Madras cultivators to be *permanent, and not liable to any further increase*. Nevertheless, I have not asked for the restoration of this *Ryotwari permanent settlement* for Southern India. What I have asked is what the Madras Government and the Government of India considered in 1882 to be possible and desirable and expedient, viz., that in districts once settled no future enhancement of rents should be permitted except on the equitable ground of a rise in prices. I have also asked that the revenue should in no single case exceed one-fifth the gross produce, and should not, for an entire district, exceed 10 per cent. the gross produce, which is the generally prevailing limit in Northern India. And I have asked that, in case of differences between the cultivator and the settlement officer, an appeal should be allowed to an impartial tribunal not connected with the duty of collection of revenue.

The apprehension is sometimes entertained, or at least professed, that to assess the cultivator lightly would be to make a landlord of him, with a new race of miserable cultivators under him. The argument is belied by the state of things in Bengal. In Bengal, the millions of actual cultivators, those who hold the plough and reap the rice, are lightly assessed at about one-sixth the gross produce ; and they are not becoming a race of petty landlords with a new race of cultivators under them.

India is a great agricultural country. The people of India have always depended mainly on agriculture ; and they do so now to a greater extent than they ever did before, when their village looms brought them some income. To over-assess the soil is to impoverish the country. To moderate rents, and to fix clear, definite, equitable, and intelligible limits to enhancements, is the only possible way to improve the condition of the people.

Lord Canning and Lord Lawrence went further ; they proposed to fix the land revenue permanently for all India, in order to promote the prosperity of the people, and the accumulation of capital in the country. Some portion of their far-sighted wisdom and generous sympathy for the people may yet animate the present race of administrators.

ROMESH DUTT.

September, 1900.

#### PROTECTORATE OF UGANDA.

A preliminary Report\* has been presented to Parliament by Her Majesty's Special Commissioner (H. H. Johnston), which contains very

"Africa, No. 6, 1900, Parliamentary Report."

valuable information with respect to health and climate, the people, distribution of population, native taxation, products and resources of the country, and an excellent summary of the present condition of the protectorate. " Maps illustrating the Report will soon be published by command of the Government.

#### THE UGANDA RAILWAY.

This important and philanthropic railway scheme is making gradual progress, as indicated by a Parliamentary paper just presented ("Africa, No. 7, 1900") to Parliament. On March 31, 1899, the permanent alignment had been marked out in detail to the 418th mile. Most of the remaining 164 miles were staked out during the present year, and the survey was actually completed in April last. It is stated that no dependence can be placed on native labour, and hence Indian labourers are employed. They have increased from 3,948 in 1896 to 18,030 in 1899. A permanent telegraph line of three wires has been completed to Nairobi, mile 326, two wires to mile 362. A light line for the use of the protectorate has been made to Kampala. Mules have been found the best kind of animal transport. From the new alignment the line will be considerably shorter, and its whole length from Kilindini to Port Victoria will now be about 632 miles, as against 657 by the original project. The expenditure to March 31 last amounted to £3,043,012, and for the present year it will amount, as estimated, to £943,166.

## REVIEWS AND NOTICES.

EDWARD ARNOLD; LONDON, 1899.

1. *In Moorish Captivity: an Account of the "Tourmaline" Expedition to Sus*, 1897-98, by HENRY M. GREY, a member of the expedition. This is the story of an expedition sent out in November, 1897, by a London syndicate, in order to open up a trade with the Sus tribes of Morocco, a part of the country hitherto untrodden by Europeans, and which owed very slender allegiance to the Sultan. A small steam-yacht was loaded up with Manchester goods, rifles, and ammunition, at Antwerp, by Major Spilsbury.

The principal characters are Sabbah, a Syrian Jew, the Major's interpreter, through whose help whilst previously in Mogador he became acquainted with a merchant named Pepe Retto; and Embarak-o-Hamed and Mohammad el Tamaneri, who represented themselves as delegates of the principal chiefs of Sus. A treaty was signed by the paramount chief of Sus, and approved by the British Vice-Consulate; but the Sultan got a hint of the affair, and took prompt measures to checkmate the enterprise. A party landed at Arksis, on the coast of Sus, and several lots of rifles and goods were disposed of, in spite of the vigilance of the Sultan's steamer *Hassani*.

The Sultan's cavalry attacked the tribesmen among whom the party lived, and they were, with some sailors from the yacht, eventually captured, and chained and marched northward on camels several hundred miles. Instructions came at last for them to be sent to Mogador, where they arrived after 100 days' captivity in the hands of the Moors. They were handed over to the Vice-Consul, and eventually brought to trial, and sentenced to different terms of imprisonment for "illegally importing arms and ammunition into Maroquine territory." A full account of the trial is given in an appendix. The habits and customs of the people amongst whom they travelled are well and amusingly described, as also life in the kasbahs, or villages. There are several illustrations. The work is well written, and the narrative will be perused with much interest.

THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY; LONDON, 1900.

2. *A Buddhist Manual of Psychological Ethics*, translated from the original Pali of the Dhamma-Sangani by Caroline A. F. Rhys Davids, M.A. The above is only an abstract of the title of this portentous work, which, if given in full, would occupy too much space, and perhaps prove somewhat staggering to the ordinary reader. On its back the book bears the shorter title "Buddhist Psychology." If anyone should ask what this means, the answer is supplied at p. xxvi of the introduction, where we learn that the work is a "manual or text-book," and that "its subject is ethics," but that "the inquiry is conducted from a psychological standpoint, and, indeed, is in great part an analysis of the psychological and psychophysical data of ethics."

Comparing the teaching of Buddha with that of Plato, the erudite authoress remarks that "whereas the latter psychologized from an ethical standpoint, the former built his ethical doctrine on a basis of psychological principles." After this it is rather a relief to find that the Buddhists held that "for purposes of analysis it was justifiable to break up the mental continuum of the moral individuality into this or that congeries of mental phenomena."

From the above remarks it will be seen that this is a book for the initiated only, for those who understand the "psychophysical" meaning of the remarkable dog-Latin, quasi-English terms employed, such as "conation," "hedonist rather than eudæmonistic," "noumenal implications," "instinctive or spontaneous intellection." For the benefit of those qualified to judge of such abstruse matters, the following brief abstract of the contents is given.

In a formidably learned introduction of about one hundred pages, the authoress gives an account of the Manual, its date, commentaries, method, and argument; the history of psychology; an essay on the Dhammā, on Rūpa and the Buddhist theory of sense, philosophy of mind, and theory of intellection; and on the Buddhist notions of good, bad, and indeterminate.

When, from the learned introduction, with its imposing array of technical terms and abstruse disquisitions, we turn to the Manual itself, it seems hardly to correspond to all this scientific talk. It is like all Buddhist writings, curt and bald in style, and encumbered with those endless, wearisome repetitions with which we are now so familiar owing to the Buddhist propaganda that has been going on of late years. There is the usual tautology and amplification, the long strings of words whose relevancy is so obscure, and the fantastic symbolism and grouping. For instance, if anyone should be consumed by a longing to know what is the "nutriment of representative cogitation," he will be gratified to learn (p. 31) that it is "the thinking, the cogitation, the reflection that there is on that occasion—this is the representative cogitation that there then is." The phrase "that occasion" is explained elsewhere—"when a good thought concerning the sensuous universe has arisen." So that it all means that when a thought has arisen there is thinking, which one might possibly have found out for one's self.

Here is a fuller specimen of the work (p. 45):

"Which are the states that are good?"

"When, that he may attain to the heavens of Form, he cultivates the way thereto, suppressing the working of conception and thought discursive, and so, by earth-gazing, enters into and abides in the second Jhāna (rapt meditation) which is self-evolved, born of concentration, full of joy and ease, in that, set free from the working of conception and thought discursive, the mind grows calm and sure, dwelling on high—then the contact, the feeling, the perception, the thinking, the thought, the joy, the ease, the self-collectedness, the faculties of faith, energy, mindfulness, concentration, wisdom, ideation, happiness and vitality, the right views, right endeavour . . . the grasp, the balance—these, or whatever other in-

corporeal, casually induced states there are on that occasion—these are states that are good.”

This answer, with trifling modifications, with all its bewildering and unintelligible verbosity, occurs over and over again, as, in fact, do most of the principal questions and answers, till one is confused and wearied with the childish iteration.

It is true, that in a good many cases this endless repetition has been avoided by references to places where the phrase occurs before, but it is to be regretted that this is not always done. The plan might with advantage have been applied far more frequently, and the bulk of the volume might thus have been reduced by one half or more without any loss to the reader. The translation is accompanied by copious and learned notes throughout. The work must have cost an enormous amount of labour and research—far more than the subject merits—and it has evidently been most carefully and conscientiously performed. Let us hope that it may find enough purchasers to indemnify, to some extent, at least, the Oriental Translation Fund for the cost of its production. If, however, the managers of that Fund hope to make it at any time self-supporting, they must publish books of greater popular interest than the present work, which we fear will prove “caviare to the general.”

J. B.

F. A. BROCKHAUS; LEIPZIG, 1900.

3. *Mythologie des Buddhismus in Tibet und der Mongolei*, by DR. A. GRÜNWEDEL. Prince E. Uchtomsky, whose likeness is given on the frontispiece, writes a lucid and scholarly introduction to the work. Our readers may remember that the latter was the official diarist of the travels in the East of Nicholas II., Emperor of Russia, when Czarewitch in 1890-91. The 188 illustrations that adorn the book are mostly taken from the Prince's interesting collection of bronzes, which he collected during his travels in the countries where the religion of Sakya Muni flourished, and which subject he has made his special study.

Dr. Grünwedel's record of the Buddhist religion as practised in India, the Malay Archipelago, Tibet, and Mongolia, and the exposition of its doctrines, is very complete. The three chapters into which the work is divided contain an immense variety of subjects relating to the various elements of Buddhist worship and study, and to those who are interested in tracing the gradual development of Buddhism throughout the ages it will prove very valuable. The value of the work is further enhanced by numerous notes and a glossary.

CATHOLIC MISSION PRESS; SHANGHAI.

4. *Varités Sinologiques*, No. 17. *Inscriptions Juives de K'ai-fong Fu*, by REV. JÉRÔME TOEAR, S.J. This fascicule of 110 pages practically exhausts the inquiry into all the first-hand knowledge we possess about Jews in China. The local Jews themselves have had a persistent tradition that their faith was introduced during the middle portion of the first century after Christ, and it is quite certain that Buddhism at least drifted



into China at this date by way of Turkestan. Another thing that is clearly established from the Chinese records is that Buddhism and Nestorianism have been much jumbled together by Celestial historians. Of course, missionaries—Protestant as well as Catholic—are often unconsciously swayed in their minds, so as to take decisions upon these points as far as possible in the historical interests of Christianity. Personally, I am disposed to think that Christianity drew upon both Buddhism and Judaism for its ideals, and that the line of separation in the early Christian mind was equally vague in both cases—*i.e.*, that it took some centuries for early Christians to conceive a religious existence alike independent of Buddhism and of Judaism. Of course, no orthodox Christian, not to say Catholic teacher, will entertain my view; but I have nothing to do with feelings or bias: I only suggest the real truth as it appears to me. I see no evidence whatever in what Père Tobar says to show that the Jews (as a religious establishment) entered, or at least gained a footing, in China before the date when they are specifically stated on the stone tablets to have done so—to wit, the twelfth century. In Mongol times the Jews are on several occasions mentioned under such names as Djuhut, Tchu-Wu, T'chuhut, etc.; and in our own days the central, if not the only, synagogue at K'ai-fêng Fu (a Chinese capital from 900 to 1200 A.D.) has been visited by both Protestant and Catholic missionaries. Unfortunately, the last flickerings of light have departed from the benighted souls of the degenerate Chinese Israelites, who have with their own hands at last torn down for base building materials their ancient temple, have lost all recollection of Hebrew, and have begun to abandon Circumcision, and even consort with pagan women. Luckily, however, the original stone inscriptions are still *in situ*, and facsimiles as well as copies have been obtained, and are now for the first time published and translated by Père Tobar. Moreover, if the wretched Jews have (as they have) been willing to part with their old Hebrew Pentateuchs and *Hasutala* (prophecies, psalms, etc.) for filthy lucre, at least we have now got them in such safe places as the museums of London, Oxford, Cambridge, Shanghai, and Hong Kong. Finally, we have an authentic plan and full description of the destroyed synagogue, which seems to have perished during the poverty and misery caused by the T'ai-p'ing rebellion of forty years ago.

Although Chinese standard history has a good deal to say about Mussulmans, Manichæans, Nestorians, Magi, etc., I have never come across the word "Jew" (Djud) anywhere except in Mongol history, and the Chinese seem to have always been under the impression that they were a kind of Mussulman—in fact, the term *ts'ing-chên-sz*, or "pure true monastery," is applied to both mosques and synagogues; whilst the Jews themselves are occasionally styled *tiao-kin hwei-hwei*, or "sinew-extracting Moslems," and *lan-mao*, or "blue-cap" Moslems, in allusion to certain religious customs. And the term *ts'ing-chên* manifestly refers to their *kosher* practices, which in the Chinese mind would naturally exactly resemble the anti-pork and anti-alcohol habits of the Mussulmans. The one thing remarkable about the Chinese Jews is the utter absence in any of the documentary evidence yet found of any idea of the Messiah. I am alluding to the *stêles*, or stone

inscriptions; but in the books of prayers the inquirers cited by Père Tobar seem to have discovered some slight indications of such notions. And although the Chinese Jews (naturally enough amid such surroundings) took kindly to ancestral sacrifice, there is nothing to show what ideas upon the subject of a future life possessed their minds. The following names are clearly identifiable in Chinese character: Alān, Awulohan, Isshak, Nüa, Yaaköw, Mese, Aalen, Aitsla, Yesuo, Isloye. If we knew the dates when each of these names was first used in character, we might judge of the earliest Jewish dates in China. For instance, Aburahan and Yaköb would be two of the sounds intended in A.D. 600, but not in A.D. 1200. The mythical Chinese Pandora (Nü-wa) has been bodily borrowed as a shift for Noah, and Abraham is euphonically called in some places Olo (or Ara), and also Lohan (Rahân), which last is the Chinese for Buddhist *Arhats*. Strange to say, the same word *Lohan* elsewhere figures in Nestorian affairs, so that we must manifestly be careful not to allow Chinese "personal equations" to draw us into philological traps and mare's-nests. It is interesting to know, however, that the late Gabriel Devéria has managed, with the aid of his Orientalist colleagues, to unearth the Persian word *ustâd* out of the Chinese *wu-sz-tah*, which represents a Rabbinical title. We may safely accept this, for Devéria was a singularly prudent and wary critic.

The whole question of Jews in China, the probable date of their first arrival, the allusions to them in standard literature, the nature of their faith, the appearance of their synagogue, the meaning and bearing of the Chinese inscriptions in or near it, and so forth—all this is gone into by Père Tobar in that thorough way to which the Shanghai Jesuits are slowly but surely accustoming us. Hitherto a thick incrustation of dilettantism, trifling, quackery, and humbug has been allowed to settle upon only too many of the sinological questions of historical interest. What with Accadian, Babylonian, Persian, Celtic, Indian, and other mysterious influences vaguely trotted out from time to time to account for this or that Chinese peculiarity, people have felt disposed to regard Chinese historical knowledge as a strange hocus-pocus much on a par with Chinese finance and Chinese military capacity. As a matter of fact, Chinese literature, and more especially (so far as foreign events are concerned) Chinese stone inscriptions, are now found as sober and trustworthy as they have hitherto been inaccessible and incompletely studied. Thanks to the Bretschneiders, Hirths, Chavannes, amongst laymen, and, above all, to the Jesuits of Siccawei, we are now beginning to find out the real naked truth, and, as one of those same Jesuits wittily wrote to me the other day, "On finira par connaître la Chine à l'instant où elle va disparaître." The last word has not yet been said on Chinese Jews, but Jews there were and still are, even though the degenerate "Children of the Ghetto" in K'ai-fêng Fu may have forestalled Mr. Zangwill's heroes in their neglect of *kosher*.

E. H. P.

5. *Petit Dictionnaire Français-Chinois*, by P. A. DEBESSE, S.J. Everyone will remember John Bellows' charming pocket dictionary for the French and English languages which appeared about a quarter of a century

ago—a most perfect specimen of conciseness and neatness. The present volume resembles it very much in point of compactness and clearness, though the Chinese characters do not permit of quite so much economy of space. The book is in octavo, and therefore double the size of Bellows'. On the other hand, it is only half as thick, and hence its bulk is about the same. Bellows' dictionary could be thrust into the waistcoat or trousers pocket; the Franco-Chinese counterpart will go easily into the side or tail pocket of an ordinary coat. As the author explains in his preface, there is no lack of French and English dictionaries for the Chinese language; but his work under notice is specially intended for pocket and travelling use, when the average bulky tome would be out of place or inaccessible. In these days, when inquiry is being so often made "how to learn Chinese," the appearance of such a publication is doubly important, and it ought to be very useful to the numerous persons who go out "seeking" in one capacity or another. There are about 10,000 French or key-words in the 500 pages, and these key-words are further sub-defined by the help of suitable brackets. The second column in each page consists of the Chinese characters corresponding to the chief meanings of the key-words, with asterisks and points to keep each definition group apart from the other. The third column is the Romanized form of the characters, and in deciding upon what standard to follow, M. Debesse has once more invented one of his own. But this approaches so near to the average of the Wade, Williams, and Perny standards that no great fault can be found with it. The author is undoubtedly wise in discarding such corrupt initials as *hs* in favour of *h* and *s*, and so on with other Pekingese mutilations of *ts* and *k*, and many more analogous. The paper and printing are absolutely perfect, though, strange to say, the very first paragraph contains a missprint: *i'aspiration* for *l'aspiration*. By the way, M. Debesse does very well in twice calling special attention to the extreme importance of the aspirate, "especially in North China." As a matter of fact, it is just as important elsewhere, except that in other places (1) there is a faint aspirate or stress midway between the strong aspirate and the unaspirated vowel, and (2) the *d*, *g*, and *b* (by a sort of Grimm's law) take the place of *t'*, *k'*, and *p'*. Amid so much "Chinese" literature of a catchpenny and ill-digested kind, it is a sincere pleasure to call attention once more to the devoted labours of the Jesuit Fathers, which is always of the soundest description. Not only the Jesuits, but Frenchmen generally, have well established their title to the very first rank in practical sinology. It is curious to note how the business-like Englishman or American has excelled chiefly in such vague specialities as the classics, Buddhism, and ponderous dictionary lines, whilst the Frenchman, who is usually considered by us so unbusiness-like, is easily first in such practical work as geography, cartography, history, meteorology, trade, and pocket vocabularies.

E. H. P.

CLARENDON PRESS; OXFORD, LONDON, EDINBURGH, GLASGOW, AND  
NEW YORK.

6. *The Oxford English Dictionary: a New English Dictionary on Historical Principles, founded mainly on the Materials collected by the Philo-*

*logical Society*, edited by DR. JAMES A. H. MURRAY, with the assistance of many scholars and men of science. July 2, 1900. *Gradely—Greement* (vol. iv.), by HENRY BRADLEY, Hon. M.A. Oxon; and *Inferable—Inpushing* (vol. v.). The number of words recorded in the first part or section is 1,556, whereas in Johnson it is 143; the number illustrated by quotation is 1,328, in Johnson 120; and the number of illustrative quotations is 7,741, in Johnson 433. The largest portion of the words included in this section is proximately of French etymology, the ulterior origin being usually Latin. A curious etymology of the word *gravy* is given. It is traced to the old French *grané*, but in old printed texts it appears as *gravé*, being a misprint for *grané*, from the old French word *grain*—"anything used in cooking"—and the word, with one exception, in English MSS. appears as it was misprinted in French; hence our word *gravy*. In this section there are also a few Teutonic words, one Celtic (*grallock*). Also Scandinavian words, as *gradely*. The native English, though not numerous, are very important. The adjective *great* (in the treatment of which valuable help was given by Dr. H. Sweet) occupies, with its compounds and derivatives, over eighteen columns.

In the second part, or section—*Inferable to Inpushing*—there are recorded 1,701 words, while in Johnson this number is 246 words; illustrated by quotations 1,453, as against 206 in Johnson; and the number of illustrative quotations is 6,688, which in Johnson is 592. In this part or section words of the old English age or of native formation are proportionally more numerous than in the preceding part or section. The most notable and interesting word in the group *In* is *Inn*, in the history of which there is much that is new, in connection with the Inns of students at the Universities, and the Inns of Court and Chancery. On the important legal terms, *information*, *inhibition*, *injunction*, and *innuendo*, skilled assistance was obtained. The word *ink* and its compounds occupies, in its origin, history, and compounds, more than five columns.

A double section of this exhaustive and most important work—*Input to Inn*—is published to-day (October 1).

CHAPMAN AND HALL, LIMITED; LONDON, 1900.

7. *China in Decay*, by ALEXIS KRAUSSE. Third edition. As we all know, it requires a Consul to instruct a British merchant how to do his business; in the same way, the China League and the China Association are indispensable if Lord Salisbury is not to pull the Foreign Office down about our ears. On this principle, therefore, we may congratulate ourselves that we have our "handy man" in the shape of Mr. Krausse (who has apparently never set foot in China) to give us a "jolly good bracing up" all round, and save us before we perish. Mr. Krausse wields the scissors and paste-brush with amazing dexterity. Even the smallest of us, down to my very self, are laid under contribution. There is, however, a cheery frankness about this author which disarms serious hostility. He makes no pretence to original information. He knows the public likes clap-trap, and he gives it clap-trap generously. I should thoroughly enjoy

reading his book if I were idling my time away in gaol, if only as a mere exercise in testing the memory upon the number of statements in each page which require correction. Thus, on p. 71 we are told of the Ming dynasty, "which endured for more than 600 years" (it endured 260), and of "Wontsong, the eleventh of the Ming Kings" (Wu Tsung). On p. 84 Hien-fêng's widow Tsz An "becomes an "ex-concubine," and his concubine is promoted to be the "Empress Tsi Tshi." On p. 233 "Mr. Hart continued to perform the onerous duties attached to his post up to his death." Mr. Krausse gives short shrift to any luckless Powers who may be standing in England's way: "The actions of Germany and Russia have been practically identical, differing only as to *modus operandi*. Both are despoilers without conscience; but while Germany employs the methods of a highwayman, Russia prefers to imitate those of an accomplished swindler" (p. 328). Meanwhile that poor dear lamb England is in a parlous way. The first danger is "that Lord Salisbury . . . may seek by a braggart policy to regain the lost ground in China"; and the other is "that the Government [? with or without Lord Salisbury] may go to the other extreme, and take no steps to secure the vast interests which appertain to this country in the Far East" (p. 370). Then, as to the arming of the Boxers, Mr. Krausse says: "The Mausers I do not deny, nor do I question the possession of machine and Krupp guns. These follies are the outcome of unreasoning trade" (p. 375). But there is a crumb of comfort: "It remains to be seen whether Russia will be permitted to profit by the present outbreak" (p. 378), and we are told there is on the war-path a progressive named "Cheng Bo Cheng, Governor of Honan," who has "benefited by a Western education" (p. 380). This formidable personage must be Ch'ên Pao-chêng, formerly Governor of Hu Nan, an honest official of the old school, degraded two years ago "for ever," and who must be totally ignorant of "Western education." On p. 381 the Dowager-Empress "Tsi An" gets her rights once more, and even "Tsi Hsi, the former concubine," though properly shown her ex-concubinal place, gets a fair share of correct spelling. Mr. Krausse's list (pp. 386, 387) of seven "what we wants" sounds very like the periodical advice given somewhat in the following style by censors to the hard-headed old Dowager: (1) Inner searchings of heart; (2) abstinence from excessive table indulgence; (3) repairing of roads and bridges; (4) doles to all widows and orphans; (5) reverential demeanour at sacrifices; (6) strictness with the eunuchs; (7) hunting for the most capable men. Even the appendix and the index have their surprises, for Mr. Krausse, like Justinian, "though he lives in spelling, is above spelling." Thus "Quo ta Zahn" was the first accredited Minister to London, and Mr. N. R. "O'Connor" was one of our own Ministers; whilst poor old Dr. Legge was a "Sinalogue."

E. H. P.

J. M. DENT AND CO.; BEDFORD STREET, LONDON, 1900.

8. *The Civilization of India*, by ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E. A concise history, in a very handy form (about 150 pp.), of the various rulers in India, beginning with the Vedic age (2000 to 1400 B.C.), the Epic age, the

rise of Buddhism, the Puranic age, the Rajput ascendancy, the Afghan rule, the Moghal rule, and the Mahrattā ascendancy (A.D. 1718 to 1818). There are various illustrations and three maps. Mr. Dutt sums up the later ascendancy as follows: "Amidst the general disintegration of the Moghal empire, and the rise of new political powers in all parts of India, the leading part was taken by the Mahrattas, and the leading story of the eighteenth century in India is the story of Mahratta supremacy." As Sir William Hunter says, "The British won India, not from the Mughals, but from the Hindus. Before we appeared as conquerors, the Mughal empire had broken up; our conclusive wars were neither with the Delhi King nor with the revolted Governors, but with two Hindu confederacies—the Mahrattas and the Sikhs." Mr. Dutt's book is composed of short paragraphs with prominent headings, and a minute index. It will form a very useful compendium in schools and other educational seminaries.

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T. FISHER UNWIN; LONDON, 1899. G. P. PUTNAM'S SONS; NEW YORK.  
(THE STORY OF THE NATIONS SERIES.)

9. *China*, by PROFESSOR ROBERT K. DOUGLAS. The empire of China covers so vast a period that it is impossible to compress the whole subject within the limits of a single volume. Hence the limit of Professor Douglas's work is the annals of the empire from the time of Marco Polo to the present time. This is contained in a very handsome volume of about 500 pages, with an excellent index, several illustrations, and a map. He traces very shortly the early history; the Yuan and Ming dynasties; the rise of the Manchus; the reigns of Yungch'eng, Ch'ienlung, Chiach'ing; the foreign relations with the country; the Chinese wars; the T'ai-p'ing, the Nienfei, and Mohammedan rebellions; T'ungchih's reign, and the first years of that of Kwanghsü; the war with Japan; and recent events. Referring to the ancient name K'itan or Cathay, the author says: "The Tartars, who had constantly raided the northern provinces, appeared in force, and so successfully waged war on the Southern Empire that they secured for themselves the China of that day from the river Yangtsze northward. These hardy warriors were known as K'itan, the word from which the medieval name of Cathay is derived, and which, under the form of K'itai, is still that by which China is known to the Russian people." Bank notes were in existence four centuries before that mode of currency was introduced into Europe, and a specimen of these early notes will be found exhibited in the King's Library of the British Museum, the printing of which is almost black, from the bark of the mulberry-tree. Professor Douglas has spared no effort in making the history as accurate and complete as his space allowed him. It will form a standard work to English students.

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HENRY FROWDE; OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE.

10. *Early Babylonian History down to the end of the Fourth Dynasty of Ur*. To which is appended an Account of the E. A. Hoffman Collection of Babylonian Tablets in the General Theological Seminary, New York, U.S.A. By the REV. HUGO RADAN, A.M., B.D., PH.D. 452 pp., 4to,

including 18 pp. of Indices. This work (for the perusal of which we may at once say the author presupposes some knowledge of Sumerian grammar by the reader) was first written as a Doctor's Dissertation, and submitted as such to the Faculty of Philosophy of Columbia University, New York, in 1898, but has been supplemented, the author says, by all the inscriptions published to April 1, 1900. The author has specially endeavoured to arrange the kings of the different dynasties so far known to us in certain chronological order; to transcribe and translate where possible all texts not to be found in K.B. III.; to give in a note under each respective king all inscriptions that belong to that king; and to avoid deductions and legendary matter. In all these points the author has laboured with German thoroughness and attention to detail, reviewing the theories of Hilprecht, Thureau-Dangin, Henzey, Jensen, De Sarzee, Hommel, Winckler, and others, agreeing sometimes with one, sometimes with another, and sometimes with none of them.

As the author says on his first page, "recent excavations have brought to light tablets which show us that in the land between the Tigris and the Euphrates there existed a highly civilized nation as early as 5000 B.C., a nation which had its own language and its own system of signs in which to express it"; and (page 213) "in the earliest recorded period of Babylonian history we find the question raised, Who shall govern in Babylonia? Shall the north be the master, or shall it be the south? The struggle was protracted." What the author shows us is, in fact, a prolonged struggle for the mastery between a number of small states each having some famous city, such as Shirpurla, Ur, Agade, Larsa, or Nippur as its capital. Of these sometimes one overcame its neighbours, sometimes another, each, as it came uppermost, settling its boundaries "for ever" to its own satisfaction, but each "for ever" coming to a speedy termination, till all alike were overwhelmed by the desolation which has concealed them for ages. The precise order of these struggles and successes has less interest for the general reader than the proof that they give of the continuity and homogeneity of human nature, and of the enormous antiquity of the beginnings of civilization; but for the reader who has acquired a knowledge of Sumerian grammar, the details are naturally of great importance, and Dr. Radan will guide him through their intricate mazes in a careful and even interesting manner. The author, however, we are sure, does not in the least imagine that the last word has yet been spoken about any of the subjects he has treated of. So far, indeed, are we from reaching the end of the matter, that we can hardly be said yet to have come to the beginning. Still, the book before us is a solid contribution to the study of it.

The Hoffman Collection consists of 262 old and new Babylonian tablets and fragments relating to all sorts of subjects, of many of which the author gives copies in cuneiform, with transliterations, translations, comments, and notes. The collection was chiefly derived from Telloh, Borsippa, Warka, and Nippur.

A. L. L.

HARRISON AND SONS ; 59 PALL MALL, LONDON, 1900.

11. *The Siege of Mafeking : a Patriotic Poem*, by E. GILBERT HIGHTON, M.A. Cantab. et Oxon., F.R.S.L., Barrister-at-Law. This patriotic poem is dedicated to Mrs. Baden-Powell, the mother of the hero of Mafeking. It was written a few days after the historical narrative appeared in the *Times*, and was read by the author to several distinguished scholars, critics, and poets, whose favourable verdict encouraged him to give it to the public ; and we are certain that the public who read it will confirm the verdict of the jury. The poem embraces some striking points in the history of the siege, as to those gallant men who fell, and those who survived. That our readers may judge of the merits of the poem, we shall quote a few lines on Mafeking's relief :

" But, in that time which comes to all who wait,  
Would rescue bring the weary soul to cheer  
And crown its patience with a glorious end.  
That end has come, the Banners light and free  
Of Mahon's forces now to Plumer's joined  
Are seen fair floating in the morning air,  
Their steeds come dashing o'er the wide-spread Veldt,  
Their trumpets sound the charge, the Boers flee,  
Their cordon broken and themselves in rout,  
But ere their flight, and ere relief arrives,  
One more exploit the garrison achieve  
By capturing Eloff and a hundred Boers  
In their last rush to seize the little Town.  
The weak capture the strong, but right is might—  
'Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just.' "

.. And the outburst of the joy of the besieged is thus given :

" No wonder was it, that those strong men wept,  
No wonder was it, that the faces wan,  
Which had so often tried to smile at fear,  
Should be suffused with tears—the tears that flow  
As natural offspring of the o'erjoyed heart."

WILLIAM HEINEMANN ; LONDON, 1900.

12. *The South African Conspiracy, or the Aims of Afrikanerdom*, by FRED W. BELL, F.S.S. The author describes himself as "a Scotchman by birth, a South African by adoption, and an Uitlander by force of circumstances." He has formed his opinion after having been eight years in the Eastern province of the Cape Colony, nine years in and around Cape Town, and one year in Northern Bechuanaland, and for two years domiciled in the Transvaal. The author has therefore had a wide opportunity of observing the progress of events both at the Cape, the late Orange Free State, and the Transvaal. He has gathered together a large number of documents, with a valuable appendix of speeches, the constitution of the Afrikaner Bond, telegraphic messages, and articles, all proving that there was a wide conspiracy to throw off all British control, and set up an independent nation in South Africa.

He defines Afrikanerdom as the "Anti-British party at the Cape, as all that is antagonistic to the policy and aim of such administrators as



Sir George Grey, Sir Bartle Frere, and Sir Alfred Milner." He has no quarrel with the Free State as represented by President Brand, and he quotes a remarkable speech by him, warning his people against the Afrikaner Bond. He said: "According to my conception, the constitution of the Afrikaner Bond appears desirous of exalting itself above the established Government, and of forming an *imperium in imperio*." Mr. Bell sums up the whole in these words: Mr. Kruger, "by his acts and influence and harmonizing his policy with the aims of Afrikanerdom, has thrown away opportunities of strengthening his position, and in the end has brought ruin to the Governments of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, to say nothing of poverty, trouble, and desolation to thousands of people in all parts of South Africa." We desire to direct special attention to the various documents in the appendix, which amply confirms the author's opinions and statements.

13. *Sport in War*, by MAJOR-GENERAL R. S. S. BADEN-POWELL, F.R.G.S. This charmingly-got-up volume consists of various articles contributed to the *Badminton Magazine*. The editor has wisely published them in book form, and they will be read with keen interest, not only because the author is now famous, but also because of the intrinsic merit of the articles. They embrace hunting stories, and experiences both in India and South Africa. "The Ordeal of the Spear" is dramatic and pathetic. The nineteen illustrations are all executed by the author himself. In short, everyone who has a spark of sport in his soul will read the volume with extreme interest and pleasure.

14. *Voices in the Night*. MRS. F. A. STEEL has added to her laurels by another charming Anglo-Indian novel. She is an enthusiast as regards India, its inhabitants, and customs, and one finds always new information and out-of-the-way knowledge in her very readable books. One of the principal features in the story is a young Brahman, who has been in England, has lost caste, has returned to India married to his landlady's daughter, and is, of course, not received by his family, but treated like an outcast. This touches on a question—the dangers of sending Indian youths to Europe—the difficulties of which have as yet to be solved.

Mrs. Steel's force lies less in portrayal of character, or casting of the plot, than in her life-like descriptions of things as they appear, which renders her works exceedingly interesting.

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J. C. HINRICHS'SCHE BUCHHANDLUNG ; LEIPZIG, 1900.

15. *Am Euphrat und Tigris*, by E. SACHAU. This is an interesting narrative of the author's travels during the winter 1897-98, when specially deputed by the Prussian Government to undertake a preparatory journey on behalf of the Archæological Commission for the exploration of the regions between the Tigris and the Euphrates. He recommends that their efforts should be concentrated especially on Elkasr, the mighty ruins of the palace where Nebuchadnezzar resided, and Alexander the Great died. This recommendation has already been followed up with great success, by the German Orient Society (Deutsche Orient Gesellschaft). The route that the author followed to the regions in question was from Aden to

Basra, which took him a fortnight. The ancient town of Basra, founded by the Khalifa Omar and one of the oldest centres of Arab learning, lies three hours inland. Dr. Sachau at first intended to cross the Arabian desert at the point where the Shatt-el-Hai merges into the Euphrates, and where there are mounds of the oldest period not far asunder; but he encountered too many difficulties, and had to make Baghdad the starting-point of his expedition, returning viâ Mosul, Deir, Aleppo, and Alexandretta. The book will prove of intense interest to archæologists, and encourage further exploration in the same direction. It is well illustrated, and accompanied with excellent maps and a list of geographical names.

PRINTED AT THE OFFICE OF THE "VAISHYA HITKARI"; MEERUT.

16. *Hinduism, Ancient and Modern*, by RAI BAHADUR LALA BAIJNATH RAI, B.A. It is somewhat difficult to understand the object of this interesting and well-written little volume. It contains, first, articles on caste, ceremonies (Sanskaras), the life of Hindus in ancient and modern times, asceticism, the Sraddha, and suggestions for reforms. Then follow some chapters on heroes and hero-worship, in which Rama and Krishna are treated of as if they were real historical personages, and their characters are held up as a pattern for modern Hindus to imitate. This thesis is illustrated by accounts of the lives of several mythical persons mentioned in ancient Indian literature, all of whom are written of as though they had really existed, and were not mere poetical creations. It is strange, for instance, to read a discussion as to the life and character of Yudhishtira or Bhishma in the language one would use of some modern celebrity. The book closes with two chapters on "Philosophy" and "Life after Death."

The author is evidently a would-be reformer, who proceeds not on the lines of the Brahmo Somaj, or any other modern reformers, but by a process of his own, "adapting ancient institutions to modern circumstances, retaining so much of the old as is suited to modern times, and gradually making the necessary changes in the remainder"—putting new wine into old bottles, in fact, with the inevitable result, as shown in the young Bengal, that we know only too well. J. B.

HODDER AND STOUGHTON; LONDON, 1900.

17. *Origin of the Anglo-Boer War Revealed: the Conspiracy of the Nineteenth Century Unmasked*, by C. H. THOMAS, of Belfast, Transvaal, formerly Orange Free State Burgher. The author, neither pro-Boer nor anti-Boer, nor an Englishman, but a foreigner born of Continental parents, and brought up in Europe, but resident in the Transvaal, tells his story in a simple and straightforward manner. The object of his book is to "lay bare the wicked and delusive aims of the Afrikaner Bond combination, to which the Anglo-Boer war alone is attributable." He was prevented for a time leaving the Transvaal, but ultimately sailed for London in order to publish the book. He says: "Though too late to serve as a deterrent, the contents may be effective towards showing up the really guilty parties—the instigators and seducers of the deluded Boer nation—and to pave

and widen the avenue of peace and of conciliation between Boer and Briton, who were duped and victimized alike." He holds and proves that it was a "coterie in Holland who devised all the Bond mischief at a safe distance. The Hollanders in South Africa were, nevertheless, their eager abettors and sedulous henchmen," the object being to "*drive the English into the sea out of Africa.*" Mr. Thomas, besides proving this point, gives much interesting information on the habits and training of the people, and explains their preparedness for the war, and their resolute determination to continue it to the end. The work is of great importance at the present time, and will, we consider, open up an avenue of peace when the inhabitants become convinced that they have been deluded, and that under the British rule, peace, goodwill, rights, and liberty will be protected. We most earnestly commend the work.

LUZAC AND CO., LONDON; AND W. P. VAN STOCKUM AND SON,  
THE HAGUE.

18. *Facts and Fancies about Java*, by AUGUSTA DE WIT. Within the limits of 266 pages the authoress, in a series of charming sketches, gives her impressions of "that enchanted garden that men call Java." The social life among the Europeans is not unlike the one prevailing in India—a mode of life comfortable and even luxurious, but monotonous in the extreme. Most fascinating reading is the chapter on "Glimpses of Native Life." The Malay practically lives out of doors. "His supple, sinewy frame, his dark skin, the far-away look in his eyes, the very shape of his feet, with the short, strong toes—his whole appearance—suggest a background of trees and brushwood, and the bare brown earth. And the scenery of Java, with its strange colouring, its luxuriant vegetation, its abrupt changes in the midst of apparent monotony, lacks the final, completing touch in the absence of dusky figures moving through it. Landscape and people are each other's natural complement and explanation. Hence the picturesque and poetic charm of the Javanese out-of-doors."

Notwithstanding the hard facts of the enervating climate, alternating droughts and inundations, fever-breathing monsoons, Java, as the writer says, is a land of dreams and fancies, of legends and romance.

The book is interspersed with numerous illustrations, and is *well*, though occasionally misprinted.

MADRAS; 1899.

19. *The Vedānta-Sūtras with the Sri Bhāṣya of Rāmānuja Āchārya*, translated into English by M. RANGACHARYA, M.A., and M. B. VARADARĀJA AIYANGAR, B.A., B.L. Vol. I. Two learned gentlemen of Madras here present us with a translation into excellent English of Rāmānuja's great commentary on the Vedānta. It would be impossible to review adequately within moderate compass a work of such deeply abstruse philosophical character. The mere "analytical outline of its contents" occupies seventy-five pages. But though highly technical in its nature, this introduction, as it may be regarded, is very lucid and well arranged, and to students of the religious and philosophical systems of the Hindus will prove very useful.

The school of Vedantic thought which ultimately led to the fuller developments of Buddhism is here copiously, not to say minutely, expounded and elucidated. The notes are also helpful, and apposite. The work is to be completed in three volumes. It is admirably got up, and is altogether creditable to its producers. Whether the enterprise is likely to be remunerative is another question. Works of this kind do not appeal to a very large audience either in India or in Europe, and the "Sacred Books of the East" Series has already occupied a very large place in this department of science. The "world's appreciation of India's philosophic integrity and religious earnestness" is not likely, we fear, to be manifested by any considerable demand for works on so large a scale or of such a technical nature.

J. B.

K. P. NATH, THE MONGULGUNJE MISSION PRESS; CALCUTTA.

20. *Keshub: the Reconciler of Pure Hinduism and Pure Christianity*, by PANDIT GOUR GOBIND ROY UPADHYAYA. This work is the result of a paper read at the Albert Hall, Calcutta. It is important, as bringing out in a very striking and forcible manner the analogies of the doctrines and principles of pure Hinduism and those of pure Christianity. We can only quote one passage. Keshub's view of the Hindu belief of the "Spirit God" and the "Holy Spirit" of the Christian is thus described: "In 'Yoga,' or Communion with God. We see it written in the earliest or Vedic period. Communion with God in Nature, this is objective yoga. In the Vedantic period, communion with God in the soul, this is subjective yoga. In the Puranic period, communion with God in history, or with the God of Providence; this is Bhakti, or Bhakti yoga. In Hindu theology there is a Trinity something similar to Christianity, the only difference being in the order of development. In Christianity we have the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit; in Hinduism we have the Father, the Holy Spirit, and then the Son.' We commend this paper to all religious men, both Hindu and Christian.

OLIPHANT, ANDERSON, AND FERRIER; EDINBURGH AND LONDON.

21. *Village Life in China: a Study in Sociology*, by ARTHUR H. SMITH, D.D., author of "Chinese Characteristics." The author, from an extensive experience of Chinese life, has written an exhaustive treatise on Chinese villages, as the units of the Celestial Empire. He has formed a profound respect "for the numerous admirable qualities" of the people, and entertains for many of them a high personal respect. There are, however, he thinks, many disabilities which must be removed. Commerce, diplomacy, extension of political relations, and the growing contact with Occidental civilization have, all combined, proved totally inadequate to accomplish any such reformation as China needs, and the object of this work is to aid to a fuller comprehension by the people. The book is divided into two large sections, the first treating of the village, its institutions, usage, and public characters, and the second on village family life. There are also numerous pleasing illustrations.

Dr. Smith says that "amid certain fundamental unities the life of the

Chinese is full of bewildering and inexplicable variety. No matter how long one may have lived in China, there is always just as much as ever that he never before heard of, but which everyone is supposed to have known by intuition. The oldest resident is a student, like the rest." And he is of opinion that "the social organization is admirable and beautiful, but the principles that underlie it are utterly inert. When Christianity shows the Chinese for the first time what these traditional principles really mean, the theories will begin to take shape as possibilities, even as the bones of Ezekiel's vision took on flesh. Then it will more clearly appear how great an advantage the Chinese race has enjoyed in its lofty moral code. . . . When once the Chinese have grasped the practical truth of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, the starlight of the past will have been merged into the sunlight of the future." The work is full of interesting information in every department of social life, and the perusal of it will prove most valuable to all who take an enlightened and patriotic interest in the welfare of this great empire.

#### ORIENTAL PRESS ; SHANGHAI.

22. *Le Haut Yang-tsze*, by REV. S. CHEVALIER, S.J. In our last issue we gave a short notice of this extremely valuable work, with the present fascicule of which is circulated the following notice :

"L'Atlas total, composé de 64 cartes, plus une carte d'assemblage, se trouve complété par l'envoi du présent fascicule.

"La seconde partie du texte actuellement sous presse sera expédiée dans quelques mois."

As a matter of fact, the twenty-six sheets now before us complete the survey from Chungking, where we in the April number left it, to P'ing-shan Pa, the highest point attained by Blakiston, and the limit of navigability for steamers, close to the spot where the river Hêng carries the Yün Nan trade from the celebrated mart of Lao-wa T'an almost up to the Great River ; the position is well marked on Dr. Bretschneider's map. It is impossible to speak too highly of the present extraordinarily painstaking and self-sacrificing work, which is of the greatest possible utility to prospectors, navigators, merchants, and missionaries alike. In fact, it is one of the great works of the century, and the Jesuits ought to be gratified to think that their order has been able to render to humanity, through Père Chevalier, a service against which no jealous religious or political rival can possibly be raised.

With these twenty-six main sheets on a scale of  $\frac{1}{250000}$  (each covering a printed area of four square feet), there is issued an extra sheet, or key, on a scale of  $\frac{1}{1300000}$ , showing in a comparative way that the whole course of the Loire from Roanne to St. Nazaire is barely two-thirds of the length of the Upper Yangtsze from Ichang to P'ing-shan. Moreover this extra sheet divides off the section into sixty-four portions, so that anyone desirous of consulting the configuration of any particular rapid or bank can at once turn up the right sheet and examine his bearings without a minute's loss of time. The Pritchard-Morgan syndicate should at once order a dozen

copies for the immediate use of its mining experts and prospectors; it will be a most profitable investment.

Finally, there are two extra sheets containing (in French and English) a preface, a list of signs and abbreviations, and a table of the sixty-four stations with latitudes, longitudes, and methods of determination all clearly stated. The author took over 800 readings of sun or star altitudes, without counting 450 meridian transits of stars, and without counting observations taken between Shanghai and Ichang. All this will be explained in greater detail in the final *résumé* or appendix, which, as the above French notice tells us, will be ready in the summer, and which will also correct every minor inaccuracy.

E. H. P.

KEGAN PAUL, TRENCH, TRÜBNER AND CO., LTD.; LONDON.

23. *Open Letters to Lord Curzon on Famines and Land Assessments in India*, by ROMESH C. DUTT, C.I.E., Lecturer on Indian History at University College, London, etc. Professor Dutt in this work has endeavoured, briefly and clearly, to explain the fiscal history of the five great provinces of India and the condition of the cultivators of the soil in those provinces. He points out to the English reader the necessity of keeping in view the fact that the land system is different in the various provinces. The appendix occupies about two-thirds of the volume (about 330 pages), containing very valuable documents, to which references are made, including letters of high officials in India, minutes, reports on commissions, and speeches, all bearing on the important question which the author clearly and simply discusses. His statements and opinions merit high consideration, from the circumstance that they are the result of a lifelong study of the actual condition of the Indian cultivators in their villages, and he seeks to describe the real and deep-seated causes of their chronic poverty and indebtedness. He also endeavours to represent the views and opinions of the most thoughtful of his countrymen. Our space is so limited that we can only further refer to the letter of Mr. Pennington on the subject elsewhere in our pages, and to Professor Dutt's communication with which he has favoured us.

SWAN SONNENSCHN AND CO.; LONDON.

24. *Fort St. George, Madras*, by MRS. FRANK PENNY, 1900. Although the result of considerable reading and research, this work, owing to its pleasant, easy style, is in no way dull or heavy. The story of Madras, as told by Mrs. Penny, is very interesting, and at times even amusing. The many illustrations from the author's drawings are a valuable addition to the letterpress. But from the historian's or antiquarian's point of view, the permanent value of the book lies in the lists of names compiled from the monuments in the old cemetery, from those in St. Mary's cemetery (down to the end of 1810), and the list of persons buried in St. Mary's Church. We believe that these lists are quite new; if so, they ought to prove of value hereafter. Many of the crests and coats of arms have been reproduced by Mrs. Penny, while Mr. J. Kelsall, M.C.S. (retired) has enriched the work with several valuable and erudite notes. On p. 124 we

find a curious side-light thrown on the old legend of Job Charnock, the rescued Sati he made his wife, and the yearly sacrifice of a cock on her tomb. While on a visit to Madras in 1689, he caused three children—his little girls—to be baptized. And as no mother is named, we may infer that she was probably an Indian. Thus Charnock was :

“ Although a heathen in the carnal part,  
A sad, good Christian at the heart ”—

at any rate, to the extent of having his children baptized—a fact which seems to give Mrs. Penny, as a good chaplain's wife, considerable satisfaction. W. I.

#### OUR LIBRARY TABLE.

*The Problem in China, and British Policy*, by A. R. COLQUHOUN, author of “Overland to China,” etc. (P. S. King and Son, Great Smith Street, Westminster, 1900). This work, though short—covering only fifty pages—deserves the study of our merchants and statesmen interested in the affairs of China. There is a distinct and well-executed map, showing the Empire of China, the adjacent countries—specially India—the railways made and proposed to be made, and a diagram of our trade with China compared with that of other countries. The author advocates a league to be formed for the education of the people of England with the view of informing them of the vast interests at stake. He says: “No questions of party politics, or of private interest, must influence us, for our one great object is simply to awaken the country to a full understanding of our vital interests in China, interests which are far wider than even the commercial question, great though that be.” We most cordially invite earnest attention to this very useful summary of what ought to be our policy in China, with the view of not only promoting the welfare of China, but also of protecting and advancing our interests there.

*Little Indabas : Stories of Kaffir, Boer, and Natal Life*, by J. MAC (“The Over-Seas Library”) (T. Fisher Unwin, London). This small volume contains rollicking stories of some of the bad phases of Kaffir, Boer, and white man's life in South Africa.

*L'arabo Parlato in Egitto*, by CARLO ALFONSO NALLINO, Professor of the Royal Oriental Institute of Naples (Ulrico Hoepli; Milan). This is a handy pocket volume of nearly 400 pages, consisting of an Arabic grammar and dialogues, with a useful list of about 6,000 words of the language as spoken in Egypt. There is no Arabic text. The author has adopted the conventional signs used by Arabists in giving the pronunciation in Italian. Needless to say this work will prove of much help to visitors, as well as residents in Egypt.

*Bacon's New Large-Print Map of China* (G. W. Bacon and Co., 127, Strand, London). A very useful and well-executed map, which contains also large-scale insert maps of Peking, Taku forts to Peking, Gulf of Pechili, Shanghai, Hong-Kong, and Canton, also a key-map showing the routes to China. It is produced in two forms, the one in cloth case and the other mounted on cloth. It also shows the relative position of Russia, Japan, Korea, Siam, Burma, and India to the Chinese empire.

*The Chinese Question: Bartholomew's Special Map of China and the East*, 1900 (John Bartholomew and Co., the Geographical Institute, Edinburgh). This is a beautiful map, specially prepared in connection with the events in the Far East. The Treaty ports are indicated by red lines. There is also a useful map of Peking, showing the railways that have been opened and those proposed.

*Stanford's Map of Morocco, Algeria, Tunis, and parts of Tripoli, Senegal, and the Military Territories of the Western Sudan* (Edward Stanford, Cockspur Street, London). This map, in view of future events in Morocco, is most opportune, and well and beautifully executed. The Eastern boundary of Morocco, as defined by the treaty of March 18, 1846, is shown in orange colour; the South-Western boundary of Morocco, in conformity with the agreement between the Vizier and Her Majesty's Minister at Tangier of March 15, 1895, is shown in the same colour; and British territory in red, French violet, Portuguese brown, Spanish purple, and Turkish green.

*New South Wales: Statistics, History, and Resources*. This compilation has been ordered by authority of the Government of New South Wales, and is circulated by the Agent-General in London from his chambers in Victoria Street, Westminster. It is full of information, gathered together in the shortest possible space, by the well-known editor of *The Year-Book of Australia*, and is accompanied with an excellent map and gazetteer. A most useful and handy work.

*Enteric Fever in India*, by D. B. SPENCER, Surgeon-Major I.M.S., reprinted from the *Indian Medical Gazette*, vol. xxxv. (No. 4, April, 1900). A very valuable paper upon the origin of enteric fever. It supplies the evidence of both sides as to the theory of specialists. By Dr. Spencer's arduous and persevering research as to the disease, he has done much to call attention to the etiology of the disease, and has given a great impetus to further investigations.

*Letters received by the East India Company from its Servants in the East*, transcribed from the "Original Correspondence Series" of the India Office Records, vol. iv., 1616. Edited by WILLIAM FOSTER, B.A. (Sampson Low, Marston and Co., London). A valuable and interesting volume, explaining and elucidating many details not found in a general history, and from which history is made. It is well printed, with a copious index, reflecting much credit to the editor.

*Handbook to British East Africa and Uganda*, by JOHN B. PURVIS, late Director of Technical Instruction in Uganda (Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Limited, London, 1900). This handbook, containing very pleasing illustrations of peoples, manners, and places, gives a very concise and useful outline of the countries in British East Africa and the protectorate of Uganda, their varied climates, peoples, and conditions, which will be of considerable service to prospective travellers, settlers, and missionaries. There are also skeleton maps, and hints as to "how to live and travel," lists of necessary outfits and their cost, a collection of English phrases, translations into the languages of the people, and a minute index—in short, *vade mecum* for these regions.



*The Constitution and Laws of Afghanistan*, by MIR MUNSHI SULTAN MOHAMMED KHAN, F.R.G.S., Barrister-at-Law, Advanced Student of Christ's College, Cambridge (John Murray, London, 1900). This work is a collection of the laws, both private and constitutional, of Afghanistan, with the view of affording an opportunity of comparing the modern laws of European countries with the immature laws of Afghanistan. The present Amir is the first who has endeavoured to bring order out of chaos, and to put the law of his country into a uniform mould, with the view of enforcing the same throughout the country. The present work is the first attempt to place these laws and constitution in the English language, and this is done in a clear and distinct manner.

*Koang-sin et T'se-hi, Empereur de Chine et Impératrice-Douairière. Décrets Impériaux.* Par JEROME TOBAR, S.J. ("Serie d'Orient"—No. 4) (Oriental Press, Shanghai). This is a French translation of Imperial decrees from June 10, 1898, to February 24, 1899, and its value consists in its being a trustworthy history, or chronicle, of the *coup d'état* period which has now culminated in a great war. The pamphlet is enriched by a preface and explanatory notes by J. Em. Lemièrre, editor of the Shanghai *Echo de Chine*. Father Tobar has shown great foresight in preparing this volume, which, like all Jesuit work, is of a very thorough-going kind.

*Natal and the Boers: the Birth of a Colony*, by T. ROWELL (J. M. Dent and Co., Bedford Street, London, 1900). This is a short history of Natal, derived partly by two years' residence in Natal and the Transvaal, and partly from the well-known histories of Theal and Bird, and other sources. It does not enter upon the question of the present war, but narrates briefly the history of Natal from its discovery down to the time when the war began. The author's descriptions of the scenes which he himself witnessed are well told. His short history will be read with interest.

*British Enactments in Force in Native States in India* (published at the office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, Calcutta, 1900). These valuable publications have been carefully revised. The volumes before us, relating to Central India, Southern India (Hyderabad), and Rajputana, have been compiled by J. M. MACPHERSON, Secretary to the Legislative Department of the Government of India, and revised and continued by A. WILLIAMS, LL.M., I.C.S. The volume relating to Central India has been brought up to August 1, 1899; that relating to Rajputana to August 15, 1899; and that relating to Southern India to October 15, 1899.

*China: Correspondence Respecting the Insurrectionary Movement in China*, No. 3, 1900. This important correspondence has been published by Parliament. It begins with a telegraphic message from Sir Claude Macdonald, dated January 4 last, in reference to the murder of Mr. Brooks in Shantung Province, and ends with a telegraphic translation, on July 13, of the Imperial Edict of June 29 respecting the situation, and orders given for the protection of Legations.

We acknowledge with thanks the receipt of the following: *The Bombay Plague; being a History of the Progress of Plague in the Bombay Presidency from September, 1896, to June, 1899*, compiled under the orders of Government by Captain J. K. Condon, I.S.C. (Bombay, Education Society's Steam Press, 1900);—*Report on the Administration of the Local Boards in the Bombay Presidency, including Sind, for the year 1898-99*, also *Proceedings of the Council of the Governor of Bombay assembled for the purpose of making Laws and Regulations, 1898*, vol. xxxvi. (Bombay, Government Central Press, 1900);—*Archæological Survey of India; Lists of Antiquarian Remains in His Highness the Nizam's Territories*, compiled by Henry Cousins, M.R.A.S., Superintendent Archæological Survey, Bombay (Calcutta, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1900);—*Notes on the Law of Territorial Expansion; with Especial Reference to the Philippines*, by Carman F. Randolph, of the New York Bar (the De Vinne Press, New York City);—*The South African Crisis*, by Professor A. Kuyper, D.D., LL.D., reprinted from the *Revue des Deux Mondes*, for February, 1900, translated and prefaced by A. E. Fletcher, first English edition (London, Stop the War Committee, 4, Clock House, Arundel Street, Strand, W.C.);—*Cambridge University Library: Report on the Library Syndicate for the year ending December 31, 1899* (Cambridge, printed at the University Press, 1900);—*Some Questions on the Settlement in South Africa*, by the Right Rev. Allan B. Webb, D.D., sometime Bishop of Bloemfontein, and lately Bishop of Grahamstown (London, Skeffington and Son, Piccadilly, W., 1900);—*Journal of the Buddhist Text and Anthropological Society*, edited by Sarat Chandra Das, C.I.E., vol. vii., Part I., 1900 (Darjeeling, Bengal Secretariat Press; London, Messrs. Kegan Paul and Co., Messrs. Luzac and Co.; published by the Buddhist Text Society, Calcutta);—*The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, vol. v., No. 2 (Bombay, Education Society's Press, Byculla; London, Kegan Paul and Co.);—*La Cina e la questione dell'estremo Oriente, due conferenze tenute, a richiesta dell'Associazione Nazionale Italiana degli Scienziati, Letterati ed artisti in Napoli il 22 e 29 luglio, 1900* (Edizione della Rassegna Italiana, Napoli, 1900);—George Newnes, Limited: *The Captain* for July, August, September—*The Wide World Magazine* for July, August, September—*The Sunday Strand Magazine* for July, August, September—*The Strand Magazine* for July, August, September—*The Traveller—Khaki in South Africa*, Parts 2, 3, 4—*Unbeaten Tracts in Japan*, by Mrs. Bishop, Parts 7 and 8 (now completed)—*The Arabian Nights*, Part 20 (now completed);—*The Indian Review* for June, July, August (G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras);—*The Argosy* for July, August, and September;—*La Revue des Revues* (Paris);—*Minerva, Rivista delle Riviste* (Rome);—*Biblia*, a monthly journal of Oriental research (Meriden, Conn., U.S.A.);—*The Contemporary Review* (London, the Columbus Co., Ltd.);—*The Indian Magazine and Review* (London, Archibald Constable and Co.);—*Le Tour du Monde* (Hachette, London and Paris);—*Questions Diplomatiques et Coloniales*, July—September (Paris);—*Le Bulletin des Sommaires, Revue de la Presse* (Paris);—*Public Opinion*, the American weekly (New York);—*The Living Age* (Boston, U.S.A.);—*The Monist* (the Open Court

Publishing Company, Chicago, U.S.A., and Kegan Paul and Co., London);—*Current Literature* (New York, U.S.A.);—*The Canadian Gazette* (London);—*The Harvest Field* (Foreign Missions Club, London);—*Die Kultur* (Vienna and Stuttgart);—*Journal of the Royal Colonial Institute* (the Institute, Northumberland Avenue, London);—*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, July, 1900 (London, 38, Conduit Street, W.);—*The Light of Truth, or Siddhanta Deepika*, June, July, August, 1900 (Black Town, Madras);—*The Madras Review*, August, 1900 (Madras);—*The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* (continuing "Hebraica"), July, 1900 (University of Chicago Press);—*Mittheilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien*, vol. xxx., Part 3 (Alfred Hölder, Vienna);—*The North American Review*, July, August, September (New York);—*The National Magazine* (Babu K. P. Dey, Calcutta);—*Canadian Journal of Fabrics* (Toronto and Montreal);—*Catalogue of the Library of the India Office*, vol. ii., Part II. Hindustani Books, by J. F. Blumhardt, M.A. (London: Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1900).

For want of space we are obliged to postpone reviews of the following important works till our next issue: *European Settlements in the Far East—China, Japan, Corea, Indo-China, Straits Settlements, Malay States, Siam, Netherlands, India, Borneo, the Philippines, etc.*, also *The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company, including that of the French Traders of North-Western Canada and of the North-West X. Y. and Astor Fur Companies*, by George Bryce, M.A., LL.D (London, Sampson Low, Marston and Co., Ltd., 1900);—*British America* (London, Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co., Ltd., 1900);—*South Africa; its History, Heroes, and Wars*, in four books, by Professor W. Douglas Mackenzie, assisted by Alfred Stead (London, Horace Marshall and Son, and the Monarch Book Company, Chicago and Philadelphia);—*Personal Narrative of Occurrences during Lord Elgin's Second Embassy to China in 1860*, by the late Henry Brougham Loch (Lord Loch), third edition, also *Leading Points in South African History, 1486 to March 30, 1900*, arranged chronologically, with date-index, by Edwin A. Pratt (London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1900);—*The Story of the Australian Bush-rangers*, by George E. Boxall (London, Swan Sonnenschein and Co., Ltd., 1899);—*Sir Stamford Raffles, England in the Far East*, by Hugh Edward Egerton, M.A. (London, T. Fisher Unwin, 1900);—*The Practical Study of Languages, a Guide for Teachers and Learners*, by Henry Sweet, M.A., PH.D., LL.D. (London, J. M. Dent and Co., 1899);—*Four Months Besieged, the Story of Ladysmith; being Unpublished Letters from H. H. S. Pearse, the "Daily News" Special Correspondent* (London, Macmillan and Co., Ltd., New York, the Macmillan Company, 1900);—*China, the Long-lived Empire*, by Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore (New York, the Century Company, 1900);—*A History of Ottoman Poetry*, by E. J. W. Gibb, M.R.A.S., vol. i. (Luzac and Co., 1900).

## SUMMARY OF EVENTS.

INDIA : GENERAL.—Cholera still prevails in Ahmadābād, Karachi, Kashmir, Panjāb, and many of the cantonments.

The plague seems to be increasing ; over 1,000 deaths occurred in the first week of September. The places most affected are Calcutta, Bombay, and the Central Provinces.

Rain has been general all over the country, and the prospects of the crops have greatly improved, whilst the famine areas have been benefited generally.

On July 17 the total numbers receiving famine relief were 6,148,000. A steady decrease continues, and on September 17 the following totals were registered : Bombay, 1,132,000 ; Panjāb, 36,000 ; Central Provinces, 1,756,000 ; Berar, 189,000 ; Ajmir Merwara, 54,000 ; Rajputana States, 111,000 ; Central India States, 60,000 ; Bombay Native States, 142,000 ; Baroda, 53,000 ; North-West Provinces, 1,000 ; Panjāb Native States, 20,000 ; Central Provinces Feudatory States, 34,000 ; Haidarābād, 279,000 ; Madras, 4,000 ; Bengal, 13,000 ; total, 3,884,000.

The officers and men of the Imperial Service Corps have rendered valuable services in connection with the famine and carrying out relief measures, notably those of Bikanir, Jaipūr, Alwār, Jhind, and Nabha.

The wheat crop this year has been estimated at 4,890,596 tons, against 6,339,603 tons last year.

The opium revenue, which made a good show in the last Budget, promises equally well for the next.

INDIA : FRONTIER.—It is reported that a meeting of Afridi chiefs has been held to decide their action in regard to railways through their country, and it was decided that the railway must be allowed to be constructed to Jamrud.

A raid has been made by a band of Afridis on the Jamrud road, and some tools carried off.

Two local corps have been organized to ultimately replace British troops in WAZIRISTAN. Each consists of 800 men, and is known as the Northern and Southern Waziristan Militia. The former will be commanded by Captain Ferguson Davie, of the Tochi Levies, and the latter by Major Harman, 3rd Sikhs.

Lieutenant-Colonel Muhammad Aslām Khān, C.I.E., late Commandant of the Khaibar Rifles, has been granted a special pension of Rs. 400 a month, in addition to his ordinary pension, by the Secretary of State in recognition of his exceptionally meritorious services on the North-West frontier.

INDIA : NATIVE STATES.—The Government having recognised the succession of Rao Rāja Sawant Singh, the second son of H.H. the Maharaja of Orcha, and adopted son of the late Maharaja Bhan Partab Singh, of the Bijawar State, the installation ceremony was carried out at Bijawar on June 28 by Captain Pritchard, the Political Agent.

An application from the Maharaja of Patiala for the services of a financial adviser as a temporary measure is under the consideration of the Government. His Highness has commenced carrying out such reforms as seemed to him necessary for his State.

The Government has been compelled to remove the Maharaja of Bharatpur from power. He will, however, continue to reside in the State under surveillance, receiving a suitable allowance. His infant son will succeed as Maharaja. The Diwan, as heretofore, will administer the State.

The young Prince of Bhurtpur has been installed on the *gadi*.

An agreement has been made between the Gaekwar of Baroda and the British Government, under which the native currency of the Baroda State will be gradually changed into British India currency.

His Highness the Maharaja Scindia of Gwalior has fitted up a hospital ship for the use of the Indian troops in China. Colonel A. M. Crofts, I.M.S., is in charge.

His Highness the Maharaja of Jaipur, who has endowed the Indian People's Famine Trust with 15 lacs, has decided to increase his generous gift thus: The present price of Government paper being between Rs. 94 and Rs. 95, His Highness has directed the purchase of promissory notes of the face value of 16 lacs. This will form the endowment of the fund.

The marriage of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore took place in June last.

Mr. Thumbo Chetty, senior counsellor to the Maharani Regent, has been appointed to act as Diwan of Mysore during the absence on sick leave of Sir Seshadri Iyer.

The Maharaja of Kapurthala has offered to the Panjāb Government the use of his troops for service in China.

The Jodhpur Lancers, commanded by Major Turner, with Sir Partab Singh and staff, embarked at Calcutta for China on August 25.

The Maharaja of Bikanir has been granted the honorary rank of Major in the British Army. He will be attached to a Bengal Cavalry regiment.

The Raja of Nabha has given Rs. 10,000 to the Transvaal War Fund in honour of Lord Roberts' occupation of Pretoria.

CEYLON.—The total export of tea from January 1 to June 12 this year was, to the United Kingdom, 50,362,473 lb., against 42,671,212 lb. during the same period last year; to all other countries, 14,082,747 lb., against 10,273,436 lb. during the same period in 1899.

The revenue for the first six months of the current year amounted to Rs. 13,119,961.10, as against Rs. 12,015,611.44 in the corresponding period of last year.

The mortality from rinderpest, notably in the Kalutara, Negombo, Ruanwella, and Dehiowita districts, is very great. It is hoped that inoculation will result in the stamping out of this terrible cattle scourge.

BALUCHISTAN.—The trade by the Nushki route to Persia in April, 1898, was valued at Rs. 31,000 only. In 1899 it was Rs. 38,000, and in April last was estimated at Rs. 218,000.

PERSIA.—H.I.M. the Shah has much benefited by his stay at Contrexe.

ville. After visiting Paris and the Exhibition, he made a protracted stay in Belgium. His Majesty has put off his visit to England to another occasion on account of the Court being in mourning for the late Duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. He is now returning to Teheran through Austria, Turkey, and the Caucasus.

Sir Arthur Henry Hardinge, K.C.M.G., has been appointed Minister at Teheran in succession to Sir Henry Mortimer Durand, who becomes H.M.'s representative at Madrid.

AFGHANISTAN.—The short-sighted policy of the Amir in imposing heavy fiscal burdens upon the trade between India and Afghanistan via Dacca and the Khaibar country is having bad results. For example, the tax on sheep is so high that the numbers exported in 1899-1900 fell from 16,137 to 6,132. The Amir has recently struck off about 2 lacs of new gold coin.

Cholera broke out very severely in June at Kabul, but it has now almost disappeared.

TURKEY IN ASIA.—The British Vice-Consul at Van, Captain Maunsell, was recently attacked by Kurds whilst travelling in his district. His dragoman was wounded and his baggage stolen. Turkish troops proceeded to capture the Kurds. After a prolonged fight the baggage and animals were recovered.

RUSSIA IN ASIA.—On account of the disturbances in China, the Russian Government formed a new army corps, numbering about 40,000 men, in Siberia, and also mobilized her troops in the territories of the Amur, the Ussuri, and the maritime province of the Russian Pacific coast. In consequence of the transport of troops over the Siberian railway, migration from Russia has been stopped.

• Some thirty miles of the Transcaspian railway has been washed away by heavy rains, temporarily cutting off communication between the Caspian and Turkestan.

• STRAITS SETTLEMENTS AND MALAYA.—The Government has received tenders for opium and spirit farms in Singapore, Penang, and Malacca for three years, commencing next January, amounting to \$4,620,000 per annum, an increase of \$1,500,000 on present farms.

• PHILIPPINES.—Colonel Grassa has surrendered with his command, numbering 182 officers and men, at Tayug.

SIAM.—Queen Victoria, as Empress of India, has been enabled by Oriental antiquaries to make a friendly gift of the first importance to the King of Siam, viz., the ashes of Gautama Buddha, found in the sub-Himalayan district of Bhasti. These ashes were in three urns, and the King has sent one of them to the large body of his co-religionists in Ceylon.

CHINA.—The situation when we went to press with our last issue was that the Legations in Peking were invested by the Boxers, and that an attempt of Admiral Seymour to advance with a mixed relief force had failed owing to the destruction of the railway and the resistance of the enemy. He was entirely cut off from his base, and at the same time the foreign settlement at Tien-tsin was bombarded, and was only relieved after severe fighting by a combined European and American force from Taku.

Admiral Seymour and his party, having been surrounded about ten miles distant from Tien-tsin, were relieved also and enabled to return.

The reported massacre of the Legations, due to Chinese reports, has happily proved to be unfounded, but the German Minister, Baron von Ketteler, was murdered by Imperial troops whilst on his way to the Tsung-li-Yamên. Then followed the siege and bombardment of the Legations by the Boxers from June 25 to July 16. On August 3 a cipher message was received stating that since July 16 an intermittent rifle-fire had been kept up on the Legations. The allied forces, consisting of several columns, eventually started from Tien-tsin for the capital. Yang-tun was occupied by them on August 6, Ho-si-wu on 9th, Ma-tou on 10th, Chang-kia-wun on 11th, Tung-chan on 12th, and Peking was entered on August 15. After a stubborn resistance on the part of the Chinese, the Legations were relieved. Fighting afterwards took place in the streets, but by the 17th the whole city was in complete possession of the Allies. The British casualties whilst defending the Legation, in which most of the other Legations had taken refuge, were five killed and twenty-one wounded. Among the killed were Captain Strouts, K.M.L.I.; Mr. D. Oliphant, Consular Assistant; Mr. H. Warren, student interpreter; and the Rev. Huberley James.

The siege lasted two months. The total casualties amongst the defenders were 67 killed and 120 wounded.

The Imperial Family and the Court fled from the city on August 13 to the province of Shen-si.

Prince Ching has intimated to the Powers that he is fully authorized, together with Li Hung Chang, to negotiate for peace, and has expressed a desire to open negotiations at once. The foreign Ministers in Peking held a meeting, and decided that they had no power to treat with him.

Sir R. Hart has indicated to the Generals that they must be prepared for future hostilities, and that further trouble may be looked for by November.

The Emperor is said to be anxious to return to Peking and make proper reparation. The Empress-Dowager is said to be willing to return if protection is given.

On the other hand, the Chinese forces in Manchuria attacked the Russian garrisons on the line of railway, and bombarded Blagovestchensk. Fighting became general at various places along the Amur. Russian houses and churches at Urga in Mongolia were burnt. On July 28 the Russians captured the important town of San-sing, at the junction of the rivers Sungari and Mudan Zian, and on August 3 the town of Aigun, opposite Blagovestchensk. On August 12 they also captured Hai-cheng, and the right bank of the Amur is now entirely in their hands. The railway-line for 2,000 versts along the frontier is guarded by Cossacks of the reserve.

The disposition of the Mongol nomads towards the Russians is peaceful and friendly.

The Tartar General, Shang-shau, is collecting a large body of troops in Manchuria in order to make a last effort against the Russians.

The number of the allied forces in Peking in the middle of September

was 62,000, of which 22,000 were Russian, 19,000 Japanese, and 5,000 British.

As there is no Government in Peking, the Russian Government has decided to withdraw its forces to Tien-tsin.

Operations are being carried out against the Boxers in the vicinity of the capital, and a joint expedition of British, Germans, and French has been planned for the purpose of patrolling the country.

The Pei-tang and Lutai Forts have been captured by the Allies.

News is to hand that on July 9 all the missionaries (men, women, and children) in the Shan-si province were massacred, the Governor, Yu Hsien, on the pretence of guaranteeing them a safe conduct to the coast, invited them to his Yamên at Tai-yuen-fu, where they were hacked to pieces.

An Imperial edict has proclaimed Si-ngan-fu to be the new capital.

Generals Ching and Chang with 15,000 men are in Shan-tung.

Sir E. Swatow succeeds Sir Claude Macdonald as Minister in Peking, the latter taking up the former's appointment at Tokio.

KOREA.—The Seoul-Chemulpho railway has been completed.

JAPAN.—On July 17 the volcano Mount Adsuma, near Bandal San, the eruption of which in 1888 caused great loss of life, broke out into violent eruption. Two hundred persons are reported to have been killed or injured.

A new political association has been formed by Marquis Ito with the object of contributing to the successful working of the constitutional system. Over 150 Members of Parliament have already joined it.

EGYPT.—A decree published July 23 authorized the further issue of Privileged Debt to the amount of £E1,700,000, bearing interest at  $3\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. The proceeds of the loan are to be paid over to the Caisse of the Egyptian Public Debt and employed in railway extension.

CAPE COLONY.—Under the Treason Bill, which is also known as the Indemnity and Special Tribunals Bill, the penalty for rebellion is five years' disfranchisement. It provides an indemnity for all acts done by the Governor and the military authorities in the interests of public safety.

Sir Alfred Milner, in his speech at the opening of the Cape Parliament on July 20, said that he anticipated an early termination of the war, and subsequently a united and prosperous South Africa. Sir J. G. Sprigg anticipated a great development when the country was united under the British flag. No fresh taxation would be necessary during the current year.

The estimated expenditure for this year was £7,225,026, and the revenue £7,252,000. The Government proposed to raise loans for harbour works, railway rolling stock, irrigation, etc., to the amount of £2,582,000.

SOUTH AFRICA.—In the middle of July Mr. Wolmarans was arrested at Pretoria. A quantity of arms and bar gold of the value of £12,000 was found concealed in his house. In spite of his having taken the oath of neutrality, he was found serving on a commando.

Our forces in the Orange River Colony have been occupied in surrounding De Wet and Mr. Steyn, whose force was at Vredefort on July 22, and



crossed the Vaal River on August 6, followed by Lord Kitchener. Finding it hopeless to make his way eastward with his guns and waggons, he recrossed the Megaliesberg with a few men to the Orange River Colony.

A force of over 4,000 Boers under General Prinsloo surrendered unconditionally to General Hunter at Naauwport, near Bethlehem, on July 30.

The garrison of Elands River, under Colonel Hore, consisting of Bushmen, Rhodesians, and Rhodesian Volunteers, having been hard pressed by the Boers, General Carrington attempted to relieve them with a small force, but had to retire to Mafeking. The post was eventually relieved by Lord Kitchener on August 16.

Lord Methuen has been employed in clearing the country between Krugersdorp and Rustenberg. He dispersed the enemy at Oliphant's Nek with heavy loss. Rustenberg, which was surrounded by the Boers, was thereby relieved, and Methuen and Baden-Powell joined hands.

On August 26 General Bruce Hamilton captured at Winburg General Ollivier and his three sons.

At the end of July Lord Roberts commenced to advance eastward on Machadodorp. General Buller moved northward from Paardekop on August 7, the enemy under Christian Botha retiring and maintaining a running fight. Amersfoort was occupied on August 7, Klippart Drift on the 9th, and Ermels on the 11th.

A combined movement was made against the concentrated Boer commandos under Louis Botha on August 26. General Pole-Carew occupied Belfast, where Lord Roberts proceeded and met Generals Pole-Carew, Buller, and French. The advance resulted in the capture of Bergendal, near Dalmanutha railway-station. The work fell entirely on General Buller's troops, who occupied Machadodorp on August 28. Two days later the Boers released over 1,700 British prisoners at Nootgedacht.

Lord Roberts has issued a proclamation announcing the annexation of the Transvaal to the British Colonies under the name of the Vaal River Colony. Another proclamation was also issued on September 5 to the inhabitants of the Orange River Colony reminding them that they are now subjects of the Queen, and warning them of the penalties which will be incurred by those who continue in arms, especially those who have taken the oath of submission.

General French occupied Barberton on September 13, meeting with slight opposition. He released the British prisoners there, 23 officers and 59 men, and captured over 100 Boers.

Ex-President Kruger has fled to Lorenzo Marques, where he is under the surveillance of the Portuguese authorities, and Botha has been obliged to give over his command to Viljoen on account of ill-health. Mr. Steyn has gone in the direction of Swaziland.

Just before going to press the news bears evidence of the confusion and dismay that has overtaken the Boers. Their operations are now confined to a comparatively limited stretch of country adjoining the Portuguese frontier, and they are quite unable to effect a lodgment anywhere. Heavy fighting is taking place at Komati Poort, and the Portuguese have been hurrying all their available troops to the frontier with the object of protect-

ing their territory. It is rumoured that Viljoen is desirous of surrendering. The general opinion is that Kruger's flight signifies the speedy end of the war.

Lord Roberts is expected to leave Pretoria for England on October 3. He will visit the battlefields of Natal on his way home.

WEST AFRICA.—Sir F. Hodgson, with 600 native soldiers under Major Morris, left Kumassi on June 23, and arrived without much opposition safely at Accra. He left Captain Bishop and Mr. Ralph behind, with rations sufficient for three weeks.

Colonel Willcocks, who had been advancing to relieve the place, encountered many difficulties, such as flooded rivers and want of transport. After several engagements with the enemy, he reached Bekwai on July 9, and relieved Kumassi on July 15.

A rebel force 5,000 strong was severely defeated by our troops under Major Beddoes on July 30, fifteen miles east of Dompooassi. Our losses were four European officers and a sergeant, and thirty native soldiers wounded.

ALGIERS.—Rabah, the ex-Sultan of Bornu, and a former slave of Zobeir Pasha, has been killed in a struggle with the French, aided by Bornu refugees, at Kusli, on the Shari River. The French have placed Omar Ibn Ibrahim Omar on the Bornu throne.

CANADA.—Parliament was prorogued on July 18, after a Session which was the longest but one in the history of the Dominion. Among the Acts passed were a Copyright Act, an Act to perfect the Canadian banking system, the extension of the British preference tariff, and a Conciliation Act for the purpose of improving the condition of the working classes.

The Governor-General has proceeded on a three months' tour in Western Canada, including the Yukon district.

NEWFOUNDLAND.—The revenue for the fiscal year ended June 30 was \$2,070,000, this being the largest ever received.

As the Ministry persists in its refusal to permit Mr. Reid to transfer his railway concessions to a limited liability company, he proposes to convert his separate properties into separate companies.

The St. Pierre fishery has been the worst for many years, and a recent storm has wrought great damage to the fishing fleet. Although the loss of life was small, over fifty vessels were wrecked, and several are missing.

AUSTRALASIA.—The Federation Act received the Royal Assent on July 9. It is entitled the Commonwealth of Australia Constitution Act, 63 and 64 Vict., cap. 12. The formal proclamation was published on September 19.

The Earl of Hopetoun has been appointed Governor-General of the Australian Commonwealth.

The Duke and Duchess of York will visit the Australasian Colonies next spring. His Royal Highness will bear Her Majesty's Commission to open in her name the first Session of the Federation Parliament. This announcement has excited great enthusiasm among the people.

VICTORIA.—The year's revenue amounted to £7,450,676, being an increase of £66,775, as compared with the preceding year.

**SOUTH AUSTRALIA.**—Last year's revenue exceeded that of the previous year by £115,000. The revenue for the coming year is estimated at £2,869,000, or £88,000 over last year. Under the expenditure, provision is made for £10,000 for the expense of the South African contingents and local defences.

**WESTERN AUSTRALIA.**—The revenue for the year ended June 30 last amounted to £2,875,395, against £2,478,811 for the previous year.

The railway earnings for the same period amounted to £3,163,572, and the expenditure to £1,769,520.

**QUEENSLAND.**—Much rain has fallen over the drought-stricken part of Queensland, and the drought has been completely broken up.

**TASMANIA.**—The Budget speech was delivered on July 18 in the House of Assembly. The Treasurer, Mr. Bird, dealt with the years, 1899, 1900, and 1901. For 1899 the value of imports reached £1,769,000, and the exports £2,577,000. The total revenue was £944,000, and the expenditure £871,500. The revenue for the first half of 1900 reached £505,000; the total for the year is expected to attain £1,040,000, and the expenditure £926,000. The revenue for 1901 is estimated at £1,046,000, and the expenditure at £973,000. The surplus for 1899, 1900, and 1901, amounting to £258,000, will entirely extinguish the deficiency in the revenue and expenditure accounts, which six years ago amounted to £455,000.

**NEW ZEALAND.**—Mr. T. Duncan has been appointed Minister of Lands and Agriculture, in place of Mr. J. McKenzie, who has retired on account of ill-health.

For the past year, including a balance of £45,000 from the previous year, the revenue over expenditure amounted to £605,000. The estimated expenditure for the current year is £5,441,000, or £301,000 more than last year. The revenue is estimated at £5,168,000. A loan of £1,000,000 for public works is about to be raised.

*Obituary.*—The deaths have been recorded during this quarter of the following:—Sir Charles Sargent, formerly Chief Justice in Bombay;—Major-General J. G. Harkness (Crimea, South Africa 1864-66, Afghan campaign 1878-80);—Major-General Sir S. W. Jephson, C.B. (Afghan war 1838-42, Mahratta war 1844, China 1860);—General T. Gillilan, late Madras Staff Corps (Rangoon 1852);—General J. G. Cookson, late Indian Army;—Major-General Sir Robert Murdoch Smith, R.E., & C.M.G., Director of the Edinburgh Museum of Science and Art (Director of Persian Telegraphs from 1865 to 1885);—Captain H. W. H. Beyts, R.M.A., killed near Tien-tsin;—Lady Low, wife of Lieutenant-General Sir R. C. Low, commanding Bombay forces;—Mr. Cowasjee Dinshaw, C.I.E., a prominent Parsi of Bombay;—Raja Rama Vurma, of Parpanad, a member of the Travancore family;—Hon. A. R. Dickey, ex-Minister of Justice, Canada;—Major C. J. Cockburn, 1st Batt. Royal Warwickshire Regt. (Egypt 1882, Nile expedition 1884-85, Sudan);—M. de Blignières, formerly Contrôleur Egyptian Finance;—Captain George Marshall,









